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BIBLIOTHECA SACRA:

OR

TRACTS AND ESSAYS

ON TOPICS CONNECTED WITH

BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND THEOLOGY.

EDITOR:
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PREFACE.

If the reader should demand an apology for the length of some of the articles in this Volume of the Bibliotheca Sacra, it may perhaps be found in the fact, that the work purports to be a collection of *Tracts and Essays*, and was intended to exhibit a full and thorough discussion of the various topics which may at any time be taken up, so as to be of permanent value as a work of reference. The nature of it is also such, that articles cannot well be divided. It has, however, been a matter of effort with the Editor, to give to the work as great a variety as seemed compatible with these higher objects.

The publication of the last Part has been delayed, in order to effect an arrangement which will greatly add in future to the strength and resources of the work. Of this arrangement, when completed, due notice will be given.

It will be perceived that several of the communications from Palestine are from the Rev. Mr. Wolcott, who has traversed the country and explored Jerusalem with the eye of a keen and intelligent observer, and whose remarks have furnished several important corrections to the Biblical Researches in that country published by the Editor. These corrections are specified in their proper places. My sole object has ever been the truth; and as in the multitudinous details comprised in that work, I could not hope for perfect accuracy without being more than human, so I have rejoiced to make any corrections resulting from a more exact observation and a like love of the truth. In a letter dated Nov. 8th, 1842, Mr. Wolcott adds a testimony to the general accuracy of the Biblical Researches, which I venture to subjoin here, for two reasons: *first*, because, as his corrections of that work have been spread before the public, it is no more than right that his testimony in its favour should also be made known; and *secondly*, because intimations have reached me from various quarters, that some of its statements and positions in respect

to the topography of Jerusalem and some other places, are likely to be assailed, in carrying on a *crusade* in favour of the reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre. Mr. Wolcott writes as follows:

"In reference to the few slight corrections in the Biblical Re-
"searches, which I noted, and which I perceive you have published,
"it is but fair to say of that portion of the work which I had the
"opportunity of collating and verifying, that my constant surprise
"was, that so few mistakes should have occurred in so wide and varied
"an examination; and that with nothing was I more impressed, than
"with the minute accuracy of your observations. The few addition-
"al explorations which I attempted, were obviously suggested by the
"Researches. I had the advantage of standing on your platform;
"and was reminded, at every step, how comparatively meagre would
"have been my acquisitions in Palestine, without the aid of your
"book. And such, I venture to say, will be the experience of
"future observers.

"The above testimony is at your service, if you think it will
"be useful. Had I anticipated the publication of the corrections
"which I sent, I should have accompanied them with similar re-
"marks."

E. R.

Union Theological Seminary,
New York, Nov. 25th, 1843.

CONTENTS.

PART FIRST.

I.

RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE. Compiled by the EDITOR from various communications received at different times from the Rev. ELI SMITH and the Rev. S. WOLCOTT. With a MAP of the country around the Sources of the Jordan. Pages 9–88.

I. Country around the Sources of the Jordan, 11. Form of el-Hûleh, 12. Sources of the Jordan, 12. Jebel esh-Sheikh or Hermon, 13. Lake Phiala, 13. Course of the Litâny, 14. Castle esh-Shûkif, 14.

II. Depression of the Dead Sea, etc. 15–17.

III. Jerusalem and its Environs, 17. Ancient subterranean Gateway to the Temple, 17. South wall of the Haram, 23. Well near the Haram, explored, 24. Fortress Antonia, 29. Ancient Second Wall, 29. Former Tower in the N. W. 30. Ancient Khân, 30. Aqueduct, 31. Vaults in Bethesda, so called, 33. Pool of Bathsheba, modern, 33. Excavations on Zion, 33, 34. Tombs: of Absalom, 35; of the Judges, 35; of Helena, 35, 36; of the Prophets, 36. Remains E. of Scopus, 37. 'Amwâs, 38.

IV. Excursion to Mâr Sâba, Jericho, etc. 38–40.

V. Excursion to Hebron, Carmel, and Sebbeh or Masada, 41–67. Bereikût or Berachah, 43. Kûfîn, 43. Râmet el-Khûlîl or Ramah, ruins, 44–53. Ramble N. E. of Hebron, 55, 57. No ancient site on hill N. of Hebron, 59, 60. Jews in Hebron, 60. Carmel, 60, 61. Country to Sebbeh, 61, 62. Sebbeh, remains, 62–66. View of Dead Sea and Map, 66. To 'Ain Jidy, 67. Frank Mountain, 67. Josephus, 70.

VI. From Jerusalem northwards to Beirût, 70–84.

VII. To Ba'albek and the Cedars of Lebanon, 84–87. Conclusion, 87.

II.

SKETCHES OF ANGELOLOGY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT. By Prof. STUART.

I. Reality of Angelic Beings, 88–93.

II. Scriptural Modes of describing invisible objects, 93–98.

III. Names and Nature of Angels, 98–101.

IV. Qualities and Actions of Good Angels, 101–117.
V. Names, Qualities, and Actions of Evil Angels, 117–144.
VI. General Remarks on the preceding views, 145–148.
VII. Appendix on the System of Zoroaster, 148–154.

III.

The reputed Site of the Holy Sepulchre. By the Editor. In Reply to allegations contained in the Oxford "Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles." Pages 154–202.

I. Introduction, 154. Statement of the question, 156.
II. Remarks on the alleged Discovery of the Cross, 157–171.
III. The Argument as to the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, 171–202. Statement, 173. Alleged antecedent presumption, 173–181. Historical Argument, 181–187. Topographical Argument, 187 sq. Pool of Hezekiah, 194, sq. City of David, what? 197. Results, 201, 202.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

In the article on Palestine, 203. Ramah of Samuel, View of Gesenius, 204. Eleutheropolis, Historical Testimony, 204.

PART SECOND.

I

The Druzes of Mount Lebanon. By the Editor. Pages 205–253.

Topography of Lebanon, etc. 205–9. Population, etc. 209 sq. The Maronites, 211–213. The Druzes, their origin and early history, 213–223. Their earliest religious creed, 225 sq. Subsequent history, 229 sq. Fakhr ed-Din, 230 sq. Emîr Beshîr, 233. General character of the Druzes, 235 sq. The *Jâhel* and *'Akâl*, 239. Arrival of American Missionaries at Beirût, 241. Recent History, 242–252. Historical Authorities, 252.

II.

On the Manuscripts and Editions of the Greek New Testament. By Prof. Stuart. Including a notice of Hahn's edition, reprinted in New-York. Pages 254–282.

First printed edition, 255. Character of Manuscripts, etc. 256–265. Editions of Erasmus, R. Stephens, Beza, the Elzevirs or *Textus Receptus*, 265–268. Later editors, 269–272. Hahn's edition, characteristics, 274–280. Reprinted in New York, 278. Labours of Tischendorf, 280 sq.

III.

Marriage of a Wife's Sister. The Biblical argument. By the Editor. Pages 283–301.

IV.

The Doctrine of Expediency. By President Wayland. Pages 301–331.

V.

The Number of the Beast in the Apocalypse. By Prof. Stuart. Pages 332–360.

VI.

Biographical Notices of Gesenius and Nordheimer. By the Editor. Pages 361–390.

Gesenius, 361–379. Nordheimer, 379–390.

VII.

The Works of President Edwards. Notice by the Editor. Pages 391, 392.

PART THIRD.

I.

The Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian. By the late Bishop Muenter. Translated from the German by W. W. Turner. Pages 393–455.

Introduction, 393. Various Insurrections under Trajan, 397–410. Early measures of Hadrian, 410 sq. Plan of rebuilding Jerusalem, 415. Outbreak of the war, 418. Bar-cochba, as leader, 420 sq. Has possession of Jerusalem, 426 sq. Progress of the war, 432 sq. Siege and capture of Bether, 438 sq. Fatal results to the Jews, 441 sq. Rebuilding of Jerusalem, 444 sq. Later events, 450 sq. Appendix from Moses of Chorene, 455.

Note on Bether. By the Editor. p. 456–461.

II.

The White Stone of the Apocalypse: Exegesis of Rev. II. 17. By Prof. Stuart. Pages 461–477.

III.

A Visit to Antipatris. By the Rev. Eli Smith. Pages 478–496.

Note by the Editor, 496–498.

IV.

The Lord's Supper in the Corinthian Church: Remarks on 1 Cor. XI. 17–34. By Prof. Stuart. Pages 499–531.

Translation, 499. Irregularities, 501 sq. The Agapae, 501–506. Kind of wine used, 506. New wine used by our Lord at the Institution, 507 sq. Is it still obligatory? 511 sq. Diluted wine used by the ancient churches, 512–518. Is there a *real presence?* 518 sq. Principles of Interpretation, 522 sq. Faith and Reason, 525–527. Benefits of the ordinance, 528 sq. Eating and drinking 'unworthily,' 530 sq.

V.

The Coming of Christ, as announced in Matt. xxiv. 29–31. By the Editor. Pages 531–557.

Inquiry of the disciples, 531–535. Passage cited in full, 536 sq. Opinions, 538 sq. Limitations of the time, 539 sq. Can the language be referred to the last judgment? 541 sq. Can it be referred to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews? 545 sq. General result, 549 sq. Final catastrophe of the Jews, 550 sq. Further remarks on Matt. 24, 36–51, and c. 25, p. 553 sq.

VI.

An Ancient Temple on Mount Lebanon. Described by the Rev. Eli Smith. Pages 557–563.

Note by the Editor, 562.

VII.

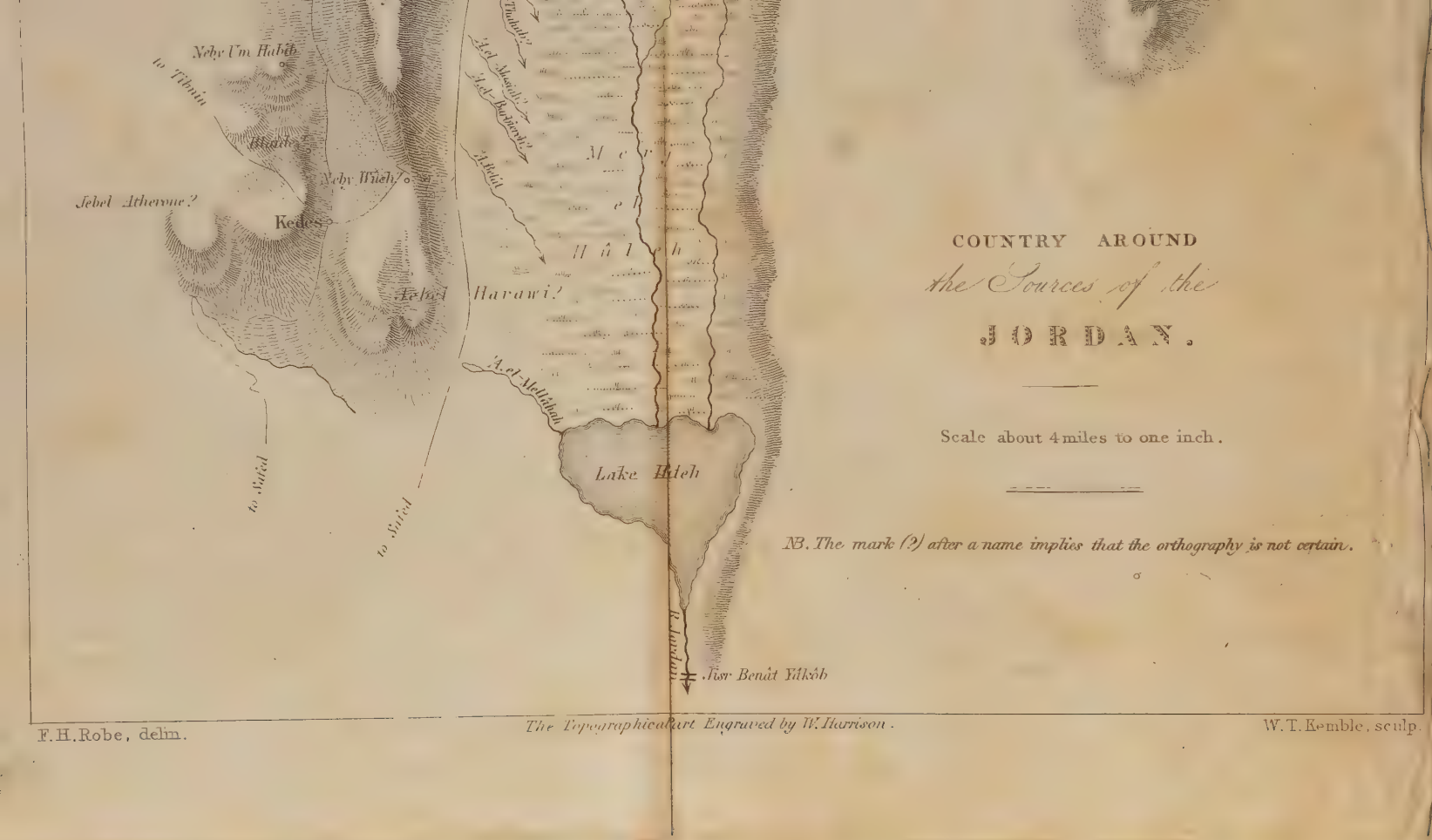
Notes on Biblical Geography. By the Editor. Pages 563–566.

The Exodus, 564. Arimathea, 565. Depression of the Dead Sea, etc. 566

Index. Pages 567–575.

FOR THE BINDER.

The Binder will cancel the former title-page to No. I, and also the former Tables of Contents on Nos. I and II.



COUNTRY AROUND

the Sources of the

JORDAN.

Scale about 4 miles to one inch.

NB. The mark (?) after a name implies that the orthography is not certain.

F.H.Robe, delin.

The Topographical part Engraved by W. Harrison.

W.T.Kemble, sculp.

True N.
from Jezzin
Dier el Ghuzaiyeh
Jebel Hermund Nehar?
Kefr Hûneh
Jebel Iraiti?
Jebel Rihân
Ruins of Jalhûr?
Rihân
from Sidon
Fermah?
Hasbeiya
Kaukaba
Bûratha Halouet?
Nebv Hy et Tahûri?
Shukîf?
Kefr Tibnit
Nabathea
Jisr el Hardely?
Kâkâiyeh
Arnûn
Hamrah?
Kul'at esh Shûkîf
Yârûn
Jisr Kâkâiyeh
Bar'Ashûs
Abil
Nebv Hûd?
Kadeisa?
Ain Kirwayer?
el Ghujar
Tell el Kâdy
Kulât Bâniâs
Nebv Leddan?
Bâniâs
Ain Kunyet Bâniâs
Mill
Jenbeh?
ez Zûk
to the Bûkâ'a
to Rasheiya & Damascus
Source of the Hasbeiya River
Shibâ
el Furdîs
Jisr es Sûk
Râshaiyet el Fûkhâr
el Khuvibeh
N. el Yerzide?
North Summit
Jebel esh Sheikh
to Jisr Kâkâiyeh
to Jalhûn & Sûfed
to Jalhûn & Damascus
to el Kuneitereh

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

I.

RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE.

BY THE EDITOR.

Compiled from various communications received at different times from the Rev. Eli Smith and Rev. S. Wolcott.

(With a Map of the Country around the Sources of the Jordan.)

The first portion of the following article has already appeared in print; but it has been judged advisable to introduce it here, with several additional circumstances interwoven; partly for the sake of continuity and completeness, and partly for the sake of the accompanying Map, which is now first published.

In the Preface to the Biblical Researches in Palestine, it was stated, that the Rev. Eli Smith was about to return to his station at Beirût, taking with him instruments of the best kind in order to verify our former observations, and prosecute further researches in parts of the country not visited by us; and that I hoped to be the medium of communicating his subsequent observations to the public. Mr. Smith's return took place in April, 1841; but the state of confusion and anarchy and war since existing in Mount Lebanon and the adjacent regions, by which the mission has of course been greatly affected, has also hitherto cut off all opportunity for travelling and personal observation on his part. The scenes of desolation and bloodshed, which have passed in the interval before the eyes of the missionaries, have been graphically described by Mr. Smith and others in their letters, published from time to time in the Missionary Herald, particularly in the numbers for May and June, 1842.

In the mean time others have been doing the work of surveying the Holy Land much more extensively, and perhaps more effectually, than could in any case have been done by a single individual. It may be recollected, that when the British fleet was withdrawn

from the coast of Syria in 1840, a corps of engineers, all picked men, was left behind, in order to make a military survey of the country throughout its whole extent. Three officers, Majors Robe, Scott, and Wilbraham, were constantly occupied in making surveys in all quarters; and in the southern part, Lieut. Symonds carried a series of triangles over the greater portion of Judea and the country around the plain of Esdraelon, including lines of altitudes from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea and Lake of Tiberias. Some of these gentlemen are members of the Royal Geographical Society of London; and when the English government shall have made the use it chooses of the results of their labours, it is understood that they will be given to the world.

The intercourse subsisting between the English officers and the American missionaries was of the most friendly character; and the former often communicated to Mr. Smith so much of their observations as was compatible with their confidential duty to their own government. From one of them, Major Robe, he received a written communication respecting the country around Merj 'Ayûn and the sources of the Jordan, accompanied by a sketch-map; and another of them, Lieut. Symonds, gave him the exact result of his measurements to determine the depression of the Dead Sea. These documents are now in my hands. Besides these, Mr. Smith has also transmitted several letters directed to him from the Rev. Samuel Wolcott, one of the American missionaries, who spent the winter of 1841–2 at Jerusalem, and while there took the opportunity of carrying out several inquiries, which Mr. Smith and myself could only begin, and also made excursions to different parts of the country. The results of his investigations, as well as the communications of the English engineers, are of sufficient importance, as it seems to me, to be laid in detail before the public.

The prospect in respect to future observations is at present gloomy. The corps of engineers was withdrawn near the close of the year 1841; and what is yet to be learned must be gathered up by individual enterprise and opportunity. To this the confusion and anarchy and insecurity which now prevail among the people, present a formidable obstacle. In February, 1842, Mr. Smith wrote as follows; and the state of things has not yet changed for the better:

"Palestine is now in too disturbed a state to allow of much travelling; and I have no hope of its being much better while this [Turkish] government remains. It is a most wretched system of fanaticism, corruption, oppression and anarchy. I fear we must wait till another revolution, before doing much more towards biblical research in the country."

Under date of May 7, 1842, Mr. Smith again writes: "Two parties have come by Mount Sinai and Wady Mûsa this year. The last, a very large party, were taken out of Sheikh Husein's hands, between Petra and Hebron, by the Tiyâhah and their allies; among whom were probably our friends, the Jehâlîn No injury was done to the travellers; indeed, I believe they were better satisfied with the robbers, than with their guides. The encounter took place just at the mouth of Wady el-Jeib. Afterwards they turned and went up Wady el-Fikreh to the fountain and palm trees." This appears to have been merely an act of retaliation on the part of the Tiyâhah and their allies, against Sheikh Husein of the 'Alawîn, who permits no other tribe to bring travellers within his limits, but has not scrupled himself often to conduct strangers through their territory to Hebron.[1]

I. Country around the Sources of the Jordan.

It may be recollected, that we were prevented by an insurrection of the Druzes from prosecuting our intended journey by the Lake el-Hûleh and the sources of the Jordan to Damascus; and obtained a view of the lake and region round about only from el-Benît, a high point a short distance north of Safed.[2] Our subsequent route from Safed to Tyre left also the country upon the Lîtâny, from the Bŭkâ'a to the vicinity of Tibnîn, still unexplored. It is just these districts, including the intervening tract of Merj 'Ayûn, which are covered by the accompanying sketch-map of Major Robe. The route of that officer from Beirût was by way of Deir el-Kamr, el-Mŭkhtâra, Jezzîn and the Jisr Bŭrghŭz, or bridge over the Lîtâny, to Hâsbeiya and Bâniâs; thence across the Merj el-Hûleh (Meadow of the Hûleh) to Kedes, the ancient Kedesh of Naphtali, on the western hills; and so to Safed. After visiting the range of mountains

[1] See Bibl. Res. in Palest. II. p. 543. [2] Ibid. III. p. 339.

between Safed and the plain of 'Akka, he examined the country along our route from Safed by Bint Jebeil to Tibnîn and the Jisr Kâkâîyeh; proceeded thence to the great castle esh-Shŭkîf; and, returning part of the way, followed the usual track by Nasâr and Bâblîyeh to Sidon. On his map the positions of the principal places are laid down according to their proper relative bearings with each other and with the magnetic north; but, in regard to the distances, he had no other criterion to judge by, than the time accurately noted. A portion of the same route, from Tibnîn by the Jisr Kâkâîyeh, was also travelled by the Rev. S. Wolcott, on his way from Safed to Sidon. See near the close of this article.

Form of the Lake el-Hûleh. As we saw this lake from the high ground at el-Benît, the intervening tract of lower table land hid from our view its southwestern shores, and caused it to appear almost as a triangle; the northern part being far the broadest.[1] It turns out that this is nearly its true form; or rather, the map gives to it in some degree the shape of a pear; the projection, however, on the northwestern part, being the largest.

Sources of the Jordan. These are treated of in the Biblical Researches, according to the accounts of ancient writers and modern travellers.[2] Two separate streams of considerable magnitude are there said to enter the lake el-Hûleh from the north, each of which is formed by the junction of two others. The easternmost of these two streams, with its two sources, one at Bâniâs, and the other at Tell el-Kâdy, is the Jordan of ancient and modern times. The westernmost stream, which is longer and larger, is represented as formed by the union of the river of Hâsbeiya, issuing from the Wady et-Teim, and another stream from Merj 'Ayûn.[3]

The statement thus ventured, that the two main streams enter the lake, or at least its marshes, separately, was not regarded as being fully ascertained; it was made on the strength of various circumstances; for there was then no better positive authority for it than Buckingham, who, at the same time speaks of another imaginary lake, which he professes to have seen, north of the Hûleh. It is highly gratifying, therefore, to find that the map of Maj. Robe fully sustains the position there taken. It exhibits the two main

[1] Bibl. Res. III. p. 339. [2] Ibid. pp. 347–354. [3] Ibid. p. 353.

streams as flowing separately, and parallel to each other, quite through the marshes into the lake itself.

The stream from Merj 'Ayûn was inserted on our map in accordance with Seetzen's map and the testimony of Mr. Smith, who travelled through that district in May, 1835. Mr. S. speaks of it expressly as draining the district of Merj 'Ayûn.[1] But the stream does not appear on the map of Maj. Robe, nor on that of Bertou. This, at first view, is singular; and the more so, because the district of Merj 'Ayûn was often described to me by my fellow-traveller, as a beautiful, fertile, and well-watered plain. But he and Seetzen were there early in the season, when the surplus waters flowed off to join the river of Hâsbeiya; while Maj. Robe and Bertou saw it only in August, when the heats of summer had dried up the waters, leaving probably only the gravelly bed of a winter brook. Instead of this, Maj. Robe's map has a small stream not mentioned by any traveller, lying half way between the branch from Tell el-Kâdy and the river of Hâsbeiya, and flowing into the latter.

The two large fountains, 'Ain el-Mellâhah, and 'Ain Belât, on the western side of the basin of the Hûleh,[2] are given on the map; and also four smaller fountains and brooks farther north.

Jebel esh-Sheikh, or Hermon. From the map it appears that this mountain has in fact two peaks or summits; and Mr. Wolcott also afterwards gives a bearing of the northern one from Bint Jebeil. As we saw this noble mountain only from the S. W. the two summits were then in a line; and the whole presented the appearance of one towering pyramid. The circumstance of the two summits explains to us why the Psalmist speaks of this mountain in the plural, *the Hermons.*[3]

Lake Phiala. An account of this lake, as ascertained by Irby and Mangles, is given in the Researches.[4] Under date of June 7, 1842, Mr. Smith transmitted to me the following note from Mr. Tipping, an English artist, whose name will several times appear in the following pages, and who passed up from Bâniâs N. E. towards Damascus. After leaving Bâniâs, he says, "I took a little trouble about Phiala, and visited the only two *Birkets* in the

[1] Biblical Researches, III. App. p. 135.
[2] Ibid. p. 341, App. 135.
[3] Ps. xlii. 6[7.] Engl. Vers. incorrectly: *the Hermonites.*
[4] Vol. III. pp. 348–350.

country. The one north of Jubbâta is very high, in the centre of a small oblong plain, under Jebel esh-Sheikh, perfectly round, with muddy water, filled by the melting of the snow. It nearly dries up in summer, and is about 260 feet in diameter. This, it would be superfluous to observe, cannot be the Phiala of Josephus. The Phiala of that historian is pretty accurately placed on your map. It is about an hour and a half south of Mejdel; answers perfectly to the description of Irby and Mangles; and is known by the one name only, *Birket er-Râm.*" This of course is the Birket er-Râm of which Seetzen heard, and which he too regarded as Phiala; but is not that seen by Burckhardt, which lies far southeast of Bâniâs.[1]

Course of the Lîtâny. The course of this river from the Jisr Bŭrghŭz to the vicinity of Tibnîn, has not before been explored, and is marked as uncertain on our map, and on that of Berghaus. It was only known that the stream winds through a gorge among the mountains, often between precipices, which are sometimes of great height. Maj. Robe was able to overlook the whole of the portion thus unknown, and has represented it on his map. Only one bridge over the Lîtâny, the Jisr Bŭrghŭz, was known to us in the mountains; but the map exhibits three, viz. Jisr Bŭrghŭz, on the north of Merj 'Ayûn; Jisr el-Hardely (?) west by north of Merj 'Ayûn on the direct route from Bâniâs to Sidon; and Jisr Kâkâîyeh, north of Tibnîn. The district of Merj 'Ayûn itself, on the map, assumes an oval shape, the longest diameter being from N. to S.

Position of the Castle esh-Shŭkîf. Here, unfortunately, both the map and the text of the Researches require an important correction. We saw this castle at a distance, on our route from Safed to Tyre, when near Haddâta, in the region of Tibnîn. It there bore N. 40° E., at the distance of several hours.[2] This of course gave us no clew to its precise position, which had to be made out from other sources. Mr. Smith had mentioned, that he had formerly seen the castle, when crossing the Lîtâny by the Jisr Bŭrghŭz; and I had then received the wrong impression, that it was situated near that bridge. Mr. Buckingham also, in passing from

[1] Bibl. Res. III. p. 350, n. 2. [2] Ibid. p. 376.

Bâniâs to Sidon, crossed a bridge over the Lîtâny, *near* which, he says, on the hill above, was the castle esh-Shŭkîf.[1] As we then knew of only the bridge Jisr Bŭrghŭz in this region, it was a matter of course to suppose that Mr. B. referred to this latter; and the position of the castle was laid down accordingly. But it now turns out, that the fortress is situated just below the bridge el-Hardely, on the west of Merj 'Ayûn, some twelve or fifteen miles more southwesterly than its position on our map.[2]

I must therefore do Burckhardt the justice, to take back a remark made in correcting an error in his bearing of the castle, as seen from the mountain north of Bâniâs. Its true bearing from that point would probably be about W. by N. as he doubtless intended to write it.[3]

II. Depression of the Dead Sea, etc.

The depression of the great valley of the Jordan, which now turns out to be so immense, has been noticed only within the last six years. Lying parallel to the coast of the Mediterranean at the distance of less than fifty miles, there appears not to have been the slightest suspicion in by-gone centuries, that its bed was not higher than the level of the adjacent seas; although from several points, both the valley and the Mediterranean are alike visible, and the Egyptian climate of the Ghôr might easily have led to the suggestion of some unusual cause.

Nor does the first notice of this depression appear to have resulted from any previous suspicion of it. In March, 1837, Messrs. Moore and Beke, in attempting a survey of the Dead Sea, were led to make observations to ascertain its level, by means of the boiling

[1] Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 407.

[2] I am not sure, after all, which bridge it was that Buckingham crossed. One would naturally suppose it to be the Jisr el-Hardely(?), which is on the more direct route from Bâniâs to Sidon; and then his remark as to the *nearness* of the castle would be correct. But he says, that in one hour after crossing the bridge, he passed another stream, the Jerma(?), and then, in half an hour, he came to the village Jerma. Now, on Maj. Robe's map, the stream Jerma is marked about an hour from Jisr Bŭrghŭz, but enters the Lîtâny *above* the Jisr el-Hardely; while the village Jerma lies on the route from Jisr Bŭrghŭz to Sidon, but not on that from Jisr el-Hardely. This seems to show, that, after all, Mr. Buckingham must have crossed the upper bridge at Bŭrghŭz.

[3] Bibl. Res. III. p. 351, note.

point of water; and were greatly astonished at the result, which gave a depression of about five hundred English feet. A month or two later, Schubert's barometrical measurement gave it at 598.5 Paris feet. In 1838, Russegger, and also Bertou, made it out by the barometer to be more than one thousand three hundred Paris feet.[1]

The measurements of the Lake of Tiberias by Schubert and Bertou, were still more diverse and inconsistent in their results. The former made the depression of that lake to be five hundred and thirty-five Paris feet, only sixty-five feet less than that of the Dead Sea; while he made the Jordan at the bridge just south of the Hûleh to be three hundred and fifty Paris feet above the Mediterranean; a difference of eight hundred and eighty feet in the distance of about five miles! Bertou gave the depression of the Lake of Tiberias at about seven hundred feet; and that of the Hûleh itself at about eighteen feet.[2]

All these different results were utterly inconsistent with each other; and in some respects appeared to us to be equally so with the nature of the country. I therefore ventured, in 1840, to suggest, that "so great is the uncertainty in all such partial measurements and observations, (as evinced in the like case of the Caspian Sea,) that the question can never be decided with exactness, until the intervening country shall have been surveyed, and the relative level of the two seas trigonometrically ascertained."[3]

The fulfilment of this wish was nearer at hand than I could then anticipate. It was accomplished by Lieut. Symonds, in 1841; and a slight notice of his results was laid before the Royal Geographical Society of London, at their meeting January 24th, 1842; from which an erroneous statement found its way into the newspapers. A full report of his measurements and calculations was afterwards laid before the society by Lieut. Symonds himself; but no further publication appears yet to have been made respecting them. I therefore subjoin the following account, transmitted to me by Mr. Smith under date of Feb. 7th, 1842.

"I am happy to inform you, that the altitude [depression] of the Dead Sea has been ascertained by exact trigonometrical measure-

[1] Bibl. Res. II. p. 222. [2] Ibid. p. 595. [3] Ib. p. 222.

ment. Lieut. Symonds, of the British Royal Engineers, surveyed the greater part of Judea and the region around the plain of Esdraelon by triangulation; and while doing it, carried a double line of altitudes from the sea at Yâfa to Neby Samwîl, and thence another double line to the Dead Sea. He found the latter to be *thirteen hundred and thirty-seven* feet below the Mediterranean! By similar observations he ascertained the Lake of Tiberias to be *eighty-four* feet below the Mediterranean. These numbers he gave me himself; and at the same time showed me his calculations."

III. Jerusalem and its Environs.

The Rev. Samuel Wolcott was among the missionaries sent out to Syria in 1839. He remained at Beirût; and during the bombardment of that place in September, 1840, withdrew with the Rev. W. Thomson to Cyprus; whence, however, they returned immediately afterwards. During the following year, 1841, he was employed at Beirût and in the mountains; where he has shown himself to be an active and intelligent observer of men and things. On the first of December in that year, he arrived in the Holy City, where he spent the winter, occupying himself with missionary labour, and at the same time exploring the environs and antiquities of the place. The two earliest letters now in my hands, from him to Mr. Smith, are dated January 10th and 25th, 1842; and serve to show, at least, that the first six weeks of his sojourn in Jerusalem were not passed in idleness.

Ancient Subterranean Gateway under the Mosk el-Aksa. The first information as to the existence of this gateway, and also the first definite account of the adjacent vaults under the area of the Haram, were given to the public in the Biblical Researches, from the statements and drawings of Mr. Catherwood.[1] The vaults, indeed, are mentioned by Breidenbach and Fabri in 1483, and by Baumgarten in 1507; and Maundrell in 1697 relates, that he saw them from without, and describes them as consisting of two aisles extending one hundred feet or more under Mount Moriah, etc.[2] But how he could thus have seen them was to us inexplicable;

[1] Biblical Researches, I. pp. 446–452.

[2] Ib. p. 446. Maundrell's Journey, Lond. 1810, p. 135.

unless at that time there might have been a breach in the wall. The following extracts from Mr. Wolcott's letters, go to clear up the whole difficulty. Under date of January 10th, he writes as follows:

"On reading of the ancient vaults under the temple-area (or the present Haram) seen by Maundrell and other early travellers from a garden within the city wall on the south, I felt at once the difficulty suggested by Prof. Robinson, from having just observed the extreme solidity and antiquity of all the lower part of the southern wall of the Haram inclosed within the city. I visited the spot again soon after, for the purpose of examining this point. It is obvious that the wall lies in its massive original strength, unmoved and immovable. At the point where the city wall meets it, or, rather, connecting this with that of the Haram, you will recollect, is a large irregular building, now unoccupied.[1] Its lower rooms, adjoining the garden or field within the city, are accessible from it. I entered the one adjacent to the Haram, whose wall forms one of its sides, and exhibits the same appearance as without; excluding up to this point the supposition of any breach in it, since its foundation.

"My attention was now arrested by another object. The arch which forms the ceiling of the room, as it rises from its eastern wall, twelve or fifteen feet above the floor, cuts off the square corner of a sculptured stone, projecting several inches from the solid wall of the Haram, with its side and front profusely ornamented, though now blackened. It struck me at once, that this was a portion of the ancient gateway discovered by Mr. Catherwood, and described in the Researches.[2]

"I now went round by St. Stephen's gate to examine the part without the wall; remarking, as I passed the Golden Gate, that the architecture which I had just seen was of the same florid character. I found a room in the exterior building, east of the one in which I had been, the entrances to which were closed. But it evidently did not embrace the whole width of the ancient gateway,

[1] Described in the Bibl. Res. as a low, square tower, forming a gateway or entrance to the city, now closed. Vol. I. p. 387.—Ed.

[2] I have a distinct recollection of having in like manner noticed this sculptured stone; but as we then had no suspicion of the existence of the gateway, this led to no further results.—Ed.

the eastern part of whose ornamented arch, with other relics, still remained in the wall outside. In the summit of this arch is a window, which the accumulation of rubbish here has left not more than ten feet above the ground. I climbed up to this window, on the wall, and looked through the iron grating. I found myself directly over the gate, (or over the eastern part, for it was double,) and the broad passage [aisle] leading down to it, extending, with a row of columns in the middle, as far as I could see. I observed a door near the bottom of the passage opening to the east.

"I found here, unexpectedly, a solution of the difficulty which I had felt. Here were the 'vaults' which Maundrell saw. They could have been no other; and the 'two aisles' of these and their general appearance accord with his description. The same may, perhaps, be said of the other travellers referred to. In their day, the outer building probably did not exist; and the passage-way was visible from an opening in the city."

The very next day, Jan. 11th, Mr. Wolcott again visited, with Mr. Tipping, the English artist, the western room first above described, in which he had noticed a portion of the gateway.

"We were making," he says, "some further examination, when a dumb boy, who had followed us, beckoned us to a dark part of the room, and pointed to the wall. At first we could see nothing; but were soon able to distinguish clearly a hole in the wall opening into the eastern room. I examined it soon after, and found what I had been seeking. This hole led directly into the room into which the western half of the double gateway opens." Passing through it, they entered the avenue under the Mosk, and traversed its aisles, taking then but a cursory view. Under date of Jan. 25th, Mr. W. writes as follows:

"I have again visited the passage and gateway under the Haram for a more particular examination. The evidences of its antiquity are unquestionable. Connected with each gate are two marble Corinthian columns, indicating, as Dr. R. has observed, a Roman origin; and there are also marks of Saracenic work of a still later date. But the foundations are Jewish; and both walls of the passage are composed in part of smooth, bevelled stones. The arches are of hewn stone, and are the noblest that I have seen in the country. As I walked through the broad aisles, in a stillness

broken only by the sound of my footsteps, it was a thrilling thought that I was treading one of the avenues through which the tribes had pressed to the temple. I seemed to see the throng of worshippers, and to hear their chant: 'I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord. I will pay my vows now, in the presence of all his people, in the court of the Lord's house, in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem. Praise ye the Lord.'

"I subsequently visited the place with Mr. Tipping, who has taken an accurate drawing of it. We took a few measurements. The bottom of the passage is now lower than the ground without; but as rubbish has collected here, it must once have been higher.[1] Its width is forty-two feet; leaving, exclusive of the columns in the middle, about nineteen feet for each aisle. Between the gates is a partition, extending ten or twelve feet within, composed of stones of that length and of great thickness; that of one which we measured was four and a half feet. The two longest stones which I saw were in one of the side walls, each thirteen feet in length and bevelled. The first column is twenty feet high, and fifteen and a half feet in circumference, and is a single block; its capital being a part of it. Beyond the second column, the floor of the passage is raised several feet, and in the western aisle is mounted by steps. In the eastern aisle, in place of steps is a layer of immense stones with their ends bevelled; and upon it, eight or ten feet back, is a wall of mason-work, a little higher than the upper floor of the passage. Of the columns on the elevated portion, only the first is round, and of a single stone, like the lower ones; the rest are square and built with masonry. The upper end of the western aisle is parted off into a small room. At the head of the eastern is the entrance from above, by a common picket gate, to which a few steps lead down, and through which we could see the green grass of the Haram.[2] A *Mihrâb* [niche of prayer] has been erected here, and another at the foot of the aisle. They have also been placed in the recesses of two door-ways near the bottom, on each side of the gateway, which have been walled up. We have ascertained

[1] Mr. Catherwood supposed the bottom of the gateway to be fifteen or twenty feet above the ground outside; Bibl. Res. I. p. 451. He would seem not to have passed out into the exterior building; and probably judged merely from the window and the external traces as seen outside.—Ed.

[2] See Bibl. Res. I. p. 450.

that the place is still visited for Muslim devotion. We were fortunate in finding it vacant. An owl perched on the capital of one of the columns, and a bat which flitted across the aisles, were the only living things we saw,—fit representatives of the mournful decay of the glory of the place."

In another part of the same letter Mr. Wolcott speaks of the square exterior building above mentioned, in the following manner:

"Mr. Tipping and myself are fully persuaded, that this was never a gate. The stones with which the arch (forming the supposed entrance) is walled up, appear to be of the same age with the others; and this, you know, is the common mode of building. The *outer* layer appears indeed to have been laid up subsequently; but the inner fits in with the walls of the apartment, and would seem to have been built at the same time. There might possibly have been an open court here. But a gate would be supposing a thoroughfare, where every appearance is against it; and would require passers in and out to mount ten or twelve feet into a large building, pass through it, and descend; which their animals certainly could not do.[1] We cannot discover the faintest trace of a gate or passage-way; nor in such proximity to the Dung-gate, so called, could there have been occasion for any. There are two or three similar, but smaller, arches walled up in the adjoining eastern room; and three or four more further east, in the southern wall of the Haram. The wonder is, to what use the building could ever have been applied; and that such an excrescence on the Haram should have been permitted."

This building both Mr. Smith and the writer were led to regard as a gate walled up, from its general resemblance to the walled-up portals of the gate of Herod and the Dung-gate so called.[2] We noticed it first from the outside, and had no doubt of its being such a gate, leading apparently up into the Haram. But as we then had no suspicion of the existence of the ancient subterranean gateway; and as, on examining it from the inside of the city, we found

[1] This account I do not fully understand. So far as my recollection goes, the floor of the western room which we entered, was nearly, or quite, on the same level as the ground farther west. At any rate, the room had then recently been used as a stable for horses or mules. —Ed.

[2] See Bibl. Res. I. p. 387.

it apparently leading into the city, in the same way as the Yâfa gate and others, we rested in this supposition, without giving the walls so close an examination as Mr. W. appears to have done.

Knowing what we now do, we can more easily understand what the older travellers say of the "vaults," and may also perhaps account for the external building. In Felix Fabri's time, A. D. 1483, the city wall had not yet been rebuilt; and he speaks here of "many great hewn stones lying in the open street; over which stones he climbed up to the wall, and entering through a hole [probably the portal of the ancient gateway] came into high, long, beautiful, arched vaults, under the area of the temple."[1] Here was then no city wall; but there would seem to have been a thoroughfare. The wall was built in 1542;[2] and in 1697 Maundrell goes and visits the entrance of the vaults at a point *within* the city. From all this it seems to me possible, and perhaps not improbable, that, when the city wall was rebuilt, this external building was erected as a gateway to accommodate a former thoroughfare here leading out of the city, and also to cover the portal of the ancient subterranean gateway, which was then still used *as an entrance to the Haram;* that the external opening in this building towards the south was early walled up, and the thoroughfare cut off, still leaving open the portal leading up under the Mosk; that it was in this state when Maundrell saw it, he having entered from the west; and that, since his day, this portal has been further closed by the partition wall dividing the building into two parts, or at least by walling up any passage through it which might formerly have existed. At any rate, I could wish the building might be examined in connexion with some such mode of explanation; and if this conjecture should turn out to be without foundation, some other better hypothesis might then be suggested.

I regret to have to add here the following intelligence subsequently received from Mr. Wolcott, under date of July 5, 1842. "The place through which I entered the passage under the Haram, has, I understand, been walled up. It was done by order of the Mufti, on information that the spot had been visited by Franks. It was considered, by the few who saw it, as the most striking and interesting relic in Jerusalem."

[1] Reissb. ins h. Land, p. 279. [2] Bibl. Res. I. p. 384.

South Wall of the Haram, and Correction in the Biblical Researches. There is reason to suppose, that, besides the entrance to the temple through the ancient subterranean gateway above described, there were also other entrances through the same southern wall into the ancient vaults lying further east; a plan of which is given in the Researches.[1] Under date of May 13, 1842, Mr. Wolcott has the following remark: "In the south wall of the Haram (outside of the city wall) are three Roman arches walled up, about twenty-five feet high and fourteen broad, entering apparently into the three western intervals of the rows of columns, as given in the published plan of the vaults. Further east, near the end of the wall, is a Saracenic arch, closed up, of about the same size."

In respect to the length of this same southern wall, Mr. Wolcott has made an important correction in the statement of the Biblical Researches. He was led to suspect, that the measure of six hundred and thirty feet, there assigned to it outside of the city wall, was too great.[2] This measurement included the distance, from the point where the city wall would join the south wall of the Haram to the southeast corner of the latter, viz. sixty feet for the exterior building in the corner, and five hundred and seventy feet beyond; as I find on recurring to my original pencil-notes. This last distance Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping found on careful measurement to be only five hundred and fifty feet; and further, by like measurement, both within and without the city, they ascertained "that the whole length of the southern wall of the Haram, as nearly as it can be measured, is nine hundred and fifteen feet, instead of nine hundred and fifty-five feet as given by Prof. Robinson," making a difference of forty feet.[3] "This correction," Mr. Wolcott remarks, "will help his argument." I am, however, unable to account for the error. This measurement of the circumference of the city was one of our first in Jerusalem; it was made by me alone, our two Arab servants carrying the tape. It of course did not pretend to any great accuracy; and the correction made by Mr. Wolcott, of three feet in the length of the eastern wall of the Haram, (fifteen hundred and twenty-five feet, instead of fifteen hundred and twenty-eight,) does not surprise me. Had the other error in the southern wall amounted to one hundred feet, instead of forty, I should at once have supposed I had counted

[1] Vol. I. p. 449. [2] Ibid. p. 395. [3] Ibid. p. 430.

one length of the tape twice over. As it is, it may have arisen, perhaps, from some mistake in reading off the number of feet on the tape, when not stretched its whole length.

Fountain near the Grand Mosk. The information we were able to collect respecting this fountain; our attempts to obtain permission to descend into the well; and the reasons which compelled us to leave the enterprise unfinished; are all detailed in the Biblical Researches.[1] The well is more than eighty feet deep; the mouth of it is on a platform, or rather the flat roof of a low building, eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the adjacent street. We ascended to it, in all our visits, by a flight of steps from the street leading to the southernmost entrance of the Haram. Mr. Wolcott was led to undertake anew the enterprise thus abandoned by us; and in carrying it out he displayed a spirit of perseverance and resolute intrepidity, worthy of all praise. The story is best told in his own words, under date of January 10th:

"My interest was much excited by the notice in the Researches of the unexplored fountain under the Haram. On inquiring of our friends here, if there was any hope of getting permission to descend into the well described, they observed justly, that Muslim prejudice was now more violent than when you were here, and that it was out of the question. I felt a desire, nevertheless, to see the well, and called on the bath-keeper, who conducted me to it. A little conversation with him satisfied me, that he would never facilitate any attempt to explore it.

"I visited the well again the next day, and found two men drawing water for the bath, which they poured into an adjacent cistern. They were Fellâhs from Kefr Selwân, and told me that they worked here by day, and returned to their village at evening. They were very civil, and offered me some of the water to drink, remarking that it was like that in the fountain of Siloam; which was evident to the taste."

After several visits to the well, Mr. W. succeeded in making a private arrangement to descend into it; though he was not able to prevail on any one to descend with him. Accordingly, on the 5th of January, he repaired to the place, with only a servant boy, taking with him a rope and pulley, and found there persons ready to let him down. "To one end of my rope they attached

[1] Vol. I. p. 508 sq.

one of their large leathern buckets, which they let down and filled, to serve in part as a counterpoise. Having prepared myself and adjusted the rope, I lighted one of my candles, and commenced the descent. The entrance is not quite two feet square, and so continues for a few feet, when it suddenly expands, and the remainder of the passage I should judge to be twelve feet square. I was let down too rapidly to scrutinize closely; but all that I could distinguish appeared to be solid rock, and the faces were hewn square. On meeting the bucket, I found it streaming at a dozen apertures, and for the rest of the way was under a cold shower-bath, and could with difficulty keep my light without the circle of it. Several feet above the water, I observed four arched recesses in the rock, opposite one another, each about two feet deep, six high and four wide. A little lower, six feet above the water, I noticed a door-way in the rock. On reaching the surface of the water, by the vibrations of the rope before I could gain a footing, my light was extinguished, and I was left in total darkness. I had previously remarked beneath the door-way a shelving shallow side of the well, which I had reached before disengaging myself. My matches were yet dry, and I now lighted other candles, which I had brought.

"I first mounted to the door-way, which was small and led to an arched chamber excavated in the rock, about fifteen feet in length and ten in breadth. Its height was but three or four feet; and its floor was uneven and covered with loose fragments of rock. The ceiling or curvelinear arch, running lengthwise, was very regular and overlaid with stucco. As I turned to descend, I noticed that the excavation below, forming the water-basin, was more irregular than above. There were no steps leading down; and the chamber did not seem to be constructed with any reference to the water.

"On the other side, directly opposite, was the passage or channel for the water. These were the only two openings from the well. I wished to ascertain their directions, and had brought a delicate pocket-compass, which was unfortunately injured in the descent, and I now found it to be useless. I regret this accident, as I could myself form no conjecture on the point; and I think that any data which the natives can have, must be very uncertain.

"I now descended into the water, the temperature of which was

much milder than I expected to find it at this season. The bottom of the well was uneven and gravelly. The average depth of the water was four and a half feet, and it was about the same in the passage. The entrance of the passage was more than ten feet high. I had just passed into it, when I came to an irregular opening, twenty feet high, and perhaps as long and broad. It had once been covered, in the direction of the passage, with an arch of hewn stone; the lower parts of which remained, though their base was higher than the top of the present water-channel. I climbed up on the right, and looked over the portion of the wall remaining there; but saw here, as above, nothing but the natural rock, within which the wall had been laid. Beyond this opening, the passage, which was two or three feet wide, was covered with stones laid transversely, leaving it about five feet high. It was not straight, though its general course was direct. The bottom was not flat, but terminated in a groove. The cutting was so uneven as to suggest the thought, that advantage might have been taken of a natural seam or fissure in the rock. The covering of the passage was laid without order, with occasional breaches running up three or four feet; and was evidently composed of the ruins of some other structure. There were ordinary hewn stones; and then there was a section of polished marble shafts, half a foot in diameter, some of them square and fluted. In one place, the end of a granite column, a foot or more in diameter, had sunk obliquely into the passage; and at that stage of the water could with difficulty be passed. I came at length to a well or basin in the passage, and could proceed no further.

"There had been all the way but a few inches from the surface of the water to the top of the passage, barely enough to keep my head and carry my light between them. I had taken an India-rubber life-preserver, which I found serviceable; without it, indeed, especially as I was alone, I should hardly have ventured so far. The opposite wall of the basin, which was apparently square and of the same width as the passage, now shut down before me; and there was not here space enough above the water to allow me to reach and explore it thoroughly. Above, I could see only the face of the rock, and below, could only reach with my foot the rim of the basin, on a level with the bottom of the passage. One would naturally have inferred, that this was the fountain-head. If it be a

mere descent to a lower gallery extending further, it can evidently be traversed only when the water is very low. I now measured with a rule the distance back to the well and found it to be eighty feet. I may add, that this is the only actual measurement I took. I was prepared to make careful observations, but situated as I was, it was impossible.

"I had taken five or six candles with me, anticipating a longer exploration. Reserving one of them, I now illuminated the passage with the others; and having taken my last view of it, leaving them burning there, I emerged into the well and prepared for the last stage—to be hauled up eighty-one feet by these Arabs. I gave the signal, and was started; and had just reached the recesses above mentioned, when my light was again extinguished. My descent had been uniform, but I was necessarily drawn up at intervals, which caused a greater vibration. I spun around the dark vault, striking against one side and another, but so gently as to receive no injury. The excursion was soon finished; and though I had not penetrated so far as I had hoped, yet I was happy to find myself again above ground, beneath the open heaven.

"The impression which I have brought from the visit is, that this excavation was not originally a well. What connexion with a mere well have artificial recesses and chambers in a rock?[1] It has a more general resemblance to some of the spacious sepulchral excavations without the city. The wall, whose remains I noticed in the larger opening, I supposed at the time had been only a covering for the passage; but I am now inclined to the belief, that here was formerly a chamber arched and stuccoed like the one opposite; that its floor and door-way have been cut down to make a passage for the water, and perhaps a portion of its arch with its pillars used to form the present irregular covering of the channel; and that the area between the chambers has been hollowed into a basin for the water. This thought did not occur to me during the examination; and I do not submit the opinion with confidence. And if the passage extends further, it must be fully explored before any just conclusion can be come at.

[1] Yet the well of Job, far down in the valley below, has traces of ornamental arches in its masonry; and an Arabian writer describes it as having in its lower part a grotto or chamber walled up, from which the water strictly issues. See Bibl. Res. I. pp. 491, 492.—Ed.

"I am sorry thus to increase doubt, where I had hoped to throw light. The principal thing that I conceive I have done, is to demonstrate the impossibility of a satisfactory examination, except when the water is at the lowest point, near the close of the dry season."

Thus far Mr. Wolcott. It is indeed greatly to be regretted, that an enterprise so intrepidly undertaken, should not have been crowned with more success. The result is, unquestionably, to increase our doubt and perplexity. If the excavation were originally a well, how are we to account for the chambers and the later walls of masonry and the ceiling of columns, which certainly could not have been laid when there was water in the passage? Or if it were *not* originally a well, whence comes the present copious volume of water? Future researches may perhaps decide the question, if made in the month of September or October.

The distance of the well from the adjacent entrance of the Haram, Mr. W. found, by measurement, to be one hundred and twenty-four feet; instead of one hundred and thirty-five feet, as given in the Researches.[1] This error was mine; and probably arose from the fact that the distance was measured only by paces; which ought indeed to have been mentioned.—If then Mr. Wolcott reached the end of the passage at the distance of eighty feet from the well; it follows, that this fountain is not under the Haram at all, and apparently had nothing to do with the Jewish temple; being outside of the enclosure and more than forty feet distant from the wall.

In this connexion I may add, that when in Jerusalem it was spoken of as a common report among the natives, that there is a spot near the Damascus gate, without the city, where in a still time, by putting the ear near to the ground, the trickling or murmur of a subterranean water-course can be heard. Mr. Wolcott also met with the same report, with the addition, that the sound could be heard only at night. Now this spot is in the depression or valley which extends down from the Damascus gate along the west side of the Haram; in or near which same hollow is also the fountain above described. Whether this report, if established, would have any bearing on this fountain or on Siloam, must be left to future investigations.

[1] Vol. I. p. 509.

Fortress Antonia. A new view was taken of this fortress in the Biblical Researches,[1] making it coextensive from W. to E. with the area of the temple; from which it was separated by a massive wall, while it was bounded on the north by the deep fosse now known as Bethesda. At that time I had the strong impression, that the eastern wall of the present enclosure of the Haram, towards its northern part, projected beyond the rest, and thereby afforded a corroboration of the same theory; presenting probably the foundations of the southeastern tower described by Josephus. But as I had no note of the circumstance, and did not wish to build on mere impressions, nothing was said respecting it. The following notice of Mr. Wolcott supplies the omission:

"The foundations of the N. E. corner of the area of the Haram, appear to have been those of a tower. The stones are ancient and massive; and on the east side for the length of eighty-four feet, project several feet from the line of the Haram wall. Those on the north side, between the corner and the fosse, are of the same age and size. The appearance indicates a tower, forming a part of the ancient fortress Antonia."

Ancient Second Wall. Of this wall, which, according to Josephus, ran from the gate of Gennath in a circular course to the fortress Antonia, we were able to find no traces except probably the two massive ancient towers adjacent to the Damascus gate.[2] Further search was made by Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping, and with better success; as appears from the following extract:

"We thought that we discovered other traces [of the second wall]; particularly in the angle which the present wall makes, near the Latin convent. Here are the remains of a wall, built of large hewn and bevelled stones; and near by are blocks so large that we at first took them to be the natural rock, but which on closer examination appear to have been bevelled, though now dislocated. These, with the large amount of foundation rubbish lying within the wall at this point, might mark this as the site of one of the ancient towers in the second wall; built, according to Josephus, with immense stones and solid. An unusual proportion of the stones in the present wall between the northwest corner of the city and the Damascus gate, and also of those in the adjacent buildings, are ancient and bevelled; and we could hardly resist

[1] Vol. I. p. 431 sq. [2] Ibid. pp. 461–4.

the impression, that this had been nearly the course of some ancient wall." If the remains thus described belonged to a wall, as is probable, it could of course have been no other than the second wall of Josephus.

Former Tower in the N. W. Corner of the City. The remains of this tower, or bastion, are described in the Researches[1] "as consisting of a large square area, or platform, built up solidly of rough stones, fifteen or twenty feet in height, and paved on the top." At the southwest corner of it, near the ground, "three courses of large bevelled stones, rough hewn, pass into the mass diagonally, in such a way as to show that they lay here before the tower and bastion were built." These we referred to the ancient *third* wall of Josephus, the foundations of which we could trace from near this point to a considerable distance northwards, outside of the city.

To our account of this ruin, Mr. Wolcott adds the following: "Besides the bevelled stones described in the southwest corner, a doorway in the northwest corner leads into a small room, in which are four similar layers; and these, like the former, do not seem to have been disturbed. Mr. Tipping refers them to the age of the ancient wall. The site is perhaps the highest in the city; and a strip of the Dead Sea is visible from the present summit. The native name of the ruin is Kŭl'at Yellûd." Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping were somewhat doubtful, whether the layers of large stones inside "belonged to the ancient second or third wall."

Mr. Wolcott suggests, whether this point may not have been the position of the tower of Psephinos, described by Josephus; remarking that the ancient wall appears to have here formed a right angle. But the position assigned by Josephus to that tower, was the northwest corner of the city, as inclosed by Agrippa's or the third wall, —a point much farther towards the north, as is shown by the remaining traces of that wall.[2]

Ancient Khân. During our visit to the well, connected with the fountain near the Haram, I recollect noticing a large oblong open court, with traces of ruined buildings. I am not sure whether this is the same described by Mr. Wolcott in the following paragraph:

"Passing north of the court just mentioned, I was struck with the appearance of its southern side; and think it deserves a passing notice. Its foundations are the bevelled stones of Jewish archi-

[1] Vol. I. p. 471. [2] Ibid. p. 458, 465 sq.

tecture; and three massive arches lead beneath a terrace supported by twenty-four columns of masonry. The plan was too extensive for a private edifice; and I found on inquiry, that it was known as a ruined *Khân*, by the two names of Khân Emîr Hassan, and Khân Otuz Bir. It probably belonged to the early days of the Muslim conquest; and is one of the most compact ancient substructures within the city. It is in the centre of the block, a few feet south of west from the well, and west of the Grand Mosk. It communicates at present with no street; and descending into the court, although in the heart of the city, I seemed to be in entire seclusion."

Aqueduct from Solomon's Pools. The account of this aqueduct, so far as we saw it, is given in the Researches.[1] Unfortunately, under the pressure of such a multiplicity of objects, and not then being fully aware of its antiquity and former importance to the city, we neglected to inquire out its course after entering the city, or its point of termination in the Haram. When afterwards the subject came up, in preparing the work in Berlin, I keenly felt this deficiency; which, of course, could there be supplied only by the conjecture, that the aqueduct was carried along within the city under the eastern side of Zion, and that it probably passed into the Haram over the mound which we noticed at the northeast corner of the same hill. It is gratifying to find this point rendered certain by the examination of Mr. Wolcott, writing under date of Jan. 25th:

"We were one day examining the remains of the arch in the western wall of the Haram, when we passed to the opposite side of the valley, near where the bridge may be supposed to have terminated. A few feet north of this spot, we observed a passage, eight or ten feet high at its entrance, though soon contracting, cut in the solid rock, which here forms the [perpendicular] western side of the Tyropœon and the eastern brow of Zion. On approaching and entering it, we perceived occasional cavities in the bottom, broken through the earthen pipes of an ancient aqueduct, which we recognized as the one that connects the Pools in Bethlehem with the Haram. Supposing that a passage, thus opening into the valley, and visible to every passer by, was already well understood, we examined it no further at this time.[2] But on turning to the

[1] Vol. I. p. 514 sq.

[2] I have a distinct recollection of this opening; but we did not examine it further, probably for reasons similar to those assigned in the text above.—Ed.

Researches, I perceived that the course of the aqueduct within the city was apparently unknown to any traveller; and found, on inquiry, that it was also unknown to the Frank residents. I observed, moreover, that in the published plans of the city, the direction assigned to it was conjectural and mistaken. We then decided to explore it thoroughly; and first traced it without the walls. Its course is marked not only by the stones with which it is built, but also by occasional openings into the pipes. Both of these indicate the very spot where it passes under the city wall, about one hundred feet west of the point designated on Catherwood's Plan, (which takes it into the valley,) and perhaps three hundred feet east of that marked in the Plan which accompanies the Researches. It is directly south of the passage which we had seen cut in the rock; to which we traced it at intervals within the city. The section in the rock extends fifty feet or more, which I passed through; and the aqueduct is then supported for an equal distance by a wall of masonry fifteen feet high against the face of the rock, when it again passes into the hill and beneath the dwellings which cover it. A small passage is built with stones over the pipes; and its cobwebs had never been disturbed. I entered with a light one hundred feet; but chose not to proceed further alone. Mr. Tipping and myself together afterwards penetrated forty feet beyond; and were then stopped by some modern masonry under which the pipes continue. The passage is very narrow, and some parts of it we crawled through with great difficulty. But it would have well repaid further toil, if we could have reached the ancient reservoirs of the temple. Our general course had been northwest (?), and we had now traced the aqueduct four or five hundred feet within the city along the side of Zion, and bearing towards the ridge which crosses the Tyropœon; through which it evidently passes into the Haram, as suggested in the Researches. The street which leads down directly from the southern end of the Bazars to the Haram, terminating in its principal western entrance, is on the summit of this ridge, descending towards the Haram the whole distance."

Mr. Wolcott suggests, that this last remark may serve to correct the general statement made in the Researches,[1] as to the

[1] Vol. I. p. 394.

western entrances of the Haram, viz. that they all "are reached by an ascent, and some of them at least by steps." This does not hold true of the entrance from the street passing across the mound.[1]

Vaults in Bethesda, so called. This deep ancient fosse and reservoir, called by the natives *Birket Isrâîl*, is described in the Researches.[2] At the southwest corner two lofty arched vaults extend in westward, side by side, under the houses which now cover that part. They are much filled up; yet I was able to measure a hundred feet within the northern one, without reaching the end. Mr. Wolcott writes as follows:

"The southern vault extends one hundred and thirty feet; and the other apparently the same. At the extremity of the former was an opening for drawing up water. The vaults are stuccoed, and were probably constructed when the fosse was converted into a reservoir."

Pool of Bathsheba. To the short notice of this "mere pit," near the Yâfa gate, given in the Researches,[3] there is appended in a note the testimony of Monro and Schubert; the former of whom speaks of it as "an oblong pit lined coarsely with small stones," while the latter affirms that "the architecture and the size of the stones seem to belong to the works of the ancient Jerusalem." I was not then able to say which of these statements was most correct. But Mr. Wolcott has the following remark: "The former (Monro) is correct; there is nothing large or ancient about it,—an insignificant trench, not worthy of a place in the text of the Researches."

Excavations on Mount Zion. In the Researches notice was taken of two excavations made on Mount Zion; one in laying the

[1] In the Researches (I. p. 393), it is said that this mound "is probably rubbish, the accumulation of ages; though the houses in the vicinity prevented us from ascertaining whether it extends quite across the valley." This last remark, as it stands, may seem unintelligible; since one of the chief streets passes over the whole length of the mound into the Haram. But in passing down this street, one is not usually aware of the mound at all; and the other street, which crosses it from north to south, we traversed only once, and did not then note, that the top of the ridge was occupied by a street. At that time we had no suspicion of the nature of the mound, or of its connexion with the aqueduct; all this occurred to me afterwards at Berlin; where, of course, I had only imperfect notes of an imperfect observation. Hence the mention of the houses; which it now appears have nothing to do with the matter.

[2] Vol. I. p. 434.

[3] Vol. I. p. 486.

foundations of new barracks south of the castle, and the other for those of a new Synagogue in the Jews' quarter.[1] It was reported that many remains of walls and buildings, and also of marble and columns, had been discovered; which, however, we did not see. Mr. Wolcott, in a letter dated Oct. 1st, 1842, speaks of similar excavations for the foundations of the English church now building, situated on the northeastern slope of Zion, where the hill falls off to the valley of the Tyropœon. It is to be hoped that the full details of these interesting excavations will be given to the public by the architect. Mr. Wolcott writes as follows:

"The excavations which have been found necessary in laying the foundations of the Anglican church in Jerusalem, show on what a vast accumulation of rubbish even the higher parts of the modern city have been built. The shaft which was sunk before I left Jerusalem, struck, far below the surface, upon an ancient solid wall. At the depth of thirty or forty feet bevelled building stones were found; and shortly before my departure the capitals of two large columns were thrown out. One of them, I think, was pure Doric, and the other apparently Jewish, with a tracery of vines, of the age, perhaps, of the ornamental work about the Tomb of Helena. I saw in the possession of the architect, Mr. Johns, fragments of similar sculpture, which were found in laying the foundations of a convent; on one of which, I remember, was carved a fish, with other designs. These discoveries, it seems, continue as they proceed. In a recent letter from Mr. Whiting, he remarks, 'Mr. Johns, in sinking his foundation-pits, which are not yet finished, has come upon a curious ancient passage,—whether an aqueduct, or sewer, or merely a secret subterranean passage, I do not know. It is about six feet high and two broad. Mr. Johns followed it southwards some one hundred and seventy feet, and northwards from the pit twenty or thirty feet, where it was walled up. It is at the depth of thirty or thirty-five feet below the surface. If all Jerusalem were dug over, as they are digging this part of Mount Zion, we should have some rare discoveries.'"

Tomb of Absalom. According to Mr. Wolcott the present native name of this monument in the valley of Jehoshaphat, is *Tantûr Fâraôn.*[2]

[1] Bibl. Res. I. pp. 360, 459. [2] Ibid. I. p. 517 sq.

Tombs of the Judges. The account of these in the Researches [1] was not drawn up from any minute examination or any measurements of our own. The description of the first and largest room is correct so far as it goes. As to the rest, Mr. Wolcott gives the following as a more exact description; beginning immediately after the quotation from Sandys respecting the side of the room 'cut full of holes in manner of a dove-house:'

"The upper crypts open out into regular arches, or arched recesses, three feet deep, each including three or four. On the east and south sides of the antechamber, doorways lead to two other apartments, each about eight feet square; the former of which has crypts on three of its sides like those in the anteroom, and the latter has only the lower rows with nothing but the arched recesses above. At the southwest corner of the anteroom, a few steps lead down through the floor to an irregular apartment, about twelve feet square under it, without niches. A similar passage in the northeast corner of the anteroom leads down eastward into a room five feet square; from which there is a passage eastward into a still lower apartment ten feet square, differing from the others in having on three sides the upper tiers of crypts alone, with the arched recesses."

It is suggested in the Researches, that there may perhaps be passages down from the remaining corners of the large room. Mr. Wolcott ascertained that there is none in one of these corners, and probably none in the other. His more accurate description explains the statements of Cotovicus and Doubdan.[2]

Tomb of Helena. This mausoleum, heretofore commonly known as the Tombs of the Kings, is fully described, and its connexion with Helena vindicated, in the Researches.[3] Our own fruitless attempt at further examination, as also that of Irby and Mangles, are there detailed. A renewed attempt is thus narrated by Mr. Wolcott:

"A quotation in the Researches from Irby and Mangles,[4] seemed to give encouragement that there might be another set of apartments connected with the tomb, and another entrance. Mr. Tipping accordingly hired two workmen to clear away the rubbish

[1] Vol. I. pp. 527, 528.
[2] Referred to in Bibl. Res. I. p. 528, n. 1.
[3] Vol. I. pp. 528–538.
[4] Vol. I. p. 533.

again from the opposite side of the portico, assisted by our man Yûsuf, who was also with the party which you employed. The work was done in a few hours. We found the block which the first party describe, over the supposed entrance. On reaching its upper surface, Yûsuf said that this was as low as you excavated. It is an irregular stone, three or four feet square, and seems to have been broken away from the front of the portico. We removed it, but found no opening beneath it; and laid bare the rock for several feet, without discovering any trace of a passage. None probably ever existed. This supposition is confirmed by the appearance of the rock, which on this side is less firm and compact, and less suitable for excavation, than the opposite portion; as is apparent from the face of it, both in the portico and in the court."

At the eastern end of the broad trench on the south of the court of this tomb, forming an approach to its entrance,[1] a small opening is visible in the face of the rock, leading into an excavated chamber. This we entered so far as to perceive that the room was large and empty; but did not examine it further, and, among the multitude of similar phenomena, we made no note of it. Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping explored it, and found an apartment thirty feet by twenty-five. "On the eastern and southern sides have been cut deep channels, the former seven and the latter four feet wide, separated by a small strip of the rock, in which a narrow passage has been cut. The remainder of the apartment consists of the natural rock, cut into broad steps or offsets, leading down to the eastern channel; a portion of the rock remaining in the middle as a support. The whole apartment was stuccoed. We were at a loss to assign its use; but concluded it to have been a bath." It is difficult, however, to see what a bath could have to do in connexion with the Tomb of Helena; and just as difficult to give any other probable explanation of the purpose of this chamber.

Tombs of the Prophets. These tombs on the Mount of Olives were not visited by us, but are briefly described in the Researches from the accounts of Doubdan and Pococke.[2] Mr. Wolcott furnishes the following description of them.

"The entrance to these tombs is through a hole in the rock above, into a circular apartment, about twenty feet in diameter; a

[1] Bibl. Res. Vol. I. p. 529. [2] Vol. I. p. 539.

side entrance to which is blocked up. Two passages lead from it, (and a third appears to have been walled up, extending thirty feet each, in a direct line. Between them run two galleries in concentric curves, one at their extreme end, the other in the middle. When free from rubbish, they are about ten feet high and six broad, arched and stuccoed. The outer gallery is one hundred and fifteen feet in length, and contains the niches, thirty-two in number, extending outwards on the level of its floor, on the further side. Two small chambers open into it, containing half a dozen niches. A narrow excavation leading from the most northern passage, terminates at the distance of more than one hundred feet, in a clayey, friable soil; which is perhaps the reason that the galleries were not continued.

"These could not have been the 'subterraneous chambers' mentioned by Dr. Clarke; which, moreover, were 'on the very pinnacle of the mountain.' The crypt which he describes at length, was a mere cistern. On the southern summit of the Mount of Olives are three or four precisely like it, about twenty feet deep, connected probably with former buildings here, of which there are traces. A few paces lower, between them and the tombs, is still another, ten feet deeper. They are similar to those which abound north of the city; and inferior to some of them. We came across a large one in that quarter, supported by arches. The attempt of Dr. Clarke to connect a common cistern with the idolatry of Solomon and the worship of Ashtaroth, devoting learned notes to the discussion, and sending travellers in pursuit of Pagan remains upon Mount Olivet, is most unpardonable."[1]

Ridge East of Scopus. The following is an extract from Mr. Wolcott's journal.

"*March* 3*d*. Crossing to-day the ridge between Scopus and the Mount of Olives, and recollecting the search which had been made for the site of Nob,[2] I asked a Fellâh whom I saw at work, if there were any ruins in the vicinity. He said that there were; and conducted me along an ancient road near the summit, which brought us to a ruined oil-press. This he said marked the site of the village, the name of which was Khŭrazeh. The remains consist merely of a circular stone trough and a section of a large column.

[1] Compare the similar remarks in Bibl. Res. I. p. 539, note 3.

[2] Bibl. Res. II. p. 150.

I saw no traces of foundations. From this point, only the western half of the city is visible.[1]

'Amwâs, Emmaus, i. e. *Nicopolis*. This place we saw from Tell es-Sâfieh, but not afterwards. On our map it is laid down on the south of the road from Yâfa to Jerusalem, on the authority of Prokesch and others. But the text holds of it the following language: "It is said by some to lie about one hour from Lâtrôn towards the south; while other information places it ten or fifteen minutes north of Lâtrôn, towards Yâlo."[2]

Mr. Wolcott communicates the following remark, under date of Jan. 11th: "I am reminded to tell you, that Mr. Tipping says you have put down Emmaus ('Amwâs) on the map in the wrong position, *south* of the Jerusalem road, instead of *north* of it, where he found it last week."

IV. Excursion to the Convent of Mar Saba, Jericho, etc.

This excursion was made by Mr. Wolcott on horseback; and his account of it, though occupied with minute topographical details, is yet important, as fixing for the first time the relative position of the celebrated Convent of Mâr Sâba; and also as giving a view of the nature of the country and the character of the different routes between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. These details refer to a part of the country which Mr. Smith and myself did not visit; and thus help to fill out and correct our map. The bearings were taken with an accurate compass and with great care. The narrative is chiefly in his own words.

"*Feb.* 10*th*, 1842. Left Jerusalem on an excursion to the Jordan and Dead Sea. At 12.50 we were at the elbow of the valley below the well of Job, where the Wady el-Wezy comes in from the west. Our course was now E. by S. along the bed of Wady en-Nâr, the continuation of the Kidron. At one o'clock we reached the mouth of Wady Kaddûm, coming down from the N. N. E. This forms the eastern boundary of the Mount of Offence; and the road to Bethany winds around its head.[3] Five minutes later we had the ruined Muslim village Beit Sâhûr on our right, on the north

[1] From Khŭrazeh the Wely on the Mount of Olives bore S. 11° E. Hippicus, the tower, S. 24° W.

[2] Bibl. Res. III. p. 30. Compare II. p. 363.

[3] Ibid. II. p. 100.

side of a small Wady coming in from the west.[1] I observed here a few large sepulchral excavations and cisterns, and several fragments of columns, with an occasional hewn stone, scattered among the ruins of a score of modern dwellings.

"Here the path left the channel of the valley, and proceeded along the hill-side on the left. At 1.30 we were opposite the mouth of Wady Sûr Bâhil, coming down from the village of that name in the W. S. W. Five minutes later we came out at the head of Wady el-Lebân, down which our road lay on a course E. S. E. entering again at two o'clock the Wady en-Nâr a little north-east of Deir Ibn Öbeid on the opposite hills. Our course now became E. by S. and then E. At three o'clock we came to the point where the Wady en-Nâr suddenly breaks down between high rocky ledges of a most picturesque appearance, above which the path follows it on the right, E. and S. At 3.15 we reached Deir Mâr Sâba, on the western brink of the Wady; which a little lower down again runs E. The clefts in the rocks below the convent were once the retreats of monks; and the Wady in this neighbourhood (but not elsewhere) takes the additional name of er-Râhib, i. e. Monks' Valley. The building is a large irregular pile, protected at the exposed points by a strong wall. The establishment is in a prosperous condition; and the accommodations offered to the traveller are superior to any other I have met with in the country. I ascended the highest Tell in the vicinity in half an hour from the convent; and took the bearings given below.[2] The view of the Frank Mountain was cut off by an intervening ridge.

"*Feb.* 11*th.* Left Mâr Sâba at 7.15, retracing the path of yesterday to the commencement of the rocky ledges, and then ascending Wady Bîr el-Kulab on a N. E. course. This Wady is so called from a well of that name not far above its mouth. We crossed the heads of some small Wadys running S. E. into el-Bŭkei'a, a large uneven depression or valley lying between these hills and those

[1] This is the Beit Sâhûr el-Muslimîn of the Lists, Bibl. Res. App. p. 122. The other Beit Sâhûr is on the map, S. E. of Bethlehem.—From Beit Sâhûr the Wely on the Mount of Olives bore N. 12½° E. Deir Ibn Öbeid S. 35° E. Jerusalem, el-Bâb Dâûd, N. 37½° W.

[2] From this Tell the convent bore S. 53°E. Jebel Kurn Sŭrtŭbeh N. 24°E. North end of the Dead Sea N. 80¼° E. Bîr ez-Za'feranèh S. 49½° W. Wely on Mount of Olives N. 35½° W.—[For Mâr Sâba see Pococke II. p. 34. Chateaubriand Itin. I. p. 447, Paris 1837.—Ed.

which skirt the Dead Sea; resembling in this respect the country further south. At 8.25 we saw Jebel Kurn Sŭrtŭbeh bearing N. N. E. Ten minutes later we descended Wady el-Ghŭrâbeh running east, and at 9.05 reached its mouth in el-Bŭkei'a. Our course was now E. N. E. along the side and across the head of this plain or valley. At 10 o'clock we entered from the plain the head of Wady Kuneitirah, narrow and winding, with the dry bed of a water-course, breaking down in half an hour into a deep channel on the left of the path.[1] Its general direction was E. N. E. At 10.45 we reached its mouth, which is wider, in the plain one hour from the north point of the Dead Sea, which here bore E. by S. The bed of the water-course continues across the plain to the sea.

"After visiting the Dead Sea and the Jordan, we encamped near Jericho, on the northwest. Ibrahim Pasha on his retreat from Damascus, near the close of 1840, having been attacked by the Arabs in crossing the Jordan, sent a detachment of his army and razed Jericho to the ground. It is now an uninhabited ruin.

"*Feb. 12th.* Leaving our place of encampment at 8.40, we reached the mouth of Wady el-Kelt, from which Jericho bears E. and began to ascend the southern mountain on a S. W. course. We came to the top at 9 o'clock, having the deep valley at a little distance on our right, with a small stream of water in it; and on our left a deep branch of the Wady Dabûs el-Âbed running S. and soon entering the main Wady of that name, which runs E. After fifteen minutes we crossed the head of this latter valley; and at 9.25 entered the small Wady el-Khân, and ascended it about W. reaching at 10.30 its head and the ruined Khâns, from which it takes its name, viz. Khân Hŭdhrûr, on a hill on the right with a trench cut around it in the rock; and Khân es-Sahil at the western base of the hill.[2]

"Descending on a S. W. course and crossing the heads of two small Wadys, we entered Wady Sidr at 11 o'clock (running S. E. from that point), and ascended it S. W. for ten minutes. Then, crossing an undulating tract, we entered at 11.30 the Wady el-

[1] This is the Pass Kuneitirah of the Bibl. Res. II. p. 269.

[2] From Khân Hŭdhrûr the Wely on the Mount of Olives bore S. 75° W.—[This Khân was seen by us from et-Taiyibeh, bearing S. 15° E. Bibl. Res. II. p. 122, n. 1.—Ed.

Hôdh; and ascending along its dry bed W. and S. W. we passed at 12.25 the fountain and ruined Khân of the same name. The Wady still ascends in the same direction, with the path above it on the right, till it terminates ten minutes before reaching Bethany; where we arrived at 12.45."

V. Excursion to Hebron, Carmel, and Sebbeh or Masada.

This excursion, made on horseback by Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping, is interesting and important. Besides fixing the sites of several ancient places by the way, the travellers were the first in modern times to visit Sebbeh, the ancient Masada, the celebrated fortress of Herod the Great, overhanging the Dead Sea; where occurred the horrid act of self-immolation, by which nearly a thousand persons perished voluntarily, rather than fall into the hands of their Roman conquerors.[1]

We saw the spot from 'Ain Jidy, and examined it carefully with our telescopes; and were able afterwards to identify it with Masada.[2] But we were unable to visit it; and it is therefore matter of gratification that our remarks gave occasion for the successful excursion, the result of which I am here permitted to lay before the public. The communication is addressed by Mr. Wolcott to the Rev. E. Smith. I give it mainly in the author's own words; remarking simply, that the reader will be able, for the most part, to trace the route upon our map.

Sebbeh, *Masada*, *March* 14*th*, 1842.

"My Dear Sir:

"I have reached in my wanderings a point of some interest to yourself; and therefore date you a few lines from it. I am writing beneath the ample tent which was so long the home of Dr. Robinson and yourself; and while you may be pleased to learn that it has been again 'pitched towards Sodom,' I regret that you are not with it, on an excursion which you would improve and enjoy so highly.[3]

"I am in company with Mr. Tipping, an English amateur-sketcher, whom you have met, and who, you are aware, is visiting

[1] Joseph. B. J. VII. 8. 2 sq. Bibl. Res. II. p. 240 sq.

[2] Bibl. Res. ib. pp. 239, 240.

[3] This tent, on our departure from Beirût in 1838, was transmitted to the Rev. Mr. Lanneau in Jerusalem, for the use of the mission. —Ed.

the country with a view to obtain illustrations for a new translation of Josephus. His object naturally drew him hither; and furnished me with a favourable opportunity of visiting a deeply interesting portion of Palestine. His sketches are strikingly faithful, and will be an invaluable acquisition to the forthcoming publication. It is an interesting fact, that they will equally illustrate the Biblical Researches,—a work to which he freely acknowledges his obligations as a guide to the most important subjects for his pencil, and among others to the one which we have now reached.

"As we were to travel much of the way on an unexplored route, I felt desirous of contributing what I could to the important object of your journeyings, the illustration of Sacred Geography. I have accordingly made some observations in those places which you did not visit. I was able to borrow in Jerusalem a valuable compass; and having a perfect instrument, I have taken our bearings with the minutest care.

"We applied for an escort to Sheikh Hamdan, the political head of the Ta'àmirah Arabs, who sent us his brother and your friend the Khatib with four men. We started about noon on the 7th inst. on horseback, and encamped the first night at the Pools of Solomon; examining on our way the remains of an ancient aqueduct lying in the fork of the roads to Jerusalem, near the Tomb of Rachel. The channel for the water was cut in the stones; and it was carried up the ascent. Over it a massive wall was built, the stones of which are ancient and bevelled. It is older than the present aqueduct, which is laid with earthen pipes, and carried around the hill. We did not trace its termination; but supposed that the two connected the same points; the modern structure here deviating from the course of the ancient. We examined, at the Pools, the 'Sealed Fountain,' so called; and observed that its principal stones corresponded with those of this ancient aqueduct. In the evening the Khatib came to our tent; and seemed not a little interested by my telling him that his name was in the book before me, and translating to him a passage or two. He has a distinct recollection of your party, and has frequently inquired after you.[1]

[1] The following bearings were taken from the hill-side a quarter of a mile from the Pools, which bore S. 71½° E. viz. Frank Mountain S. 63½° E. Convent of St. George, near, N. 19½° E. Convent in Bethlehem, N. 76° E.

Bereikût. "We went the next day (March 8th) to Ŭrtâs; and proceeding thence on a S. W. course through several small Wadys, and passing Kŭsr el-Benât, reached in three quarters of an hour the summit of a ridge commanding a wide prospect, with a ruined village at the opposite base, five minutes distant, to which we descended. Its name is Mersî'a. The foundation walls are standing, covering an area of two or three acres; and we noticed among them a millstone and a few cisterns. It is on a gentle eminence, with a plain or broad valley of the same name before it on the east, running from north to south, and seems to have been compactly built.

"Our course now became S. S. W. and passing Kŭl'at el-Fahmeh, we reached in twenty minutes a broad open valley running north. I asked the Khatîb its name, and he replied, 'Wady Bereikût.' Is not this '*the valley of Berachah unto this day?*'[1] The suggestion of the identity of the names in the Researches had attracted us this way;[2] but we were ignorant of the names of the vallies in the vicinity, and had not inquired for them. The identity was rendered more striking by the Sheikh's immediately adding, that it bore this name only opposite the village, and was called by a different one below where it turns S. E. viz. Wady Khanzîreh. The ruined town lies on its western side, on a small eminence, with a higher one on the south; and covers three or four acres. We counted ten cisterns, some of them very large, on which it seems to have depended for its water. It resembled the ruin we had just passed; but was larger. Near its southern extremity three or four of the foundation layers remained of a building, the form of which denoted that it was not probably a private dwelling. The stones were bevelled, and of a larger size than appears to have been usual in the country towns. But the chief attraction to me was the pleasant valley, memorable as the scene of triumph and praise.[3]

Kûfîn. "Proceeding from Bereikût W. S. W. and descending into the bed of the large Wady north of Kûfîn, in fifteen minutes we fell into the usual road from Bethlehem to Hebron.

[1] 2 Chron. xx. 26.
[2] Vol. II. p. 189.
[3] From Bereikût, Beit Fejjâr bore S. 18½° E. Beit Ummar S. 64½° W.

Kûfîn is the identical place described in the Researches as Abu Fîd.[1] The two names are on the map, as of separate places. But the name Abu Fîd is not in your Lists, and is an intruder; neither of our Sheikhs had ever heard of it.[2]

Râmet el-Khŭlîl. "It was a leading object with my companion to examine on the way the remarkable foundations in Râmet el-Khŭlîl.[3] But the Khatîb, to our surprise, had never heard the name. We consequently left our road too soon, and approached the spot from the east; which I did not afterwards regret, as it led us to notice the ruins of the village, which surrounds the structure, before reaching it. The structure itself was, of course, a complete puzzle to us; and the weather being unfavourable, we decided to visit the spot again. We observed a wall on the east end precisely like the two described; it can be traced for several feet, and is then concealed by rubbish, as is the whole of the north side. The depth of the well, in the southwest angle, we ascertained to be twenty feet; that of the water being five feet.

"We found the direction of the large walls to differ somewhat from your statement. Judging from the eye, we thought they faced the cardinal points as nearly as possible, (that is W. and S., instead of N. W. and S. W. as in the Researches,) and applying the compass, we found that the variation from due E. and N. lines was in each case less than 5°. I do not forget, that you made only a hurried examination while your animals were proceeding.[4] The Khatîb, on reaching the place, said that he was acquainted with it; but knew it only as er-Râm. [Mr. Whiting visited the spot at a later period, and his guides called it er-Râmeh.][5]

"We repaired to the spot again the next day, and remarked, on approaching it from Hebron by the main road to Bethlehem, that the extent of the ruins is even more evident from this quarter than from the other; but the immense walls in the foreground here natu-

[1] Vol. I. p. 320.

[2] Hence the name and village Kûfîn, as it now stands on the map, is to be struck out; and the name Kûfîn is to be inserted instead of Abu Fîd.—Ed.

[3] Described in Bibl. Res. I. pp. 317, 318.

[4] This is true; and it is also true that we made no observation by the compass.—Ed.

[5] Our guide from Dhoherîyeh added el-Khŭlîl (Hebron) to this latter name, making Râmet el-Khŭlîl, probably in order to distinguish it from some other er-Râmeh, perhaps the Râmet el-'Amleh which occurs farther on.—Ed.

rally absorb the chief attention. The ruins lie on the south slope of a hill, with valleys on all sides except the west. The whole area covered cannot be less than ten acres. The principal foundations lie N. and E. of the large walls, and several of the stones are bevelled. The surface is strewed with the Mosaic tesserae of ancient pavements. From the walls there is a gradual ascent for about a quarter of a mile to the summit, which is covered with foundations, among which we noticed several fragments of columns. This point commands a fine view of the Mediterranean, through a gap in the hills in the N. W. On the top is a large cistern, excavated in the rock. We found but two other excavations, both small, which could have been cisterns; showing that the main supply of water was from wells or fountains. Opposite the site is an ancient road S. to Hebron, which we took on our return; and another runs E. and W. at its foot. The former is on a ridge; E. of which is the small parallel Wady Besâtîn. The broad valley which runs E. and W. in front of the site, bears the same name, er-Râmeh.[1]

"We have here, undoubtedly, the site of an ancient Ramah; but this does not account for the immense foundations which lie there, forming certainly one of the most remarkable monuments in Palestine. Here are the solid walls of an enclosure, two hundred feet by one hundred and sixty, built with smooth hewn stones seventeen and fifteen feet in length and three in breadth, together with a circular well, ten or twelve feet in diameter, built with hewn stones. If the structure is incomplete, for what purpose was it intended when finished? Its position, facing the cardinal points, with a place as for a broad door-way in the west end, would suggest a church. But its form and general appearance were, in the judgment of my companion, fatal to such an hypothesis. Appearances are equally against the probability of its having been designed as a fortress; as it is commanded by an eminence. But there is no evidence that it was ever intended to carry it higher. The upper surface has been graded in a way which slightly indicates the reverse; and there are no remains around as of an unfinished building. The walls and the well, as they now exist, form a structure unique

[1] From the summit of er-Râm, N. 70° E. Beni Na'îm in full sight Hûlhûl bore N. 12° E. Shiyûkh S. 44° E.

indeed and anomalous; but not manifestly incomplete. This strengthens the supposition, that it was intended to be commemorative as a monument. But it is difficult to suppose it erected by the Jews in memory of Abraham, as suggested in the Researches;[1] since, to say nothing of its position, or of the counter testimony of Josephus in respect to the patriarch's residence, it bears no marks whatever of Jewish architecture. My companion's artistical knowledge was completely baffled; and we left the spot perplexed.

"I have remarked, that we returned to Hebron by an ancient road running south. After crossing the Wady, and ascending the gentle slope opposite, about a quarter of a mile south of the large walls, we passed a well on the left of our path, to which there was a descent by steps. I looked into it, and saw that it was an unusual structure, and that a light would be necessary to explore it thoroughly."

Such is the graphic account given by Mr. Wolcott of this interesting spot and its antiquities. In connexion with these traces of an extensive ancient site, now bearing the name of er-Râm and er-Râmeh, the idea was very naturally suggested to his mind, whether after all this might not have been the Ramah of the prophet Samuel? or, at least, the city where he judged Israel, and where he died and was buried.

The difficulties connected with the position of the Ramah of Samuel, are known to every one who has paid attention to the subject. His birth-place, Ramathaim-Zophim, or also Ramah, is said to have belonged to Mount Ephraim;[2] and when Saul afterwards, in seeking his father's asses, has passed through Mount Ephraim and the land of Benjamin, he comes to the land of Zuph, where he visits Samuel in Ramah, is anointed by him king of Israel, and then in returning to Gibeah passes by the tomb of Rachel near Bethlehem.[3] The main difficulty is, to find for Ramah a position, which shall in any sense belong to Mount Ephraim, and shall at the same time be such that a person proceeding from it to Gibeah would not unnaturally pass near to Rachel's tomb.

Monastic tradition has vibrated on this subject between a Ramah near to Lydda, and the lofty site now known as Neby Samwil

[1] Vol. I. p. 318.

[2] 1 Sam. i. 1. The same place here called Ramathaim-Zophim is elsewhere called also *Ramah*, ib. i. 19. ii. 11.

[3] 1 Sam. c. ix. x.

northwest of Jerusalem. The former is assigned by Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century, both as the city of Elkanah and Samuel, and the Arimathea of the New Testament. This last is not improbable; but, in respect to the former, such a position satisfies neither of the conditions above pointed out.[1] As to Neby Samwîl, it may be regarded as belonging to Mount Ephraim; but its situation is utterly inconsistent with the idea of Saul's passing by the sepulchre of Rachel on the way to Gibeah. The difficulties in respect to both these positions are fully considered in the Biblical Researches.[2]

As it is obvious from the narrative of Saul's wanderings, that the Ramah of Samuel was in the land of Zuph, and that this tract was on the south of the country of Benjamin, the writer of these lines was led to the idea, that possibly there may be a trace of the name Zuph (and so of Ramathaim-Zophim) in the modern Sôba, the name of a place southwest of Jerusalem near the southern border of Benjamin. It lies upon an extension of the mountains of Ephraim, which might there retain the same name; and a not very unnatural detour in going from thence to Jerusalem and Gibeah, would lead the traveller near the tomb of Rachel. Still, it must be admitted, that this would by no means be the direct way from Sôba to Gibeah; and for this reason, after having fully treated of the subject in the Researches, I have there expressed the conviction, that full reliance is not to be placed upon the general hypothesis.[3] I have not since become any more tenacious of that position; and should be happy to be relieved from its difficulties, by the suggestion of any other theory not involving still greater ones.

Such a suggestion Mr. Wolcott brings forward in respect to the present er-Râmeh near to Hebron, led to it by the identity of the name. His reasoning in support of this view is minute and somewhat desultory, writing as he was without the necessary literary helps; but the following abstract exhibits, I believe, all his points in their full strength. After remarking, that all former positions have

[1] Modern tradition refers the language of Eusebius and Jerome to the present Ramleh, a modern site. See Bibl. Res. III. p. 33 sq. 40 sq.

[2] Vol. II. p. 141 sq. Vol. III. p. 40 sq.

[3] Ibid. II. pp. 330 sq. 332.

been shown to be untenable, and that Sôba is at least doubtful; he adduces as probable evidence, in support of his own suggestion, the following particulars:

1. "The prophet defines the position of Rachel's sepulchre with a minuteness, which implies that it was not in sight nor in proximity to his residence. He would not naturally have told Saul so particularly, that it was 'in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah,' if they had not been at some distance from the border and the spot."[1]

2. "David on escaping from Saul 'came to Samuel to Ramah—and he and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth. And it was told Saul, saying, Behold David is at Naioth in Ramah.'[2] Now the most conspicuous village in sight of er-Râm, and the only one visible from the large foundations, is Beni Na'îm, which you visited, apparently four or five miles distant in the southeast. The coincidence of the names is indeed less obvious in the original than in the translations; but their identity seems to me probable; it being the direction in which they would naturally go from apprehension of Saul, and sufficiently near to justify the phrase 'Naioth in Ramah;' the large town giving its name to the district."

3. "I was forcibly struck with the statement of Procopius, that *Justinian caused a well and a wall to be constructed for St. Samuel in Palestine.*[3] I have not the means of ascertaining, whether the original restricts the account to any other spot. If it does not, then a clear light rests upon these large walls and upon this whole locality."

4. "The only passage which may be thought to have a counter bearing, is the very difficult one 1 Sam. i. 1, which represents Ramathaim-Zophim, Samuel's birth-place, as a city of Mount Ephraim. This passage involves the whole narrative under consideration in inextricable confusion and contradiction, except on the only admissible supposition, that the Ramathaim (Ramah) of the prophet's birth, and the Ramah of his residence and death, were two distinct places. The declaration is express, that Ramathaim-Zophim was 'of Mount Ephraim;'[4] while nothing is more

[1] 1 Sam. x. 2.
[2] Ib. xix. 18, 19.
[3] Procop. de Ædif. Justin. V. 9; referred to in the Biblical Researches, II. p. 142.
[4] Mr. Wolcott here goes on to cite

palpable, than that the narrative respecting Saul is quite irreconcilable with the supposition, that the prophet's residence was within the boundaries of Ephraim. But I do not suppose, that any positive testimony on this topic can be extracted, either from the Scriptures or from Josephus. The most that can be said is, that neither of them intimates that the prophet's place of residence was his birth-place; and both allow the contrary supposition."

Besides the preceding particulars, Mr. Wolcott sums up the argument as follows: "In favour of the place now suggested, we have the important considerations, that it presents the foundations of an ancient and extensive site; that the name is identical; and that it forcibly meets all the topographical exigencies of the question, a single passage excepted, of which the application is not clear."

In respect to all these particulars, the following remarks and objections present themselves:

1. The suggestion that the Ramah, where Saul visited Samuel, must have been at a distance from Rachel's tomb and the border of Benjamin, does not appear *per se* to favour a site near Hebron any more than it does Sôba. The mention of the border is connected with, and marks the place of, Rachel's tomb; not Ramah. The suggestion, therefore, (if well founded,) would strictly affect only a position in the immediate vicinity of the sepulchre; such as was assumed for a Ramah by Eusebius and Jerome, from a wrong exposition of Matt. ii. 18; and such as is pointed out by the monks at the present day.[1]

2. The comparison of *Naioth* with *Beni Na'îm* is without good ground. There are no points of resemblance, except the first letter, between the Hebrew *Naioth* (נָיוֹת) and the Arabic *Na'îm* (نعيم); the latter containing too the intractable letter *'Ain*, which is never inserted *de novo* in Hebrew words adopted into the Arabic.[2]

3. The citation from Procopius cannot refer to the large walls and well near Hebron. If so, it would follow, that in the time of

Josephus also, as saying explicitly: "Ramathaim, a city of the *tribe* of Ephraim." This is a misapprehension arising probably from consulting Josephus in a translation. The words of Josephus are: *Ἐλκάνης, Λευίτης ἀνὴρ, ... τῆς Ἐφραίμου κληρουχίας, Ῥαμαθὰν πόλιν κατοικῶν, Elkanah, a Levite..... of the tribe of Ephraim, dwelling in the city Ramatha.*

[1] See Onomast. art. *Ramale.* Bibl. Res. II. p. 331.

[2] See Bibl. Res. I. p. 137. n. 2.

Justinian, in the middle of the sixth century, there was here near Hebron a city called Ramah, generally known and acknowledged as the residence and burial-place of Samuel, to whom Justinian erected this public memorial. But against such a conclusion we have, first, the utter silence of all ancient writers and travellers as to any such city or any such tradition; viz. Antoninus Martyr, who visited the spot near the close of the same century; Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth and fifth centuries; the Bourdeaux pilgrim (Itin. Hieros.) in A. D. 333; and Adamnanus in the seventh century. And further, we have the express testimony of Eusebius and Jerome, that a Ramah near Lydda was in their day regarded as the city of Samuel;[1] while Adamnanus already alludes to Neby Samwîl as the reputed city of the prophet; to which likewise the language of Procopius is most probably to be referred.[2]

4. The hypothesis which makes the Ramah of the prophet's birth, and that of his residence and death, to have been different cities, and on which this whole theory depends, must be regarded, I think, as untenable. Besides the fact, that their identity has never been called in question by any ancient writer; and that neither the Scriptures nor Josephus afford any hint on which to found a doubt in this respect; there are also several items of positive evidence, which go to sustain the usual view, which regards them as one and the same city. *First.* The fact that Ramah was Samuel's home, that his house was there, that he was buried "in Ramah, even in his own city,"[3] goes far to show that the same Ramah was also his native city. Saul, though king of Israel, was always reckoned to Gibeah as his city. David was born in Bethlehem; and although he reigned seven years in Hebron, and more than thirty years in Jerusalem, yet Bethlehem was always regarded as his own city.[4] So too our Lord was always reckoned to Nazareth, the city of his parents, where he grew up from an infant; and not to Capernaum where he afterwards dwelt.[5] *Secondly.* Josephus says expressly and repeatedly of the Ramah where Samuel

[1] Onomast. art. *Armathem.* Jerome also relates that the emperor Arcadius had transferred the bones of Samuel to Thrace; adv. Vigilant. Opp. IV. ii. p. 283, ed. Mang. Reland Pal. p. 965.

[2] See Bib. Res. II. p. 142. III. p. 40.

[3] 1 Sam. c. ix. x. c. vii. 17, xxv. 1. xxviii. 3.

[4] Luke ii. 4.

[5] Matt. iv. 13. ix. 1.

lived and died, that it was his *paternal* or native city (πάτρις); just as the same term is used, in the New Testament, of Nazareth as the city of our Lord, where his parents dwelt.[1] *Thirdly.* The Ramah where Samuel resided was in the land of Zuph; and the place of his birth is called Ramathaim-Zophim, or Ramah of the Zophites, equivalent to Ramah in the land of Zuph.[2] The inference is direct and stringent, that the two were identical. Mr. Wolcott indeed remarks, that "the term *Zophim* does not seem necessarily to fix the spot in the land of Zuph;" because Elkanah, being a Levite, might be living on Mount Ephraim, within the limits of a different tribe from his ancestors, and the name *Zophim* be added to that of Ramah on account of him and his family as being descendants of Zuph. But this is hypothesis, and somewhat strained withal; and cannot weigh against the direct and natural conclusion, as above stated.

5. Saul, in seeking the asses of his father, passes first through Mount Ephraim, then through the land of Shalisha and the land of Shalim, afterwards through the land of Benjamin, and then at last comes to the land of Zuph.[3] Now the implication here is, that the land of Zuph lay adjacent to Benjamin; and that he passed out of one directly into the other. But if the land of Zuph lay near to Hebron, then he must first have passed through the land of Judah, at least to as great an extent as through Benjamin; and the minute detail of the sacred writer would hardly have left this without mention.

All these circumstances being taken into consideration, I am unable to yield assent to the theory which places the Ramah of Samuel at the spot suggested, near to Hebron.

But the question again recurs, to what place these traces of an extensive site, now bearing the name of Ramah, are to be referred? Granting that they all belong to one site, and are not the mingled remains of two or more former villages, (for we shall see farther on that the whole neighbourhood is strewed with similar vestiges,) they would seem to mark a place of such extent and importance, as to excite surprise how it should have been passed over in utter

[1] Jos. Ant. VI. 4. 6. ib. 13. 5 θάπτουσι δε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ῥαμαθᾷ. Matt. xiii. 54, 57. Mark vi. 1, 4.

[2] 1 Sam. i. 1. ix. 5 sq.

[3] 1 Sam. ix. 4, 5.

silence by writers, both of the earlier and middle ages. In the Scriptures, there is no trace of any Ramah in all this region, except "Ramah of the South," a city of the tribe of Simeon, which obviously lay south of Hebron, near the extremity of Palestine.[1] The crusaders speak of a Ramah, perhaps intended for the same, on the way from Bethlehem to Hebron.[2] According to Brocardus, it was three leagues from Bethlehem, and two before coming to Mamre; it lay upon a hill, from which could be seen all Arabia even to Mount Seir, all the places around the Dead Sea, and the coast of the Mediterranean from Yâfa to Gaza.[3] This description accords well enough with that of Râmet el-Khŭlîl, as above given; but not the distances. Yet, when we take into consideration the general looseness of specification in Eusebius and Jerome, and also in Brocardus and other early writers, in respect to distances, it seems after all not improbable, that the Ramah of the crusaders was at this spot.[4] In this way, we might at least account for the name er-Râmeh, as applied to it by the Arabs at the present day; and the probability is further strengthened by the fact, that this name is not now found elsewhere throughout the whole region.

All this, however, does not clear up the difficulty, as to the true appellation and character of the ancient site to which this name is now attached. Yet there are not wanting several items of more ancient testimony, which go far to show that this spot, now called er-Râmeh, is none other than that which in the early centuries of the Christian era was held, whether truly or falsely, to be the site of the terebinth of Mamre, [Engl. Vers. *Plain* of Mamre,] near Hebron, where Abraham long pitched his tent, and where he entertained the three angels sent to destroy Sodom.[5] The testimony of

[1] Josh. xix. 8. 1 Sam. xxx. 27.

[2] The crusaders were very loose in their Biblical Geography. They found Beer-sheba at Beit Jibrîn, some 20 miles distant from its true site; and would have no difficulty in finding in this neighbourhood an appropriate site for Ramah of the South. Bibl. Res. II. p. 361.

[3] Brocardus, c. ix. p. 185. Marinus Sanutus speaks of this Ramah, evidently on mere hearsay, as near Tekoa; de Secr. fid. p. 248. Adrichomius copies from him, p. 53.

[4] Eusebius and Jerome place Beth-zur at 20 Roman miles from Jerusalem, i. e. 2 R. M. from Hebron; the *Itin. Hieros.* puts it at 11 R. M. from Hebron; and the true distance now turns out to be 4 or 5 R. M. Brocardus gives the distance from Jerusalem to Bethlehem at 3 leagues; and from Bethlehem to Tekoa at 2 leagues; while in fact the latter distance is very considerably the greatest.

[5] Gen. xiii. 18. xviii. 1.

Eusebius and Jerome in the third century shows, that the spot was then pointed out near to Hebron; while from that of Josephus, of the *Itin. Hieros.* in the third century, of Sozomen in the fifth, and of Adamnanus in the seventh, it is clear that it lay not far from Hebron towards Jerusalem.[1] The *Itin. Hieros.* and Sozomen agree in placing it at the distance of *two* Roman miles from Hebron; Adamnanus gives it at *one* mile, though his description accords with the appearance of the present site; while Josephus says it was only six stadia distant from Hebron. As the place during those centuries was well known and much frequented; and as the specification of two miles agrees well with the actual distance from Hebron; there can be little doubt that the notice of Josephus was intended to refer to the same spot, and that his specification of six stadia was either matter of loose estimate on his part, after years of absence, or has crept in by an error on the part of his transcribers.[2]

Admitting, then, that this was the reputed place of Abraham's terebinth, we can account perhaps for the extensive foundations and vestiges of antiquity. Eusebius and Jerome relate, that the terebinth of Abraham was here remaining until their day; and the former asserts, that it was an object of worship to the Christians, as also to the Gentiles round about, who had set up here an idol and altars. To break up this idolatrous worship, Constantine gave orders to erect on the spot a Basilica or church; the oversight of which was entrusted to Eusebius himself.[3] In connexion with all this, it is likewise related, that this had long been the seat of a celebrated mart or fair, whither the people of the neighbouring country far and wide resorted to buy and sell; and that after the capture of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the Jews by Adrian, about A. D. 130, a great multitude of every age and sex had here been publicly sold as

[1] Euseb. et Hieron. Onomasticon, arts. *Arboch*, *Drys*. Joseph. B. J. IV. 9. 7. Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 599. Sozom. Hist. Ecc. II. 4. Adamnan. ex Arculf. II. 11.

[2] The statement of Adamnanus was written down from the relation of Arculfus, after his return, and is doubtless a mere estimate made on recollection. That of Josephus may have been the same, writing as he was long afterwards at Rome; or, if he wrote at first *sixteen* (ἑξκαίδεκα) stadia, which would agree with the other specifications, it would be easy for a transcriber to omit the latter part (δεκα), especially if the word were in any way contracted, as was usual.

[3] Onomast. l. c. Demonstr. Evang. c. 9. De vita Const. III. 53.

slaves.[1] These facts show conclusively, that not long after the time of Josephus, and for several subsequent centuries, this was a well known and greatly frequented spot; and if they do not necessarily *per se* involve the idea of a town of considerable extent, they nevertheless are sufficient to account for the vestiges of such a town, the existence of which is actually demonstrated by the present remains.

In respect to the immense walls, which constitute the most imposing feature of the place, my own mind was, and still is, in doubt between two hypotheses. In the Researches I have said, in reference to the Jewish tradition: "May we not perhaps suppose, that these massive walls are indeed the work of Jewish hands, erected here in ancient days around the spot where the founder of their race had dwelt? On such a supposition, the structure would have corresponded to that around his sepulchre in Hebron."[2] This is and can be only hypothesis, founded chiefly on the analogy of the structure in Hebron. On the other hand, there is a certain amount of positive testimony, which goes rather to refer these walls to the church erected by order of Constantine; and this view is further strengthened by the coincidence of the walls with the cardinal points, the large entrance from the west, and other traces of Roman architecture.[3] Adamnanus, in the seventh century, relates, that "a large church of stone had been founded here; in the right hand part of which, between two walls of the same immense Basilica, the oak of Mamre was still standing."[4] This would seem rather to imply, that at that time the walls were in much the same state as at present; and were generally referred to the church of Constantine. May it not have been the fact, that the church was indeed only *founded?* that the walls were raised above the ground, and the building afterwards

[1] Sozom. Hist. Ecc. II. 4. Hieron. Comm. in Jes. c. 31. Comm. in Zach. xi. 4. Chron. Paschal. A. D. 119, p. 253. See these authorities cited in full, Reland Palæst: p. 711–15. Comp, Bibl. Res. II, p. 7.

[2] Bibl. Res. I. p. 318. The Jews call it the House of Abraham; and this tradition goes back at least to the time of the crusades.

[3] Under date of Oct. 1st, 1842, and after having visited Ba'albek and other ruins in the north of Palestine, Mr. Wolcott writes me as follows: "After what I have now seen of the ruins in the north, I can feel little hesitation in pronouncing the remarkable structure in er-Râm to be *Roman*."

[4] Adamn. II. 11, "lapidea magna fundata est ecclesia; in cujus dextrali parte inter duos grandis ejusdem basilicae parietes quercus Mambre extat."

abandoned, perhaps, on the death of that emperor? Contemporary writers might still speak of it as the church erected by Constantine; and subsequent historians copied them. This view would account for the present appearance of the walls; and also, perhaps, for the absence of those tokens of ecclesiastical architecture, which led Mr. Tipping to doubt, whether the structure had ever been a church.

Ramble in the N. E. of Hebron. After completing his description of er-Râmeh, Mr. Wolcott gives an account of an interesting day's ramble in the same direction from Hebron.

"The next morning, (March 10th,) leaving my companion to complete his sketches of Hebron, I went out again in that direction. I was fortunate in securing as a guide Sheikh Khŭlîl of Sa'îr, a village between Hebron and Tekoa. He was a plain man, but was able to read and write; and his local knowledge of the country was extensive. Our path lay along the eastern brow of the valley, through which the Bethlehem road passes. On this was the ancient road, which we soon struck, and which, the Sheikh said, formerly connected Hebron, er-Râmeh, and Jerusalem. Passing the fountains Kushkaleh and Nimreh, from the former of which women were carrying water to the town, while the latter sends out a small stream to irrigate the vineyards, we came to the Bîr Ijda,—the singular well which has been already mentioned.[1]

"This well appears to be a subterranean excavation in the rock. The space between the water and the roof was now about six feet, and the depth of the water about four feet. The Sheikh offered to plunge in with my cord and ascertain its dimensions; but I did not think it necessary. I judged it to be not less than forty feet in length N. and S. and twenty feet broad, and the whole area was full of transparent living water. In the N. W. angle is a well-hole for drawing it out; but it has long since ceased to be needed.

"On the eastern side of this basin, an excavation has been made in the rock, twenty feet N. and S. by twelve in the other direction, and formed into a double passage-way running from E. to W. through which the well is now entered by a small door-way from

[1] See above, page 46.

the east. Over the passages at each end are two Roman arches of hewn stone; and the covering is completed by stones laid across on the top. The arches at their junction are supported by short columns, two feet in diameter, resting on square pedestals. There is a door-way only into the northern passage; and a light was necessary to examine the other, which is similar. On the western side of the basin, arches, somewhat smaller, are cut through the rock into the well; the water of which flows into the bottom of the passages. The height of the latter is eight or ten feet, with a slight descent to the water.

"From the well there is a gentle ascent on the west, with ruined foundations on the summit, which I next examined. They cover a considerable surface, and are apparently ancient. Connected with a ruined wine-press, was a cylinder of stone more than three feet in diameter. I noticed that the foundations extended beyond the well on the E. and were of the same general character; among them were a few bevelled stones. The name of this site is Râs Jâbreh. It commands a wide view of the Mediterranean on the S. W. But I was more struck with the nearer prospect of ancient villages in ruins. Half a mile distant, and about as far from Râmet el-Khŭlîl, was another er-Râm, or a suburb of the former, called Râmet el-'Amleh; these two, with Khŭrbet en-Nusâra and the spot where I stood, making four adjacent hills, crowned with the ruined habitations of a former generation.[1]

"In taking the bearings given in the note, I was gratified with an unexpected discovery. On our way to Hebron we had passed and examined edh-Dhirweh; and had also noticed on the hill S. W. the 'ruined tower, perhaps of the times of the crusades,'[2] of which the Khatîb did not know the name. It was now in sight; and on inquiring of the Sheikh, he replied, that it was *Beit Sûr;* adding, that it was the Sultân's castle and very old. The identity of the name leaves little room to doubt, that this is the site of the Beth-zur of the Scriptures, and the Bethsura of Josephus. The pointed arches of the present tower, however, as seen from

[1] Bearings from Râs Jâbreh: Beit Sûr, N. 1° E. Hŭlhûl, N. 16° E. Shiyûkh, N. 63° E. Yŭkîn, S. 35° E. Neby Nûh, near Dûra, S. 63½° W. Râmet el-'Amleh, N. 39½° W.

[2] Biblical Researches I. pp. 319, 320.

the road, show that it cannot be older than the days of the Saracens.[1]

"I had much reason to be pleased with my guide. On my reminding him that a Jew in Hebron had given me a different name for one object, he remarked that he did not know the Hebron names, which were perhaps correct; but he could tell me the name of every spot as known to all the Fellâhîn in the land,—which I told him was what I wanted.

"We now crossed the Wady er-Râmeh, which has a meadow-like appearance, and with the adjacent region is called Merj Lisfar. On reaching the large walls, I asked the Sheikh if they were the work of Christians? He replied: 'No, this is the work of Abraham;' a remark in which one recognizes the modern Jewish tradition.

"From the summit of er-Râmeh, he pointed me to a ruined castle of which he had told me, called Burj el-'Askar, in the valley or gap of the mountains in the N. W. already mentioned; which I think he said was large and built over a stream of water. It is at the northern base of a hill on which, according to him, are the ruins of Beit Kâhal; and on the opposite hill, north, is Usheh; while on a hill N. E. from the spot where we stood is Râs Towîl. These hills were half an hour or more distant; but no ruins were perceptible to the eye.[2]

"The detour which we made in reaching this place from Jerusalem, had taken us within sight of the ruins of Beit 'Ainûn; and as the Sheikh said they were the largest in the vicinity, we now proceeded thither on a N. E. course, and reached the spot in half an hour. We came along the ancient road; and a similar one from er-Râmeh to Hŭlhûl; and crossed two or three others, connecting points which the Sheikh named. They seem not to have been paved; but stones were laid along their sides; and the space be-

[1] Bibl. Res. l. c. This discovery of the name removes the last lingering doubt as to the position of Beth-zur. So strong were previously my own convictions on this point, that the ancient name was inserted on our map in connexion with edh-Dhirweh. It seems now to be applied by the Arabs to the tower; but the site of the ancient city and fortress would be very likely to include both the tower and the fountain.

[2] From er-Râmeh I took the following additional bearings: Râs Towîl N. 82° E. Râmet el-'Amleh S. 78° W. Burj el-'Askar N. 60° W. Usheh N. 41° W. Beit Sûr N. 6½° W.

tween was perhaps filled up. Within the first foundations which we reached in Beit 'Ainûn, were two small prostrate columns with their capitals; and near by were a fountain, now languid, and the walls of a large reservoir. The ruins lie mainly on the lower part of the southern slope of a hill or promontory, about half a mile long and half as broad. The site is evidently ancient; and many of the stones are bevelled.—The principal ruin is a building, which the Sheikh called a church; but which I could not make out. It is eighty-three feet long from N. to S. and seventy-two feet broad; but the ends of broken columns built into the walls, and other circumstances, show that this is not the original structure. The stones in these walls, both those which are bevelled and those which are hewn smooth, seem older than any that I afterwards saw in Kurmul, and are more disintegrated; but the columns are less so, and are smaller than those in that place. Some of the stones are of the same kind with the large foundations in er-Râmeh, and more worn.

"The ruins of the town lie on the gentle slope north of this edifice; and the ground is so covered, that one can tread on nothing else. The walls were solidly built; and their foundations remain, preserving the streets and the forms of the dwellings entire, so that one could still draw a very complete plan of the place. The largest stones I saw, were six feet long and three broad, and were bevelled. There were three or four cisterns in the upper part; but the main reliance must have been upon the fountain.—The name of this place suggests the Beth-anoth of Joshua.[1]

"From the summit of the hill a quarter of a mile north of the site, the Sheikh's village Sa'îr, and a small site of ruins called you Duweir, were visible. On the adjacent hills he pointed out to me further the sites of Râs Tûreh and Râs el-'Adeiseh; but no ruins were to be distinguished.[2]

"Across a small Wady below us, a short distance S. W. of Beit Ainûn, the Sheikh said, there was a site called Zeiteh. It was a rocky spot, overgrown with bushes, and I could see no trace of

[1] Josh. xv. 59. Both names have the *'Ain*; and Beth-anoth is mentioned in juxtaposition with Halhul and Beth-zur.—Ed.

[2] From this hill N. of Beit 'Ainûn the following bearings were taken: Abu Duweir N. 29° E. Râs Tûreh N. 45° E. Sa'îr N. 49° E. Râs Towîl S. 85° E. Râs el-'Adeiseh S. 31½° E. er-Râmeh S. 58½° W.

ruins. But on crossing over and entering the thicket, I found the ground covered with foundations, like those we had left.[1]

"Our course was now S. W. and in half an hour we reached the large and fruitful Wady Beni Salim, having a fountain of the same name on the west, twenty feet deep, with a descent to it; and ruins on the east. I visited the latter; which, though ancient, are not striking.

"It was now late in the afternoon, and we were tired and hungry; having taken a much longer circuit than I had purposed, and having eaten nothing since sunrise. The Sheikh had solaced the toil of climbing over rocks and ruins by incessant smoking; and I had forgotten it in the interest of the pursuit. I had heard of one other site in the vicinity; but it proved unimportant. Proceeding now W. we crossed the large valley through which the Bethlehem road passes, and Wady 'Ain Elkeneh beyond it. On the east side of the latter was the wall of an ancient aqueduct, which the Sheikh said formerly conveyed water from Khŭrbet en-Nusâra to the Haram in Hebron; and which I afterwards noticed nearer the town. On the western side is the site Sibtta, which we reached in an hour, with no marked foundations, but with some remains of tesselated pavement. There are a few ruined dwellings; and a shepherd and his family, including sheep and goats, were living in a subterranean part of one. The site is pleasant, the surrounding vallies being full of vineyards. The venerable Sindiân, or Abraham's oak, so called, is at the foot of the slope, five minutes S. E. and just west of it is 'Ain Sibtta, having the appearance of a well.[2]

"I reached our quarters, somewhat exhausted, an hour after sunset. The excursion much impressed me with the populousness of ancient Judea; and with the truth of the Psalmist's declaration: 'He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground; a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.'[3]

"In my rambles around Hebron I passed over Tell Beilûn on the north, and Tell er-Râs on the northeast of the town; neither

[1] From Zeiteh, Shiyûkh bore N. 56° E. Râs Towîl N. 70° E. Râs el-'Adeiseh S. 49° E. From Sibtta, er-Râmeh bore N. 55½° E. Yŭkîn S. 51° E. Neby Nûh S. 69½° W.

[2] See Bibl. Res. II. p. 443.—

[3] Ps. cvii. 33.

of which manifestly was ever its site.[1] Nor could I hear of any native tradition, which assigned it any other than its present position."[2]

Jews in Hebron. "We took up our lodgings in the Jewish quarter of the town, which is entered by a single door. Its inmates, thus screened from foreign observation, perform their daily religious services unmolested; and with more constancy than I have elsewhere beheld. I was once present at their morning prayers; and it was deeply touching to look upon these children of Abraham, and hear them chant the psalms of David, in such a spot."

Carmel. "Our arrangements had all been made, and we left Hebron the next morning, (March 11th,) at 9½ o'clock, accompanied by Sheikh Khŭlîl and another Sheikh from the town, both of them Jehâlîn Arabs, who remained with us until after we reached Sebbeh. We took the direct road to Kurmul; and in half an hour had on our right, a mile distant, the site ed-Dâr, marked by some olive trees. We crossed over Tell Zîf, and passing several unimportant sites, reached Kurmul about noon.[3]

"The observations made in this place, being principally architectural, belong to my companion. On examining the tower,[4] the stones of which you will remember are small, with a bevel of the faintest kind, we observed a Greek cross distinctly inscribed on the inner wall of the northern arch, and another on the outer south wall several feet from the ground; the stones thus marked having apparently been laid by accident in their present places. The stones appeared to be all of the same age; and we were soon satisfied that the whole structure was erected out of the ruins of another. We discovered, that the 'sloping bulwark' was built on four sides, and that it originally had no connexion with the present structure; for while the latter is little more than eighty feet by six-

[1] From Jebel Beilûn, due N. of the city: Beni Na'îm (?) bore S. 61½° E. Yŭkîn S. 44½° E.

[2] This puts an end to the old report, first found in Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, that ancient Hebron was situated upon the northern hill, Tell Beilûn; where Brocardus, a century later, speaks of large ruins. This legend has been extensively copied. See Bibl. Res II. p. 458.—Ed.

[3] From Tell Zîf, the site ed-Dâr bore N. 35° W.

[4] See Bibl. Res. II. p. 198.

ty, the former is one hundred and seventy-five feet by eighty-five, and includes the large columns which lie east of the tower.

"The columns in the church south of this are similar; and also those in the ruin east of it, which was likewise manifestly a church. The largest stone we saw, was in the latter, covered with sculptured Byzantine ornaments well preserved, with a Greek cross among them. It had probably been placed over the doorway. On a capital near by were four similar crosses. This church had a sloping bulwark on the west, evidently on account of the steepness of the ground. The large bulwark above mentioned, may likewise have been made to enlarge or strengthen the foundations of the building.

"We have here manifestly the sites of three churches; and my companion thought he could detect a difference in their ages. We observed also some tombs or excavations in the rock, the entrances of which are covered with round arches. These, with the churches, it would seem, are to be referred to the Byzantine Greeks. On a part of the foundations of the principal church, and out of its ruins, the Saracens or crusaders, probably the former, subsequently erected a castle with pointed arches. This theory explains every thing; and a person on the spot, I think, would hardly withhold his assent to it. We examined only those parts of the town which lie between these three sites. Its ruins are quite similar to those of the other places I had visited."

To Sebbeh. "Leaving Kurmul at 1½ o'clock, we reached in half an hour the site Tawânah, on the east side of the Tell of that name.[1] A few peasants were dwelling among the ruins. Proceeding E. we came in an hour more to the border of the 'hill-country of Judea,' on the north side of the deep Wady el-Fedhûl. Descending N. E. and passing the flocks of our Hebron Sheikh, from which our Arabs took care to secure a lamb, we came after two hours to the Bîr esh-Shŭrky, a broad well thirty feet deep, by the side of which we encamped for the night.[2]

"Soon after sunset a strange Arab was discovered in the neighbourhood; and lest he should prove a spy from some hostile band,

[1] See also Bibl. Res. II. p. 201. p. 476. n. 3.

[2] From a point five minutes E. S. E of the Bîr, the Frank Mountain bore N. 4° E. Tell es-Sŭfra, near, N. 46° E.

he was kept a prisoner through the night, and a strict watch set. We had deviated from our course at the desire of the Sheikh; who now sent to an encampment for one of his Bedawîn, who had been at Sebbeh, to act as a guide. I read here the sixty-third Psalm, marked as having been written 'in the wilderness of Judah.'

"On starting the next morning, (March 12th,) I noticed that the skin of the lamb on which our Arabs had feasted, was tied to the back of one of them, the wool inside to keep him warm, and the skin exposed to the sun to dry. Passing on the way a small collection of water, the Sheikh called for some; and one of his men putting his hands together and filling them, brought it to his master, who sat on his horse and drank out of this primitive cup. Sheikh Khŭlîl stooped down and offered to convey a draught to my own lips in the same way; which I civilly declined.

"We had started at 8 o'clock. Our course was S. E. and we were able to form a good idea of the nature of the country between the hills of Judea and the Dead Sea. There seemed to be three marked divisions, of about equal width. The hills are succeeded by an undulating country, at this season verdant, and forming the principal pasture-ground of the Bedawîn. Then comes a range of white, naked, conical hills, mostly barren. Next to these, bordering upon the sea, is a rugged, rocky strip, cut through by deep Wadys. These divisions sometimes run into each other; and in some parts of the great slope are not so marked; but in this section they were particularly observable.

"At 10¼ o'clock we reached the Wady Seyâl, at the line between the last two divisions, where it breaks down into a magnificent chasm. Ascending its southern bank, we came in three quarters of an hour to the brow of a hill, from which we had our first view of Sebbeh, bearing E. still two miles distant. Descending the steep declivity by a zigzag path, and crossing slopes of a burnt aspect, we reached about noon the western base of the rock of Sebbeh, where we are now encamped."

SEBBEH.

JERUSALEM, *March 21st*, 1842.

"The preceding notices, which are much longer than I intended, left me no time to write a description of Sebbeh on the spot; and

I now supply it from my notes. I may say in a word, that its identity with Masada is unquestionable; and that the interest of the site consists rather in its natural position and features than in its architectural remains.[1]

"The declivity which we descended, as mentioned above, introduced us to scenery of which the pass of 'Ain Jidy will give you a fair idea. Rocky precipices of a rich reddish-brown colour surrounded us; and before us, across a scorched and desolate tract, were the cliff of Sebbeh with its ruins, the adjacent heights with rugged defiles between, and the Dead Sea lying motionless in its bed beneath. The aspect of the whole was that of lonely and stern grandeur.

"The rock of Sebbeh is opposite to the peninsula of the sea; and is itself separated from the water by a shoal or sand-bank, two or three miles in width from north to south. This extends out on the northern side of the cliff, which projects beyond the mountain range. The mountains on the south are in a line with it, and of the same height; and it is separated from them by the deep and precipitous Wady Sinein. On the west a smaller Wady separates it from more moderate hills, above which it rises. Its isolation is thus complete.

"We encamped at the western base; and, after resting a little, made the ascent from the same side, and accomplished it without difficulty, using occasionally both hands and feet, and proceeding at the steepest point on an embankment which remains. This is the only spot where the rock can now be climbed; the pass on the east, described by Josephus, seems to have been swept away. The language of that historian respecting the loftiness of the site, is not very extravagant. It requires firm nerves to stand over its steepest sides and look directly down. The depth at these points cannot be less than a thousand feet, and we thought it more. The highest points of the rock are on the north and the southwest; the ground sloping in a gentle Wady towards the southeast corner. The whole area we estimated at three-quarters of a mile in length

[1] We saw Sebbeh only from 'Ain Jidy; and its very singular position led us afterwards to identify it with Masada. See Bibl. Res. II. p. 240. The main passage where Josephus describes Masada, is in Bell. Jud. VII. 8. 2 sq. Comp. also B. J. IV. 7. 2. Antiq. XIV. 11. 7. ib. 13. 9. ib. 14. 6.—Ed.

from N. to S. and a third of a mile in breadth. There are no traces of vegetation, except in the bottoms of some of the open cisterns.

"On approaching the rock from the west, the 'white promontory,' as Josephus appropriately calls it, is seen on this side near the northern end. This is the point where the siege was pressed and carried; and here we ascended. Both before and after the ascent, we observed the 'wall built round about the entire top of the hill by King Herod;' all the lower part of which remains. Its colour was the same dark red as the rock, though it is said to have been 'composed of white stone;' but on breaking the stone, it appeared that it was naturally whitish, and had been burnt brown by the sun.

"In the existing foundations we could trace only the general outlines of the structures which Josephus describes. The peculiar form of some, composed of long parallel rooms, indicated that they had been store-houses or barracks, rather than private dwellings. The architecture, both of the wall and of the buildings, was of one kind, consisting of rough stones quarried probably on the summit, laid loosely together, and the interstices filled in with small pieces of stone. It had the appearance of cobbled work. We thought, at first, it could hardly be the work of Herod; but there can be no doubt that it is so. The stone is of the most durable kind, and there are no traces of more ancient work; and these would be almost the only materials accessible in such a spot.

Near the head of the ascent is a modern ruin, consisting chiefly of a gateway of square hewn stones, with a pointed arch. We saw no other architecture which we thought of the same age. Near this is a small building with a circular recess in the eastern wall of its principal room. Forty or fifty feet below the northern summit, are the foundations of a round tower, to which we did not attempt to descend. Near by are windows cut in the rock, with their sides whitened, probably belonging to some large cistern now covered up. We found a cistern excavated in the southwest corner of the rock, with similar windows in its southern end at the top, and with a descent to a doorway in the top of its northern end, from which a flight of steps descends into the cistern itself. It is nearly fifty feet deep, a hundred long, and forty broad; and its walls are still

covered with a white cement which served us for an album. The other cisterns that we saw, were not large; and some of them were still covered over with small round arches. Fragments of pottery lay scattered on the surface of the rock.

"But the relic which perhaps interested us the most, was without the rock, on the ground below. Josephus says, that the Roman general 'built a wall quite around the entire fortress.' As we stood on the summit of the rock, we could trace every part of that wall, carried along the low ground, and, wherever it met a precipice, commencing again on the high summit above; thus making the entire circuit of the place. Connected with it, at intervals, were the walls of the Roman camps, built as described by Josephus in his chapter on the Roman armies and camps.[1] The principal camps were opposite the N. W. and S. E. corners; the former being the spot where Josephus places that of the Roman general. The outline of the works, as seen from the heights above, is as complete as if they had been but recently abandoned.

"We afterwards examined the wall in places, and found it six feet broad and built like the walls above, but more rudely. It had of course crumbled, and was probably never high. It brought the siege before us with an air of reality; and recalled to our minds, as we looked down upon it, the awful immolation which had taken place on the spot where we stood. It was also a stupendous illustration of the Roman perseverance that subdued the world, which could sit down so deliberately in such a desert, and commence a siege with such a work; and, I may add, which could scale such a fortress. We found among the rocks below a round stone, which had probably been hurled from a catapult. We launched, by way of diversion, some of the large stones from the original wall towards the Dead Sea; none of which reached the Roman lines, half a mile or more distant; though some of them stopped not far short, making the most stupendous bounds.

"I was desirous of making the circuit of the rock. The declivity which we had descended in reaching it, left us on an offset of the mountain, still several hundred feet above the sea. The Wady which runs on the west of the cliff, is on this elevation. But at the extremities of the rock, the ground suddenly breaks

[1] Joseph. B. J. III. c. 5.

down into deep fissures, and soon reaches the lower level. I followed the above Wady southwards; and found that the cleft which forms the southern boundary of the rock, was a perpendicular descent from it. The S. W. corner of the rock forms a kind of bastion, opposite to which the side of the Wady is shelving. Descending here carefully, I reached the bottom, walled in on three sides by rocky ramparts, their sombre craggy peaks frowning above, while torn and disjointed masses from them strewed the bed of the valley. I followed this chasm, descending steeply E. by N. and in an hour from leaving the tent had not reached the east side of the rock; when I was arrested by the shouts of our Arabs on the cliff behind me, calling and beckoning to me to return. The reason I soon discovered in the appearance of three wild Bedawîn with clubs, whom they had noticed, who accosted me with a demand for a *bakhshîsh ;* which however they showed no disposition to enforce. This of course put an end to farther observations in that quarter,—fortunately, perhaps, as in any event the circuit would have been longer and more fatiguing than I had contemplated.

"It was one of the most interesting circumstances connected with Sebbeh, that it commanded a complete view of the Dead Sea, which lay beneath us in its length and breadth. We spread your map before us; and were struck with its general accuracy; my companion remarking, that he considered it the greatest triumph of your work.[1] We noticed some slight variations in the south end of the peninsula and in the coast between Sebbeh and 'Ain

[1] This testimony is the more gratifying; inasmuch as our map is the first attempt to lay down the form of the Dead Sea with any thing like precision. The basis of the map was an outline sketched by me from recollection several months afterwards, and carefully filled out and corrected by our numerous bearings and distances.—Since the preceding part of this note was written I have received a letter from Mr. Wolcott, dated October 1, 1842, which contains the following passage: "In regard to your map of the Dead Sea, my companion inferred that you were accustomed to draw outlines. He went to the summit of the cliff over 'Ain Jidy, to get a view, and returned with the remark, that he had seen the original of your map; that you had sketched the sea exactly as it appeared from that point, or as it would appear to one who had not seen it from Sebbeh." It is but justice to remark, that we too had enjoyed another view of the whole sea from ez-Zuweirah, a point considerably farther south than Sebbeh; and had likewise travelled along the whole western coast north of 'Ain Jidy.—Ed.

Jidy, which could not be detected at the latter place. There are two bays, one quite small, in the south end of the peninsula; the bearing refers to the inner and larger one. The peninsula is too deeply shaded on the map. It appears to the eye as a flat sand-bank, in striking contrast with the bold mountains which tower above it. Though furrowed by the waters, it is still a plain.[1] Sebbeh, of which you had but a single longitudinal bearing, has been placed, you will perceive, too far south, relatively at least to the peninsula. It is in the rear of the sand-bank or shoal put down on the western coast; the middle of the rock being about opposite to the south end of the bay on the north of the peninsula. Of the two horns or points marked on that western sand-bank, the southernmost is formed by Wady Sinein, which bounds Sebbeh on the south; and the northern by Wady Seyâl, which my companion thought to be more than three miles N. of Sebbeh, though to my unpractised eye it seemed much less. The bearings taken are given in the note.[2]

We remained at Sebbeh until March 15th; our Arabs having been kept contented the last day by a feast upon a Beden, shot on the top of the rock. Our own supplies were getting low. We had been informed that there was water near; but could obtain it only from the collections which the recent rains had left in the hollows of the rocks; confirming the remark of Josephus, that water as well as food was brought hither to the Roman army from a distance."

RETURN TO JERUSALEM.

To 'Ain Jidy. "We left Sebbeh March 15th, at 7½ o'clock. Taking a circuitous path for an hour over the uneven offset above

[1] So it is represented in the text of the Biblical Researches, II. p. 233. But Irby and Mangles, who were upon it, describe it as having "steep sloping sides, terminating at the summit in sharp triangular points," and varying from ten to thirty feet in height. The shading was intended only to represent this; but was made much too strong, in spite of my representations.—Ed.

[2] Bearings from Sebbeh: North end (?) of the Dead Sea, N. 20° E. South end of the Dead Sea or S. E. point of Khashm Usdum, S. 2½° E. North end of Penins. N. 81° E. South end of do. S. 37½° E. South end of northern bay, S. 71½° E. North end of southern bay, S. 45½° E. 'Ain Jidy N. 17° E. Wady Môjib, mouth, N. 59½° E. Wady Shegîg (?) N. 69° E. The above were taken three hundred feet from the N. point of the rock. From this point, (my former position bearing S. 8½° E.) Wady Seyâl, where it leaves the mountain, bore N. 15° W. The same where it reaches the water, across the flat or sand-bank, bore N. 67°E.

mentioned, which is about two miles wide, and sprinkled with volcanic stones, we descended a second declivity as steep as the first, by a zigzag path, a little south of Wady Seyâl. We were half an hour making the descent; and at 9.15 reached the bed of the Wady at a point about a mile from the mountains and apparently about twice as far from the sea.[1] After stopping for half an hour, we proceeded, and at 11.45 reached the bed of Wady Khŭbarah, at a point farther from the mountain and much nearer the sea than before.[2] This Wady pushes out a point of the sand-bank into the sea, similar to Wady Seyâl and Sinein, but not so long as the former. North of Wady Khŭbarah the sea approaches the mountain, forming an indentation as given in the map; between which and the north bank of the Wady is Birket el-Khŭlîl, a large natural depression in the sand-bank. Our Arabs picked up small pieces of bitumen on the shore. I noticed a peculiar insect, (of which two or three were caught for me,) a species of large black grasshopper, feeding on a shrub by the water side. Soon after passing Birket el-Khŭlîl, we were annoyed for a short distance by a strong sulphurous smell from the water. We did not notice it elsewhere; but here it was offensive. At one o'clock we passed the mouth of Wady 'Areijeh, a mile or more from 'Ain Jidy; and reached this latter place in about six hours from Sebbeh. I have seldom heard a more grateful sound than the murmur of the fountain after so dreary a ride.[3] The "apples of Sodom" were now hanging dry on the tree; and in this state we brought some of them away.[4]

[1] From the bed of Wady Seyâl, Wady Môjib bore N. 65° E. Wady Shegîg N. 77° E. North point of Penins. S. 86° E. Sebbeh S. 15° W.

[2] From Wady Khŭbarah, Wady Môjib bore N. 77° E. North point of Penins. S. 57° E.

[3] Bearings from 'Ain Jidy: Wady Môjib S. 84° E. Wady Shegîg S. 59° E. North point of Penins. S. 34½° E. Sebbeh S. 17° W. Southeast point of Khashm Usdum S. 5° W. Wady 'Areijeh where it leaves the mountains, S. 47° W. The same where it reaches the sea, S. 25° E.—[These bearings differ from ours at 'Ain Jidy; but the author does not specify the point where they were taken. If from the fountain, as is perhaps probable, they would be nearly equivalent to ours, which were taken from the shore. Bibl. Res. II. p. 207, 213.—Ed.

[4] See Bibl. Res. II. p. 235 sq. Under date of July 5th, Mr. Wolcott writes to me: "I have reserved for you a cluster of the apples of Sodom, light as vanity; with a branch of the tree." His companion Mr. Tipping, afterwards visited Jerash, Busrah, etc. and saw trees of the apple of Sodom (el-ösher) two or three hours east of the Jordan in the plain.—Ed.

To the Frank Mountain. "The next morning (March 16th) we ascended the terrible pass. The descent which we had made further south, at two stages, we here recovered at one. Proceeding W. N. W. for an hour, we reached at noon, in the district el-Khŭsasah, the ruined Kŭsr el-Mŭkreh, overhanging on the east the capacious basin of the Ghâr. This was once a small fort; but the stones, which resemble those of Sebbeh, did not indicate its age. The high bank on which it stands is a prominent object as seen from the west. From the basin below, a small Wady ascends to Bereikût.[1]

"Continuing our course and passing among verdant slopes, encampments of the Jehâlîn and the Ta'âmirah, we entered the hill-country, and reached Tekû'a late in the afternoon, where we encamped.[2] We noticed, on the 'octagonal baptismal font' among the ruins here, Byzantine ornaments sculptured on two opposite sides, and corresponding Greek crosses on two others. At the southwest corner of the ruin, supposed to have been a castle, we saw columns and capitals, indicating rather a church; the form of which, however, we could not trace in the foundations.

"On the following morning (March 17th) we proceeded to the Frank Mountain; passing on our way 'Ain Hamdeh and a scarcely perceptible site, called Bedefelûeh. Having reached the summit of the mountain and examined its remains,[3] we noticed an ancient passage-way, twelve feet wide, running straight down the north-eastern side of the descent. The upper part was a little depressed, and the lower raised; and the rubbish remains in the latter. The ground below, on the north of it, is raised by terraces, built with stones like those on the summit. I had noted these points before observing their exact coincidence with the account given by Josephus of the fortress of Herodium; though 'the steps of polished stones, in number two hundred, which composed a straight ascent up,' are of course swept away. The ruins below are evidently Roman, and are more extensive than they appear from the summit; but the character of the buildings cannot be fully determined. Two vaults of hewn stone remain; and below a wall, three hundred

[1] Bearings from Kŭsr el-Mŭkreh: Kurmul S. 67° W. Yŭkîn N. 88½° W. ez-Za'feraneh N. 38½° W. Fr. Mountain N. 14½° W.

[2] See Biblical Researches, Vol. II. p. 182.

[3] Ibid. II. pp. 170—173.

feet in length, (in part perhaps a terrace,) are the foundations of a round tower. Among the ruins adjacent to the large reservoir, are bevelled stones and the small tesserae of Mosaic work. The present name of the site is Sto'bal.

Josephus. This burial-place of Herod was the last spot which we examined; and I cannot here take leave of Josephus, our travelling companion, without a testimony of my confidence in him as an historian. On some points, especially in respect to dimensions and distances, he has given only estimates, often imperfect and loose. But in the particulars in which I have had occasion to compare and prove him, I have been impressed with his general accuracy. And my surprise is, that under the circumstances in which he wrote, he should have produced so faithful a narrative.[1]

"We had some discussion, whether the description of Masada by Josephus was that of an eye-witness. Its general accuracy seemed to require such a supposition; but as the principal theatre of his own actions was in the north, my companion thought we had no right to send him south without more decisive testimony. I afterwards noticed, that in speaking of Lot's wife and the pillar of salt, he says that he had himself visited the monument.[2] This left no doubt on either of our minds, that he had seen Masada, and that his statements respecting it were founded in a great measure on personal observation.

"Returning through Beit Ta'mar to Bethlehem, we reached Jerusalem a little after noon, March 17th."

VI. From Jerusalem northwards to Beirut.

About a fortnight after his return from Sebbeh, Mr. Wolcott left the Holy City for Beirût. His route varied from ours in several important points, especially between Samaria and Nazareth, and from Safed to Sidon. The account of this journey is perhaps more exclusively and minutely topographical than most readers would desire; yet, besides the matters of interest everywhere interspersed, the information which it affords is highly important in

[1] See the similar remarks, Bibl. Res. I. p. 415.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. I. 11. 4.

itself, as affording materials for filling out the map of Palestine, and for correcting in several particulars that given in the Biblical Researches. The narrative is in his own words, addressed as before, to the Rev. E. Smith.

BEIRUT, *May* 13, 1842.

"On my route hither, it was a leading object with me to secure guides at the different stages, who were well acquainted with the country; and this I did at some extra trouble and expense. I took the same bearings with yourself only in two or three instances; and those probably not in the same position. A few only need explanation; which is given in the notes. I was much impressed, throughout the journey, with the accuracy of your bearings.

"In every instance, here as elsewhere, in which I could not procure the Arabic orthography of a name as written by intelligent natives, I have given it as doubtful.

"*April* 1*st*. Left Jerusalem at two P. M. on horseback, to return to Beirût; and passing Bîreh and Beitîn, reached 'Ain Yebrûd at 6.30. The situation of this place is fine, encompassed on every side by fertile vallies; but the surrounding hills cut off the prospect, except towards the west.[1]

"*April* 2*d*. Leaving 'Ain Yebrûd at 7.20, and crossing circuitously N. N. E. its northern valley, I reached in half an hour a ridge;[2] whence I saw the large foundations of a ruined fortress on a neighbouring hill, of which I could here learn no other name than el-Burj, but afterwards heard also the name el-Burj 'Azzil. Descending the deep valley along its eastern base, I passed the ruins in twenty minutes; and in ten more crossed the Wady el-Jîb running under its northern base, and ascending a branch of it reached, at 8.35, 'Ain Harâmîyeh in a narrow but pleasant valley. Connected with this fountain is a large ruined reservoir, built with stones rudely bevelled. This could never have been the site of a town; and I could only connect the work with the castle above mentioned, which was still in sight, bearing S. 33° W.

"At 9.05 the path left the deeper branch of the Wady here

[1] From 'Ain Yebrûd, Kefr 'Âna, a ruin, bore N. 28° E. Arnûtieh N. 86° W. Dûrah N. 84° W. Jufna (direction) N. 68° W. Bîr Zeit N. 64° W. 'Ain Sînia N. 28° W. 'Atâra N. 25° W.

[2] Here Yebrûd bore N. 51° W. 'Atâra N. 45° W. el-Burj N. 25° W.

coming down from the east; and ascending north I passed in ten minutes the small village et-Tell on the left, and reached at 9.30 the watershed in an open country. Descending now gradually, I soon came to Wady Sinjil, east of the village; and proceeded directly to Seilûn (Shiloh), which I reached at 10.15.[1] The adjacent vallies were now green, and the situation pleasant; and I have since observed in turning over Josephus, that he says the tabernacle was pitched in Shiloh 'because of the beauty of its situation.'[2] Passing up N. E. and N. through the valley in which are the excavated sepulchres and the fountain, I came in half an hour to a fine tract of table-land or ridge, on which lies the village Kŭriyût five minutes towards the west. The place is small, with no very definite traces of antiquity.[3]

"A leading inquiry with me on this route was for the site of Alexandrinum, one of Herod's celebrated fortresses; which, according to Josephus, was on a high hill and near Coreæ.[4] Assuming the identity of the latter with this village, I made a particular investigation in the vicinity; but ascertained nothing which corresponded with the account. I then asked the inhabitants, if there was no tradition among them of an ancient fortress built on a neighbouring hill. They at once named the ruins I had passed more than two hours before, which they called Burj 'Azzil, and said they knew of no more. As I could hear of no other remains, and was aware of no other ancient castle in this direction, it seems not improbable that this may prove to be Alexandrinum. The identity did not occur to me in passing, or I could easily have examined it. Some traces of that fortress would be likely to exist, as it appears to have been twice rebuilt.[5] The two sons of Herod, after their mock trial at Beirût, were taken to Sebŭstieh and strangled, and

[1] See the note of the same route, Bibl. Res. III. pp. 82, 83.—For Seilûn, see ibid. p. 85 sq.

[2] Jos. Ant. V. 1. 19.

[3] The identity of this place with the Coreæ (Κορέαι) of Josephus, is suggested Bibl. Res. III. p. 83. n. 3.—Here Sinjil bore S. 42° W. Abu el-'Auf S. 56° W. Sheikh Suleimân el-Fârsy, a commanding Wely, N. 21½° W. The direction of 'Akrabeh was said to be exactly N. E.

[4] Joseph. Antiq. XIV. 3. 4. ib. 5. 2. B. J. I. 6. 5.

[5] Joseph. Antiq. XIV. 6. 1. ib. 15. 4. B. J. I. 8. 2. ib. 16. 3.—The suggestion in the text seems not improbable; and the place is worthy of examination with reference to this very point.—Ed.

their bodies carried in the night to Alexandrinum.[1] We should naturally perhaps look for it further to the north.

"From Kŭriyût I set off at 12.05, curving N. E. across the deep Wady Khŭlîl running west below the place, and reached at 12.30 the opposite ridge.[2] Descending now N. W. at one o'clock I came to the deep bed of Wady Rûmeh running west below the village Telfît on the south; and in five minutes more reached the opposite summit.[3] Leaving the village Kŭbalân on the right after five minutes, and descending N. N. W. steeply, I entered at 1.30 the broad basin of Wady Yetma running S. W.[4] The course was now N. ascending and passing some small ruins on the left, and brought me at 1.50 to the watershed.[5] From this the route again descended N. W. and at 2.10 struck and followed N. and N. W. the bed of Wady esh-Sha'ar, until it entered el-Mŭkhna, the large plain adjacent to Nâbulus. I was opposite to Hawâra at 2.45; having passed Beita on the right and 'Ain Abûs on the left. At 3.15, opposite the white Wely Abu Isma'îl, my path was a quarter of a mile E. of the direct road from Sinjil. The two unite at the fountain in the valley of Nâbulus; mine entering the valley at its mouth along the bottom.

"*April 3d.* I ascended Mount Gerizim in company with several of the inhabitants, who were familiar with the country around, and gave me the names of all the villages in sight. I took my position near the S. E. corner, which commanded the view of the greatest number. On the N. E. corner, at some distance from the principal foundations, were the ruins of a fortress, which I did not examine, but which they said was once important. I took here many bearings, which are given in the note.

[1] Joseph. Antiq. XVI. 11. 7. B. J. I. 27. 6.

[2] From this ridge, Jâlûd bore S. 39° E. Kŭriyût S. 40° W. Telfît N. 50° W. Suleimân el-Fârsy N. 28° W.

[3] From this summit, Kŭbalân (five minutes below) bore N. 5° E. Telfît due S. Kŭriyût S. 2° W. Suleimân el-Fârsy N. 29° W.

[4] From Wady Yetma, Kŭbalân bore S. 39° E. Yâsûf N. 88° W. Yetma N. 85° W.—[Of this valley, Wady Yetma, we were unable to learn the name; see Bibl. Res. III. p. 91, 92.—Ed.

[5] From this point, Kŭriyût bore S. 7°¼ E. Suleimân el-Fârsy N. 33° W.

[6] Bearings from Mount Gerizim, S. E. corner: Sitty Salamîyeh, on the side of Mount Ebal, bore due N. (This is the Wely of a Muslim female saint, who is said to have come from Egypt, and now gives name to the mountain.) Summit

"I examined the three sources from which Nâbulus is supplied with water. The Nahr Kŭriyûn gushes out a copious stream in the upper part of the town, and is covered with a large dome, with a descent to the water by steps. The Râs el-'Ain issues from a gap in the mountain, about a hundred rods S. from the west end of the city; and the water is conveyed from it by an aqueduct. Below this, just within the city, is 'Ain el-'Asal. These are all distinct. I was assured that there is no well within the town, as stated by Buckingham.

"*April 4th.* Having secured a guide who was well acquainted with the country, I left Nâbulus at half-past six o'clock, proceeding down the valley. At 7.40 I reached the first gentle ascent towards Sebŭstieh,[1] and at 8.20 came to the eminence which commands a view of that place.[2] Half an hour more brought me to the site; and, after examining the remains, I ascended the summit west of the village, and from the highest point took the bearings given in the note.[3]

of Mount Ebal N. 6° E. Tûbâs N. 41° E. Burj el-Fâri'a N. 42° E. Jebel el-Beidân, with a ruined Mukâm, N. 53½° E. 'Azmût N. 58° E. Deir el-Hatab N. 72½° E. Sâlim N. 85° E. Beit Dejan S. 79½° E. Beit Fûrik S. 61° E. Raujib S. 54° E. 'Awerta S. 9° E. Kefr Kŭllîn (below) S. 5° E. Kŭbalân S. 1° E. Haudela S. 3° W. Yâsûf S. 21½° W. Kûzeh S. 22° W. Hawâra S. 24° W. (Beita, a large village, lies half an hour S. 65° E. from Hawâra, as I ascertained in passing between them.) Lubban (?) S. 27½° W. Suleimân el-Fârsy (Wely) S. 55° W. Jell Arba'în (Wely) N. 86° W. Kuryet Hajja N. 81° W. 'Arâk Sûr N. 75° W. Kûr N. 74½° W. Kuryet Jît N. 74° W. Beit Sîd N. 70° W. Sheikh 'Amâd, a Wely on the western ridge of Mount Ebal, N. 15½° W. At the opening of the valley of Nâbulus on the east, are two small villages, one on each side, not visible from my position, Belât on the S. and Askar on the N. the latter a little more E. than the former.—[This is doubtless the Askar of Scholz and Berggren, a name which we did not hear; see Bibl. Res. III. p. 103. n. 4.—Ed.

[1] From this point, Zawata bore N. 88° E. Beit Ûzin S. 18° E. Juneid S. 16° E. Beit Îba S. 5° W. Beit Sîd N. 70½° W.

[2] From this hill, Beit Ûzin bore S. 23° E. Juneid S. 22½° E. Beit Îba S. 17° E. Sŭrra S. 9½° W. Keisîn S. 33° W. Deir Sheraf S. 44° W. Kûr S. 79° W. Kefr Lebad N. 58° W. Râmîn N. 54° W.

[3] Bearings from Sebŭstieh: Burka N. 12° E. Ibâb, (a Wely above Burka, name doubtful,) N. 19° E. Beit Imrîn N. 61° E. Nâkûrah S. 36° E. Juneid S. 19½° E. Sŭrra S. 3° W. Deir Sheraf S. 7° W. Keisîn S. 15° W. Kuryet Jît S. 21° W. Kûr S. 68° W. Sefârîn S. 79° W. Kefr Lebad N. 72° W. Râmîn N. 67° W. These bearings, as compared with those in the Biblical Researches (III. p. 144, n. 3), require some explanation. Tûl Keram, of which it is intimated in Kiepert's Memoir (p. 49) that the name may have been applied to a wrong place, was not visible on the

"Setting off again at eleven o'clock, the road led by an amphitheatre sunk in the northern hill-side, with several columns standing in it. In half an hour I reached Burka;[1] and at 11.55 the summit of the ridge above, near a small Wely.[2] After proceeding N. E. for ten minutes, there was the brow of a broad valley with several villages in sight.[3] I passed Fendekûmieh at 12.15, leaving it a little on the right; and in fifteen minutes more reached the bottom of the Wady, running W. with Jeba' at some distance on the right. Here I left the more direct road on the right, and crossing two or three swells in the valley, came at one o'clock to the village 'Ajjeh, situated like er-Râmeh near it on a hill, and commanding a good view.[4]

"Hence a course N. E. and verging northward brought me at 1.30 to the direct road which I had left, and which from this point led N. N. W. to the village 'Arrabeh, not here in sight. Continuing my course, the country was now open, with round hills and broad vallies, both verdant. At 2.15 the course became N. by E. through a meadow-like tract, skirted by low hills; and half an hour later, from a gentle swell, there was a view of some vil-

route. The guide here said it lay some distance N. W. The village you saw was evidently Sefârîn. Neither was Beit Sîd in sight. I had on the way observed it disappear beyond a hill. The village you took for it appears to have been the Kûr of my guide; which too another guide had pointed out to me from Gerizim. Your bearing of Kuryet Jît is probably a typographical error, and yet, if your position commanded this place, it must also have commanded Keisîn; of which you here give no bearing. Juneid I saw, on the top of a hill; but Beit Iba, which is lower down, was cut off by an intervening ridge. I noted these variations on the spot.—[It is proper to say, that although our guide from Nâbulus to Sebûstieh proved to be ignorant of the country, yet the villages in sight from Sebûstieh were pointed out and named to us by an intelligent inhabitant of the village, and were noted down with care according to the information he gave. —Ed.

[1] From Burka, Kuryet Jît bore S. 19° W. Sefârîn S. 59° W.

[2] From this ridge, (the Wely Ibâb five minutes distant bearing N. 63° E.) Sebûstieh bore due S. Keisîn S. 15° W. 'Atâra N. 54° W. er-Râmeh N. 20½° W.

[3] From this brow, 'Ajjeh bore N. 4½° E. 'Anaza N. 25° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 32½° E. Sîlet ed-Dahr (below) N. 67° W. 'Atâra N. 63° W. Kefr Râ'y N. 25° W. er-Râmeh N. 24° W.—Fahmeh was visible, but I did not notice it at the time. Kefr Râ'y is probably the "Caphar Arab" of Maundrell; and Sîleh his "Selee;" Maundr. March 23, 24.

[4] Bearings from 'Ajjeh: Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 34° E. 'Anaza S. 78° E. Jeba' S. 26° E. Fendekûmieh S. 4½° E. Ibâb (Wely) S. 2° W. Sîlet ed-Dahr (direction) S. 16° W. 'Atâra S. 45° W. er-Râmeh S. 76° W. Kefr Râ'y (direction) N. 55° W. Fahmeh N. 24½° W.

lages among them on its border.[1] In ten minutes more I passed the village Kŭbâtîyeh, with its large olive-grove at some distance on the right in a valley, on the east of the plain. My course gradually becoming E. N. E. brought me at four o'clock to the village Bŭrkîn at the extremity of the plain, in an olive plantation, with a valley on the north. From it I saw Kefr Kûd, about half an hour distant, in a valley in the opposite hills.[2]

"*April 5th.* Leaving Bŭrkîn at half past six o'clock and crossing the valley, I proceeded N. and N. W. along Wady Rŭstŭk until 7.05; when it turned N. E. into the great plain, having the village Kefr Adân on its right bank. I ascended the other bank, N. W. and at 7.15, from a hill five minutes on the left of the road, had an extensive view.[3] Continuing N. down a small Wady, I passed in ten minutes Yâmôn, in a small valley five minutes on the left; and proceeding N. N. E. reached at eight o'clock the border of the Plain of Esdraelon, with several of its villages in sight.[4] My course now lay N. N. W. along the western side of the plain; and passing through the fine olive-grove of Sîleh, a compact village on the left, with a large Dâr, I arrived at 8.50 at the village of Ta'annuk, the ancient Taanach. This lies five minutes west of the road, on the south side of a small hill, with a summit of table-land. It is now a mean hamlet. There is a Wely here, evidently ancient, with sculptured door-stones, and the capital of a column lying on its floor.[5]

[1] From this point Jebel esh-Sheikh bore N. 34° E. Ibâb (Wely) S. 20½° W. 'Arrabeh S. 67° W. Yâ'bud N. 56° W. Kufeireh N. 39° W.

[2] From Bŭrkîn, Jebel esh-Sheikh bore N. 28° E. Wezar N. 56° E. 'Arâneh N. 59° E. 'Arrabeh S 49° W. Kefr Kûd N. 84° W.

[3] From this hill, Jebel esh-Sheikh bore N. 35° E. Jebel ed-Dŭhy N. 39° E. Zer'în N. 49° E. Mukeibileh N. 57° E. Wezar N. 70° E. 'Arâneh N. 81° E. Kefr Adân, near, S. 89° E. el-Bârid S. 61½° W. el-Mŭrlif'a, a ruin, N. 37½° W. Sîleh N. 16° W. Ezbûba N. 6° W.

[4] From this point on the border of the plain, Jebel esh-Sheikh bore N. 35½° E. Jebel ed-Dŭhy N. 43½° E. Zer'în N. 58° E. Wezar N. 81° E. el-Bârid S. 33° W. Yâmôn S. 35° W. Sîleh N. 52° W. Ta'annuk N. 36° W. Ezbûba N. 11° W.

[5] Bearings from Ta'annuk: Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 37° E. Jebel el-Tûr (Tabor) N. 47° E. Jebel ed-Dŭhy N. 54½° E. Zer'în N. 74° E. Kûmieh N. 79½° E. Wezar S. 87° E. Mukeibileh S. 79° E. 'Arâneh S. 76° E. Jenîn S. 44° E.—From the summit, five minutes N. N. W. of the above point, Ezbûba bore N. 16° E. Sîleh S. 22° E. Sâlim N. 33° W. The direction of Um el-Fahm was pointed out; but it was not in sight.—See Bibl. Res. III. p. 156.

"Continuing hence on a like course, at 9.15 the small village Ezbûba lay half an hour on the right; and in ten minutes more the village Sâlim, with its olive groves and mosk as far on the left. I was surprised not to find this place among your bearings, and saw that it corresponds to your description of el-Lejjûn as seen at a distance.[1] But it did not occur to me until arriving at the latter place, that your guide had probably confounded the two places and misled you.[2] At 9.40 the small village Zelafa lay half an hour on the left, in the small Wady Sît, with running water not perennial. At half past ten o'clock I came to the Nahr Lejjûn, a stream now five or six feet wide, which feeds three or four mills. Looking up the valley on the left, I saw the large ruined Khân ten minutes distant, lying alone, without a tree or the appearance of a habitation around it.

"Here on the bank of the rivulet I paused, recollecting that the spot, now so solitary and silent, was an ancient and memorable battle field. The discomfiture of Sisera, commemorated in the Song of Deborah and Barak, occurred 'in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.' And it was here, 'in the valley of Megiddo,' that the hopes of Judah were prostrated by the defeat and death of king Josiah.[3]

"Ascending the brook, which soon bends N. W. having the Khân on its south side, I discovered unexpectedly on a small eminence on the opposite side, north of the Khân, the remains of the ancient Legio. Among the rubbish are the foundations of two or three buildings, with limestone columns mostly worn away; and of another with polished granite columns still remaining, of which I counted eight or ten, and others of limestone among them. The finest structure appears to have been in the S. W. corner of the ruins, by the side of the brook. Among its foundations are two marble columns with Corinthian capitals; and several of granite. A gateway with a pointed arch is yet standing,—a portion of some

[1] Bibl. Res. III. p. 178.

[2] Yet our guide across the plain of Esdraelon was an old inhabitant of Jenîn; while also at Zer'în, Sôlam, and Nazareth, el-Lejjûn with the other villages was pointed out to us, at the two former places by some of the principal inhabitants, and at the latter by our intelligent friend Abu Nâsir.—Ed.

[3] For the proofs of the identity of el-Lejjûn (Legio) with the ancient Megiddo, see Bibl. Res. III. pp. 177–180.—Ed.

modern building constructed out of the ruins of the old, with the various columns indiscriminately mingled. A small bridge is thrown over the stream, which I crossed and examined the ruined Khân. It is Saracenic, and consists of a large quadrangle with an open court; each of the sides resting on six or eight arches. On the side over the entrance is a tower, ascended by steps within, and now about forty feet high; from the top of which I took my bearings.[1]

"Setting off again from el-Lejjûn at a quarter past twelve o'clock, on a course N. N. E. in half an hour I came to the small fountain, 'Ain Erûz, in the path; and crossing the great plain N. E. had the small village Tell Thûreh in sight on the left. At half past one o'clock my path separated from the direct road to Nazareth, leaving it on the right; and brought me at 1.55 to the Nahr el-Mukŭtta', which I crossed in three feet of water. The people in Bŭrkîn had expressed doubts, whether I should be able to proceed by the way of el-Lejjûn, on account of the depth of the streams that I should have to ford; showing that they overflow during the rains. My course was now about N. and passing an Arab encampment, I left at 2.30 the direct road to Ukhneifis on the right, and came at three o'clock to Jebâta.[2] This is a small but apparently ancient village, lying on a mound detached from the hill country, and forming a fine swell in the plain.[3] I now crossed the broad and gentle Wady between it and Ukhneifis, another ancient site in ruins, connected with the hill-country by a ridge.[4] Hence I proceeded to Yâfa, passing on my way el-Mujeidil; opposite to which, across a valley, are the ruins of Malûl, and among them those of a building said by my guide to be a church.[5]

[1] From Khân el-Lejjûn, Jebel et-Tûr (Tabor) bore N. 63° E. Jebel ed-Dŭhy N. 78½° E. Zer'în S. 77° E. Nûris S. 70° E. Wezar S. 67° E. Sâlim S. 22° E. Zelafa S. 7° E.—[This Khân is one of the many built along the great caravan road between Damascus and Egypt, now mostly in ruins. See Bibl. Res. III. p. 362, 363.—Ed.

[2] The ancient *Gabatha* of Eusebius and Jerome; Bibl. Res. III. p. 201. From the bearings which follow, it will be seen that it is placed much too far E. on our map; although copied from Jacotin.—Ed.

[3] From Jebâta, Jebel ed-Dŭhy bore S. 57° E. Ukhneifis S. 31° E. Iskander (Wely) S. 22° W. Tell Thûreh S. 70° W. 'Asîfia N. 63° W.

[4] From Ukhneifis, Jebel ed-Dŭhy bore S. 60½° E. Fûleh S. 44½° E. 'Afûleh S. 38° E. Nûris S. 36° E. Zer'în S. 33° E. Jenîn S. 11° E. Iskander (Wely) S. 26½° W. Tell Thûreh S. 87½° W. 'Asîfia N. 58° W.

[5] From el-Mujeidil, Malûl bore N. 5° W. Ten minutes previously, Malûl bore N. 1° E. Ukhneifis S. 52° W. Jebâta N. 87° W.

"The present village of Yâfa lies a little N. E. of the summit of the hill; which is naturally a strong position. It is unquestionably the Japha of Josephus.[1] It is said by him to have been protected by a double wall; and the foundations of those, or certainly of one of them, now forming a terrace-wall, remain and are visible from a distance. There is a Wely on the hill, from which I had one of my finest views of the great Plain.[2]

"My hopes were now strongly excited of finding Jotapata, a large and strongly fortified city, which, according to Josephus, lay not far from Japha.[3] There is no spot mentioned by that author, which it seems more an object to identify. It was in this place that he made his last stand as the leader of his countrymen, and was taken prisoner by Vespasian. He describes its position with singular minuteness,—surrounded by higher mountains, and immediately by deep precipitous vallies on all but its northern side, which was protected by a strong wall. It was here that the siege was pushed; the details of which and of the capture are also given. Forty thousand of the Jews are said to have perished in the storm. The Roman army encamped on a small hill on the north; and reached the spot by a forced day's march from Gadara, having previously opened a road through the mountains. Josephus had entered the place in the preceding night from Tiberias. Its features are so marked, that it doubtless could be easily recognized. But it appears wholly to have escaped modern observation. I had not time to spend a day in search of it; but made it a constant object of inquiry on the road, and visited at some inconvenience every spot of which I heard any description that corresponded; yet without lighting upon the slightest trace of it. I regard it as one of the most interesting sites, not mentioned in the Scriptures, yet to be recovered in Palestine.

"I spent the night in Nazareth, at the house of Abu Nâsir. His youngest daughter, mentioned in the Researches, is now

[1] See Bibl. Res. III. p. 200.

[2] Bearings from the Wely: Yâfa, five minutes distant, N. E. Jebel et-Tûr S. 83° E. Nein S. 55° E. Endûr S. 41½° E. Jebel ed-Dŭhy S. 36° E. Ñûris S. 19° E. Wezar S. 17½° E. Zer'în S. 12½° E. Fûleh S. 12° E. 'Afûleh S. 2° E. Jenîn S. 1° W. Sîleh S. 19° W. Ta'annak S. 22½° W. Um el-Fahm S. 38° W.

[3] Joseph. B. J. III. c. 7, 8. Especially ib. III. 7. 7, 31.

the teacher of a small school; an interesting anomaly in Palestine.[1]

"*April 6th.* From Nazareth I ascended Mount Tabor. On my course afterwards from Khân et-Tujjâr, Kefr Sabt lay at a little distance on the right, and Lûbieh further on the left. I passed two wells, with a few foundations, perhaps of a Khân, near; and half an hour later had Khŭrbet Bessûm at some distance on the right. In another half hour I came in sight of Tiberias; and descending the declivity reached the town at five o'clock.

"*April 7th.* I left Tiberias at half past six o'clock, proceeding along the lake, and at 7.40 passed el-Mejdel. The tract Ghuweir beyond is so palpably the Gennesareth of Josephus, that I could not avoid the impression, that the copious stream which issues upon its centre from Wady er-Rŭbŭdîyeh was the fountain Capharnaum of his narrative. This is the main source of irrigation to the plain or meadow, as that evidently was; and from its size would be more likely than any other to contain fish, and be regarded as the vein of a river. I made many inquiries here for an ancient site, and heard uniformly of but one, Khŭrbet Rŭbŭdîyeh, which I was told lay in the Wady near the fountain head, an hour from Abu Shûsheh. I had not time to visit it; and we should not look for Capernaum at such a distance from the shore.[2]

"At 8.20, I entered and ascended Wady el-'Amûd on a course W. There was now water running in it. Leaving the main branch soon on the right I kept on N. W. and at nine o'clock bore N. passing in ten minutes the small village Yâkûk lying five minutes distant on the left. This name I find in your Lists, and its identity with the Hukkok of Naphtali suggested, which seems very probable. Hence the way led E. and N. E. crossing at 9.30 a deep Wady and then continuing N. At ten o'clock I crossed another Wady, with the Kŭl'at Shûny on an eminence at the right, on its south

[1] See the account of the schools founded by Abu Nâsir, and of this daughter, Bibl. Res. III. pp. 192, 193.

[2] Josephus speaks of a *fountain* Capharnaum, and not of a stream flowing across the plain. Two very large fountains exist in the plain itself; one, the Round Fountain in the S. W. part; and another, 'Ain et-Tîn in the N. E. corner; Bibl. Res. III. pp. 283, 287. I have there given my reasons for supposing, that the latter is the fountain intended by Josephus; and that the adjacent traces of ruins mark the site of the ancient Capernaum; ibid. pp. 288–294.—Ed.

bank. Soon afterwards the road passed for a time along the west bank of Wady Khâb, which receives the two last named, and had running water in its bed. I reached Safed at twelve o'clock.[1]

"Setting off again at two o'clock and winding down into the western valley, after fifteen minutes 'Ain ez-Zeitûn and Bîria were on my right, in small parallel Wadys.[2] At 3.10, the road passed under Kadîta on the left, in the fork of the Wady which runs west of Safed; and at 3½ o'clock I came to Birket el-Jish, the extinct crater of a volcano, now filled with water.[3] As I went on, Râs el-Ahmar and Teitebeh were in sight on the right; at four o'clock I passed under el-Jish on the left; and at 5.25 reached the border of Belâd Beshârah, the village Fârah lying at some distance on the right.[4] Twenty minutes later I passed the sarcophagus and remains near Yârôn, said to be those of a convent; and at seven o'clock arrived at Bint Jebeil, where I lodged in the Medâfeh of the Sheikh. From a hill twenty minutes distant, I had my first view of Kŭl'at esh-Shŭkîf. This was near to the small village of Mârôn.[5]

"*April 8th.* Setting off from Bint Jebeil at seven o'clock on a course N. the way led me in fifteen minutes across a small hill with the village 'Arnata lying at its eastern base, fifteen minutes on the right. Half an hour more brought me to the Wady Kûnîn running E. and having the village of the same name on its southern side, also fifteen minutes on the right. At eight o'clock there was a

[1] From the castle of Safed, Jebel et-T'ûr bore S. 23½° W. Semû'y S. 80° W. Meirôn N. 68° W. Sa'sa' N. 48° W. Tell el-Jish N. 29½° W. Kadîta was in sight, but I did not at the time observe it.

[2] 'Ain ez-Zeitûn was five minutes distant N. 40° E. and Bîria about as far beyond in a similar Wady or depression.

[3] From Birket el-Jish, Râs el-Ahmar bore N. 15½° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 36° E. Teitebeh N. 84° E. Jebel Haurân S. 85° E. Kadîta S. 47° E. Castle of Safed S. 38° E. Sa'sa' N. 74° W. Tell el-Jish N. 41° W.—See the account of this crater, Bibl. Res. III. p. 367.

[4] From this point, Jebel Haurân bore 68° E. Râs el-Ahmar S. 48½° E. Tell el-Jish S. 15° E. Yârôn N. 68° W.

[5] From this hill, Bint Jebeil bearing N. 33° W. twenty minutes distant, the Kŭl'at esh-Shŭkîf bore N. 25° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh, north summit, N. 54° E. Jebel Haurân S. 62° E. Râs el-Ahmar S. 11° E. Mârôn ten minutes distant S. 28° W. Beit Tahûn N. 15½° W. Tibnîn N. 11½ W. A village, name unknown, bore S. 19° E. and another N. 75½ W.—[It hence appears that the Mârôn laid down on our map over against Yârôn, is probably an error. If so, a wrong name was doubtless given to us in passing.—Ed.

ridge, with Beit Tahûn ten minutes on the left.[1] The way now descended and followed Wady Tibnîn, somewhat winding; and bearing more N. N. E. at 8.45, I passed Tibnîn and the castle, lying half an hour on the left.[2] At nine o'clock my course became again N. and in five minutes I passed below the ruins of Safed el-Butî'a on the right. At 9.15 Wady Tibnîn turned W. and I entered the head of Wady Hajeir and followed its bed for nearly four hours, seeing but little of the surrounding country. At 9.55 the course being then N. N. W. the village Suweiny was seen through a gap bearing N. N. E. and in ten minutes more the village Khŭrbet Sâlim was on the high bank on the left. At 10.15 the course was again N. but winding and verging E. and at 11.30 I came to some fountains forming a stream, which lower down turns several mills. At length at one o'clock I reached the mouth of Wady Hajeir in the Nahr Lîtâny, near the Jisr Kâkâîyeh, which I crossed.

"The village Kâkâîyeh lies on the hill-side north of the bridge; and Yârûn on a ridge at some distance west. I now reached by a circuitous path, at 2.10, a summit twenty minutes beyond Kâkâîyeh, from which I had a wide view.[3] The road now descended gradually N. W. and at 2.25 the compact village Atshîth lay half an hour on the right; and in ten minutes more el-Kusaibeh a quarter of an hour on the left. At 3.05, from a ridge five minutes from Bereik'a, many villages were in sight.[4] I reached at $3\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock the bed of the large Wady Zerarîeh with a brook flowing W. and in half an hour more a summit, with Kŭl'at Meis lying fifteen minutes on the left. This is a large pile, covering an eminence; and the foundations of its northern side appeared at this distance to have been the original rock hewn to a square face.

[1] From this point, Safed el-Butî'a (ruin) bore N. 10° E. Kŭl'at esh-Shŭkîf N. $33\frac{1}{2}$° E. Jebel Haurân S. $55\frac{1}{2}$° E. Beit Tahûn, near, S. 81° W. Tibnîn N. 17° W.

[2] The castle of Tibnîn is the Toron of the crusaders, a celebrated fortress. See Bibl. Res. III. p. 377 sq.—Ed.

[3] From this summit, Kâkâîyeh (near) bore S. 60° E. Hûnîn S. 54° E. Suweiny S. 38° E. Jisr Kâkâîyeh S. 35° E. Belîda S. 31° E. Yârûn S. 12° E. Zerarîeh N. 85° W. el-Kusaibeh N. 60° W. Bereik'a N. 53° W.

[4] From this point, Bereik'a (near) bearing N. 84° E. Dûweir bore N. $34\frac{1}{2}$° E. Shŭrkîyeh N. $39\frac{1}{2}$° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh N. 85° E. Hûnîn S. 54° E. el-Kusaibeh S. 49° E. Kefr Sîr S. 43° W. Hallûsîeh (?) S. 58° W. Zerarîeh N. 83° W. Kŭl'at Meis N. 53° W. Nasâr N. 26° W. Shilb'âl N. 9° W.

"Passing now over rocky slopes, I came at 4.45 to the village Nasâr on a high elevation. This is the residence of a family of Metâwileh Sheikhs; and from its position commands an extensive prospect. The whole of Belâd esh-Shŭkîf lay spread out like a map around; and a large part of Belâd Beshârah was also in sight. The snowy sides of Jebel esh-Sheikh and Jebel Sŭnnîn were bright with the setting sun; though the distant summit of the latter was concealed in a cloud. Kŭl'at esh-Skŭkîf presented from this spot an imposing appearance.[1] The Kŭl'at Meis was perhaps also a fortress of the crusaders; but I have not the means of identifying it with any historical notice.[2]

"*April 9th.* I left Nasâr at 6.10, crossing an uneven tract with small rivulets running W. and at 7.15 reached a summit with a few villages in sight.[3] Crossing the valley I came out at 7.45 upon the opposite ridge, affording a wider prospect.[4] The road now descended into the Wady Ukhbîyeh, which soon collects a stream; and followed it to its mouth with the little hamlet of the same name on the plain, five minutes east of the great road along the sea-coast.[5] This Wady is the 'water-course from the mountains, nearly dry,' mentioned in the Researches.[6] I passed successively the other objects there named, and reached Sidon at $11\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock; but made no further topographical observations.

"As I approached the place, I observed the inhabitants collected on the terraces and adjacent heights; and soon met the Turkish army descending from the mountain with their artillery, and the Druze Sheikhs in their train as captives. They were embarked on

[1] Kŭl'at esh-Shŭkîf is the celebrated fortress called by the crusaders Belfort or Beaufort. See Bibl. Res. III. p. 380 sq.—Ed.

[2] Bearings from Nasâr: el-Kusasanîyeh N. 13° E. Khartûm N. 34° E. Sinieh (ten minutes) N. 41° E. el-Kutharîyeh N. 42° E. Humein (?) N. $63\frac{1}{2}$° E. Shilb'âl N. 81° E. Shŭrkîyeh N. 89° E. Jebel esh-Sheikh due E. Demûl S. $73\frac{1}{2}$° E. Jibshîth S. 68° E. Kŭl'at esh-Shŭkîf S. 65° E. el-Kusaibeh S. $34\frac{1}{2}$° E. Kefr Sîr S. $32\frac{1}{2}$° E. Bereik'a S. 31° E. Sîr el-Ghŭrbîyeh S. $2\frac{1}{2}$° E. Kŭl'at Meis S. 3° W. Zerarîah S. 39° W. Rezieh S. 54° W. Seirieh N. 71° W. 'Ansarîyeh N. 54° W. Lûbreh N. 40° W. el-Leksekîyeh N. 37° W. Sŭrafend N. 27° W. Kŭrîyeh N. 22° W. Bâblîyeh N. 8° W. Some villages in Belâd Beshârah were in sight, the names of which I could not learn.

[3] Here el-Kusasanîyeh bore N. 67° E. Nasâr S. 3° E. Kŭrîyeh N. 45° W. Bâblîyeh N. 1° W.

[4] From this point, Bâblîyeh bore N. 43° E. Khartûm S. 57° E. Nasâr S. 12° E. el-Leksekîyeh N. $72\frac{1}{2}$° W. Sŭrafend N. 38° W.

[5] Here Sidon bore N. 32° E.

[6] Bibl. Res. III. p. 414.

board of a Turkish steamer; and as I passed along the beach and looked at their prison-ship, and then up the valley to the seat of their power, where we spent the last summer with them and received their civilities, I felt that they had met one of those terrible political reverses, of which the whole land has beheld so many and seems destined to suffer yet more."

VII. To Ba'albek and the Cedars of Lebanon.

In his letter dated Oct. 1st, 1842, Mr. Wolcott writes, that he had recently made an excursion with two of his fellow missionaries to Ba'albek and the Cedars. Their route being the great thoroughfare of travellers, they took with them no instruments; a circumstance which Mr. W. regrets, because they found several places upon the mountain not correctly laid down on our map.[1] The following remarks have an importance apart from their general interest:

Ba'albek, etc. "Much as we had heard and read of Ba'albek, our expectations were quite exceeded. It is impossible indeed that any description should do justice to the magnificent pile. We had with us the notes of tourists, who had sketched the plan of the ruins; with the aid of which we soon comprehended the original design, and admired the genius of the architect who conceived it. The combination of majesty and beauty, the infinite richness of its parts, and the grandeur of the whole even in its desolation, as viewed from various points and impressively by moonlight, filled us with wonder. It has been repeatedly described, with more or less of technical precision, by travellers early and recent; and I have no occasion nor disposition to repeat the attempt. I have adverted to the subject mainly for the purpose of calling your attention to a feature, which deserves perhaps more consideration than it has received.

"Among the ruins are found large, smooth, *bevelled* stones, as old perhaps as those in Palestine, which with so much apparent reason you considered a relic of Jewish architecture,[2] and whose age is therefore an interesting subject of inquiry. The grand plat-

[1] Our map of Mount Lebanon was constructed from the manuscript maps of Prof. Ehrenberg and the Rev. Mr. Bird. Those of the latter were more minute and exact than that of the former, especially in the position and names of places.—Ed.

[2] Bibl. Res. I. pp. 423, 424.

form, which is about a thousand feet long by three hundred feet broad, includes the remains of two temples; of which the larger seems never to have been completed, and the smaller (small only relatively) had received the last finish. There is no doubt, I suppose, that these were Roman. This whole area was afterwards converted into a fortress, with towers and parapets, by the Saracens. Doors and porticos were walled up, and the unfinished walls were carried higher. The huge blocks of which you have read in the western wall, were the last course which was laid of the original work on that side. The similar block in the quarry, which can be measured,—sixty-eight feet long by fifteen feet square,—would have faced another side, and the place is obvious where it was designed to rest, contiguous to its fellow monsters. With a clear idea of the plan, it is easy to distinguish, throughout the pile, the original work from the modern additions.

"Now it is an interesting fact, that the bevelled stones are nowhere found in the Roman work. Nothing which exists as a part of its original design, has a trace in it of this peculiar architecture. These stones have been built into the massive Saracenic walls, intermingled with other stones and with immense pedestals and capitals taken from the temple ruins. There is one wall, within the foundations of the outer wall of the great temple, in which they are laid regularly as if in their original position. Now as no one will be likely to attribute this architecture to a later age than that of the emperors to whom these immense temples are commonly ascribed, it seems a natural inference that they belong to an earlier period, and that the Saracens made use of the ruins of a previous structure.[1]

"I had heard of similar architecture at Jebeil, the ancient Gebal, on the coast; and we took that place on our route. We found there an old castle, built with stones of the same description, with claims perhaps to as high an antiquity as those of the tower of Hippicus.[2]

[1] Ba'albek is the ancient Heliopolis of Syria, so called from the worship of the sun. It enjoyed the rights of a Roman colony. See Cellarius Not. Orb. II. pp. 370, 371. It seems not to be mentioned in Scripture, unless perhaps it may be the בִּקְעַת אָוֶן *valley of Aven* (or of the idol) Am. i. 5; this name Aven (אָוֶן) being also sometimes applied instead of On (אוֹן) to the Egyptian Heliopolis, e. g. Ez. xxx. 17.—Ed.

[2] In Ezek. xxvii. 9, and 1 Kings

Antiquities. The route of the travellers from Ba'albek to the coast was first to the cedars; and thence by the most feasible route to el-Batrûn, the ancient Botrys, passing through the villages of Bsherrah, Hasrôn, el-Hadith, Kesba, Amyûn, and by Kŭl'at Museilihah on the shore, all which are marked on the map. The letter proceeds as follows:

"Near the village of Kesba, my companions visited the ruined temples of Nâûs or Namûs, described by Burckhardt,[1] which bear a general resemblance to those in Ba'albek. Of the same class, though inferior, are the remains of Deir el-Kŭl'ah on the mountain near Beirût, which I have recently examined.[2] There would seem to be little question, that they were all built by the Romans, and dedicated to their pagan deities.

"At Jebeil we found a large number of granite columns, some of them the red Egyptian, built into the modern walls or lying upon the ground. At the Nahr el-Kelb we noticed the famous tablets on the rock, with Roman and more ancient sculptures; and, at the summit of the road cut by the emperor Antoninus, a pedestal, and near it a prostrate column with a Latin inscription, which seems not to have been noticed by travellers. Between this place and Beirût are traces of the Roman paved road; but less marked than the remains of similar pavement between the latter place and Sidon. The modern quay of Beirût, you remember, is constructed of the columns of its ancient edifices; of which others remain by their original sites. These columns, wherever found in the country, both marble and granite, were imported from abroad; and the number and extent of the remains in which I have met with them, though but a small portion of those in existence, have much impressed me with the colossal greatness of the empire, which multiplied such monuments of its power and skill in a single and distant province.

The Cedars. "We visited the celebrated grove of cedars, near the summit of Lebanon. The patriarchs, of which there are about a dozen, formed each by the union of three or four trunks, are remarkable only for their immense size and venerable age. Of the

v. 18 [32], the inhabitants of Gebal are spoken of as builders; they also assisted the builders of Solomon and Hiram. This architecture therefore may easily have been adopted from the Jews.—Ed.

[1] Travels in Syria p. 173.

[2] See Bibl. Res. III. p. 441.

growth which has shot up around them, consisting of about three hundred single trees, some of which are very large, there are many that would be admired in any place for their beauty. Their straight stem and spreading branches, and the graceful symmetry of the whole, fairly entitle them to the appellation: 'the glory of Lebanon.'[1] The cones, beautifully pendant from the bottom of the branches, and of which we plucked a number green, exude a kind of balsam, highly fragrant, and which fully explains 'the smell of Lebanon.'[2]

"The existence of this clump here, a remnant of the primeval forest, seems to be owing to the race not having been wholly eradicated from the spot, and new generations having sprung up from the seeds. The locality does not appear particularly favourable for them; and their flourishing condition here is an evidence that they would grow over all the mountain."[3]

Conclusion.

Such is the amount of information on the geography and antiquities of Palestine, which I am enabled to present to the reader, up to the present time;—certainly no mean ingathering for a single year, and that too from a friend before unknown to me, but whom I cordially welcome as a fellow labourer in this interesting field. I look forward also to the time, when the Rev. E. Smith will be able to make further investigations in parts of the country not visited by us; and this work become the medium through which his observations may be laid before the public.

In justice to Mr. Wolcott, it may not be improper to introduce here the following extract from one of his letters to me, dated Beirût, July 5, 1842.

"Permit me to say, that I went to Jerusalem last winter without the remotest thought of being a gleaner in a field which had been swept by your sickle. All that I purposed, and most that I did, was to make those personal observations which came within my range, and would secure to me the fullest benefit of your own remarks. I had always a fondness for antiquities; and my studies

[1] Is. lx. 13.
[2] Cant. iv. 11.
[3] See Bibl. Res. III. p. 440. It appears from the statements there given, especially that of Prof. Ehrenberg, that the cedars are still found growing abundantly on the more northern parts of Lebanon.—Ed.

have naturally awakened the highest interest in those which are sacred and biblical. The inquiries suggested by your work drew me into congenial pursuits; and some of the results being unexpectedly interesting to myself, I naturally communicated them to Mr. Smith. In this way I drew up for him the four documents, which he has transmitted to you.

"When I tell you, that the only copy of your Researches to which I had access during my investigations, belonged to a friend; and that I had but an occasional and often furtive use of it; you will give me the credit of having made a diligent improvement of my opportunities. You will not, I trust, discover many mistakes; none certainly which an extreme vigilance on my part could have guarded against. In every estimate, particularly, I kept on the safe side. The compass I used was constructed for taking bearings, and traversed finely. I might have taken the bearings to the quarter of a degree; but thought it here a needless refinement."

II.

SKETCHES OF ANGELOLOGY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

By Moses Stuart, Prof. in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

I. Reality of Angelic Beings.

The question has not unfrequently been asked: Of what importance can the doctrine respecting good or evil angels be to us? We owe them, it is said, no duty of homage or worship; and as they are invisible beings, if they exist at all, we can never decide with any certainty, whether or when they interpose in our behalf, or interfere for the sake of injuring us. We have, therefore, no practical interest in this matter. If it be worth an inquiry, it belongs rather to the province of speculative than to that of practical theology.

I cannot accede to such a view of this subject. The Scriptures have taught us, that the original holy and happy condition of our race was essentially changed by the interference and crafty malignity of Satan. The necessity of redemption by the Son of God stands inseparably connected with this. The atonement—the nucleus and centre of Christianity proper—is in some important respects a consequence of Satan's interference; or, in other words, it was rendered necessary by the success of the tempter, when he assailed our first parents.

Nor is this all which may be truly and properly said, in regard to this subject. If there are good angels, the voluntary ministers of God's will; or evil ones, who are either the executioners of his justice or examples in their sufferings of the proper desert of sin; then these facts are important to us, inasmuch as they cast light upon God's providential government of the world,—a subject of deep interest to all moral and accountable beings.

There is still another point of view in which we may contemplate this subject. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are filled with passages that have respect to angels good or evil. Some of these passages are involved in not a little of obscurity, as presented to us, because we are not sufficiently familiar with the Hebrew modes of expression and thought, to apprehend at once the full meaning of the sacred writers. If now it be true, that a proper attention to the angelology of the Scriptures will help to explain these, and especially in case it will render most of the obscure passages in question altogether intelligible, then attention to this subject cannot be fairly deemed unimportant.

What I design to suggest, on the present occasion, has special relation to this last topic of consideration. I might say, in order to explain more fully my design, that I intend to handle this subject *exegetically*, rather than theologically. Were I writing a chapter for a system of theology, I should cast the whole piece in a mould somewhat diverse from the present, and make the *theological* to predominate over the exegetical. Still, I do not intend altogether to neglect the theological, on the present occasion. But in respect to this, where no peculiar difficulties of exegesis are concerned, I shall be very brief, stating both my propositions and the proof of them only in the most summary way.

Every reader who has any extensive acquaintance with the theology or the interpretation of recent times, knows well that no inconsiderable portion of the community, particularly of the learned community, in the eastern and even in our western world, reject the idea of real and veritable angelic beings. All that is said in the Bible in relation to this subject, they interpret as mere trope, or as invested with a poetical costume. It belongs, as they suppose, merely to the fashion or manner of speaking among the Hebrews, who were prone to *personify* every kind of thing, whether animate or inanimate, whether concrete or abstract. Hence, when good angels are spoken of, nothing more is meant, as they allege, than to express the active kindness and beneficence of the Godhead; and when evil angels and their doings are spoken of, nothing more is really meant than the active exercise of God's punitive justice, or the movement of his chastising hand, or his actual arrangements to put men to trial by evils of various kinds and by sufferings. Thus, by a single *coup de main* of exegesis, the doctrine of angelology, or at any rate the real existence of angels good or evil, is swept at once from the Bible.

It is no part of my design to argue at length the question, whether there is any good ground for the support of such a method of interpretation. But it may still be proper to suggest a few hints, which may serve to aid us in our reflections on this topic.

It is common for the class of interpreters in question to assume, that *reason* decides against the doctrine of the real existence of angels. But what good ground is there for such an assumption? Is it because angels are invisible beings, and impalpable to our senses? So is God himself. As a Spirit, this must be so. But who can with propriety become an atheist on this account? Is it, then, because the analogy of the world of nature decides against the existence of beings intermediate between God and us? So far as any argument can be drawn from this analogy, it establishes the contrary of what is assumed. From man down to the polypus, and even to the minutest object which possesses either animal or vegetable life, there is a regular gradation of beings. Are there none then to fill up or occupy the immeasurable vacuity that intervenes between ourselves and the supreme Godhead? Analogy would lead us, beyond a question, to decide that there must be interme-

diate intelligences, and intelligences of different gradations. And why should *reason* array itself against the analogy of the natural world? The God of nature and of revelation are surely one and the same; and what he has clearly revealed in the book of nature, may, it must be conceded, find some analogy in the book of revelation. The former book exhibits what is palpable to our bodily senses; the latter what can be truly discerned and believed by our spirits. An order of angels is as consentaneous with the natural apprehension of our minds, as the orders of beings lower than man are with the observation of our senses. Why then, I ask again, should *reason* undertake to deny that there is an order of angelic beings?

I have a claim to ask this question with an open face, because almost all nations, certainly all the leading ones of the heathen world, have fallen upon the belief of intermediate beings between man and the great Supreme. The *Dii Minores* of the Latins and Greeks, the multitude of gods inferior among the Egyptians; the *Amshaspands* and *Izeds* and *Defs* of Zoroaster and the Persians; the innumerable subordinate deities of the Hindus, and of other nations; all prove the proneness of the human mind to receive the doctrine of the existence of intermediate beings between man and the supreme Divinity. I cannot easily be brought to believe that the original wants or desires or longings of the human mind, thus manifested, have not some ultimate object in view which is substantial and real. Men may make a thousand mistakes about manner and minute particulars. But the *religiousness* of our nature was not implanted in vain. Nor would it ever deceive us, provided our passions were all in due subjection.

I might go still further, and say, that the moral perfections of God, which must lead him to take pleasure in beings resembling himself, would, as it seems altogether probable, lead him to create more than one order of rational and moral beings. We argue that the planets are inhabited by rational beings, because we do not believe that they were made in vain, or even comparatively in vain. In like manner we may suppose, that the heavenly world is filled with rational beings, because infinite benevolence would be delighted with such a spectacle or such an arrangement. As the animals of the lower creation, the mere creatures of a day and with exceed-

ingly limited faculties, are without number, so we may well suppose that infinite benevolence and holiness would delight in the multiplication of beings, who should reflect the glories of the Godhead.

It has also been remarked, and not without reason, that as the faculties of the human soul are capable of unlimited progression, and so those who lived thousands of years ago may have greatly advanced beyond us in knowledge, wisdom and happiness, in the heavenly world; so it seems consonant with the will of God, that there should be beings of a higher order than man, that is, than man as he appears in the present world. Nor is it without ground, that an appeal has also been made to the physical constitution of the universe, which connects the solar system with others of the like nature, and these, as is highly probable, with some still greater and more magnificent central system, around which they all move, and to which they are all subordinate. What is true of the physical universe in this respect, may be deemed probable in reference to the great moral universe, God himself being the centre of all.

Why then—for we may now repeat the question with still more emphasis—should reason undertake categorically to decide against the probability, and even the possibility, of angelic beings? It seems to me, that so-called *reason*, in this case, is wrongly named. The natural world, the religious sentiment of mankind, the attributes of benevolence and beneficence, are all arrayed against her, in respect to this matter.

We may come and should come then to the Scriptures, without any prepossessions against the doctrine of angelic existences. And it is to this source, and to this only, that we can look for a decision which is authoritative in respect to this subject. If the actual existence of angels, that is, of intermediate beings between God and us, may be rendered probable by the light of nature, (and we have seen that it may,) yet this is all that can be done by the aid of this light. No absolute certainty is attainable by this mode of reasoning; so much I would freely acknowledge. But enough for us, if the Scriptures have decided, beyond any fair appeal, with regard to this by no means unimportant subject.

It is no part of my design, however, to go into a formal argument to establish even from the Scriptures the reality of angelic beings. The matter lies so plainly upon the face of the sacred

records, that no simple and unprejudiced reader would ever think of denying, that the existence of angels is both assumed and taught by the inspired writers. They have, I freely concede, nowhere attempted to *prove* by argument that angels exist; for they everywhere assume the fact. But then the same is true in regard to the existence of God himself. The Bible enters into no discussion, in which arguments are formally brought forward to establish the divine existence. It assumes the fact. Yea, the Scriptures take it for granted that all men have such a belief, as the natural result of that religious feeling which belongs to human beings as such. And in a way not unlike to this, the Scriptures treat the existence of angels. We may therefore proceed to the *Sketches* appropriate to the present occasion.

But before I proceed actually to develope some of the special traits of angelology which the Bible exhibits, it is of some importance to make a few remarks on the modes of representation, which the sacred writers employ in relation to this subject.

II. Scriptural Modes of describing Invisible Objects.

If angels do exist, they belong to the invisible world. The narrations in Scripture respecting their occasional appearance to men, are all of such a nature as to show, that such appearance or visibility is merely occasional, brief, and for peculiar purposes. That they can assume resplendent human forms, or at least that they can operate on our senses, or our mental vision, so as to produce such an impression in us, needs no laboured proof. For example; one cannot read Gen. c. 18, or Luke c. 1, without entire conviction of this. And with the phenomena there developed, agree a multitude of passages in the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament throughout.

The fact that angels belong to the invisible world, and are not naturally objects of perception by our senses, has a very important bearing on the principles of interpretation in respect to passages which concern them. Or rather, as I might with more precision say, it has an important bearing on the nature or true meaning of the language employed respecting them. A few suggestions will serve to explain and establish this position.

Whatever may be true or not true, in regard to the position of Locke and his adherents, viz. that all our ideas come either by sensation or reflection, it is certainly true that language is made up, almost entirely, of words derived from one of these sources. In fact we may advance even still farther, and say, that almost all the words which we employ as the names of things or of actions, are words derived from the testimony of some of our senses. Psychology or mental philosophy borrows from this store-house; for what else are *idea*, *conception*, *comprehension*, *understanding*, *reflection*, *apprehension*, and the like, but words tropically employed, which originally marked things or actions perceptible to the senses? At all events, whatever may be said of some of the languages of the present day, into which subtile philosophy has sedulously introduced many terms of its own coining, the simple language of an unlearned people, like the ancient Hebrews, must bear, and does most evidently bear, the character I have just described.

Let the reader bear in mind now, that a revelation committed to writing, must be expressed in *words*. These words, in order to be intelligible, must be such as already belong to the language which has been chosen as the medium of revelation. If we take the position that such is *not* the case, then we virtually deny that the words are intelligible; and if they are not intelligible, then they are not the medium of a revelation properly so named. What cannot be understood, by the aid of the usual laws of interpretation, is no revelation.

Whatever conceptions, then, an inspired man about to write a portion of Scripture might have, still he would communicate to others only so much as language in its imperfect state would enable him to do. He must take language as he finds it. He cannot employ words coined for the occasion. If in respect to a few peculiar words that are moulded anew, some exception to this principle might be justly made; yet, in regard to the great mass of words which a sacred writer employs, the principle must be and is altogether applicable.

Facts prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that such is the case. The objects of the invisible world, which are not palpable to any of our senses, and with which men in their present state are not conversant by any experience, have no proper names in any lan-

guage. It is a universal law, in the formation of language, to form no terms or names before we need them. For example, in Latin and Greek one cannot literally express any of our modern objects of invention. In what way, for instance, will he translate *gun*, *cannon*, *gun-powder*, *steam-boat*, *sloop*, *brig*, *man-of-war*, *electricity*, *magnetism*, and a thousand other things known only in recent times? He cannot do it. And why? Simply because the Greeks and Latins, having no acquaintance with objects of this nature, never invented any names to designate them. Exactly so was it with the Hebrews, antecedently to the times in which revelations of divine things were made to them. The language was already formed and in use at that period. It was formed in view of the objects of sense and of reflection, that were cognizable by the mass of the people, in that state which preceded a revelation. It had of itself no other names for objects of the invisible world, than such as are the result of the few and floating ideas of natural religion, which an unenlightened people may entertain.

Hence the *anthropopathy* of the Scriptures, in respect to God and all his attributes. He has eyes, ears, mouth, arms, hands, feet; he hears, sees, feels, tastes, smells; he loves, hates, is angry, takes revenge, sorrows, grieves, repents, rejoices, exults; he employs sword, bow, arrows, quiver, buckler, shield, helmet, and the like; he even contracts alliances, yea, espouses the virgin of Israel, and then divorces her, and treats her as an injured husband does a faithless wife. All this comes from the simple fact that God, having made man in his image, may be best represented by that which is appropriate to man; to which must be added the consideration, that language originally had no appropriate terms, which of themselves, in a literal way, would designate the attributes and actions of the Godhead. In other words, no such terms were invented for such a purpose, nor were any words used solely in this way.

Occasionally, moreover, the sacred writers go even beyond this. They borrow terminology from the objects of nature, and the animals of the natural world. God is now like to the sun; then he is like a roaring and ravening lion (to the wicked), rending while none can deliver. At another time, he has wings and feathers, like the stork or the eagle, under which the righteous find security and peace. All this, and much more of the like nature, the Scrip-

tures exhibit. Most readers are so familiarized with such exhibitions, that they are not offended or misled by them. They see in them merely vivid imagery and tropical delineation; and because God is well known to be a *spirit*, omniscient, omnipresent, immaterial, invisible, eternal, and immutable, the intelligent portion of the community are in no danger of being misled by such modes of communication.

Justice to the scriptural writers obliges me to remark, that they have done all, in order to make themselves intelligible with respect to what they say of the divine Being, which the nature of the case and the imperfections of language permitted them to do.

Let us take another example from the representations of the inspired writers respecting *Hades*, or the invisible world, whither the dead, or the *umbrae* of deceased persons, were supposed to go. The reader will allow me, I would hope, to enlarge a little on the subject now before us, which is not simply important, but all-important in the exegesis of the Scriptures.

In speaking of the condition of men after death, the Old Testament writers, to whom the life and immortality revealed by the gospel was not fully known (2 Tim. 1, 10), often employ the same costume with which this subject was invested by common and popular usage. Thus, in Is. c. 14, the king of Babylon falls by the sword, and his *umbra* descends to Sheol, or the world beneath. There he is met by the kings whom he had formerly dethroned, who rise up from the respective places in the sepulchre, where they were lying in state, insult him, and mock at his calamities. How often too is Sheol presented as "a land of darkness and the shadow of death, where no light is;" as a gloomy, dreary place, a region of unsubstantial forms and mere resemblances of reality! And why have the scriptural authors so spoken and written? Because they have employed the language of common parlance, in reference to this subject. But must we conclude, that such is in fact the real state of the dead,—I mean such as this language would naturally and literally seem to import? No more, I answer, than we are to conclude, that all the language employed in describing the attributes and actions of the Godhead is to be literally understood. Such passages as Ps. 16, 11. Ps. 17, 14. 15. Ecc. 12, 7. 12. 11, 9, and others, serve to show, that although the costume of popular usage

is often put upon descriptions of man's condition after death, yet views of a more exalted nature than are indicated by the literal exegesis of such descriptions, were in reality entertained by the Hebrew prophets.

In the New Testament there is much less of this mode of representation; and so we should naturally expect to find the state of this matter, in accordance with the fuller revelations of the gospel. Yet, occasionally, such cases as that of the rich man and Lazarus, where all the imagery is borrowed from material objects and popular modes of speaking, form a somewhat near approach to the style of the Old Testament.

Consider, still further, how *heaven* is represented to us, even in the New Testament. It is now a place of feasting, where the guest reclines on Abraham's bosom, Luke 16, 23. Then it is a paradise, Luke 23, 43. 2 Cor. 12, 4; that is, a garden of fruits, and flowers, and shade-trees, and fountains, and streams of water. Then it is a splendid city, Gal. 4, 26. Heb. 11, 16. Rev. c 21; which has walls built of precious stones, streets of gold, gates of pearl, a river of life, and trees of life; and it is always resplendent by reason of the perpetual presence of God. John even goes so far as to give us the dimensions of the heavenly city. It is 375 miles square, the houses are as many miles high, and the wall is 216 feet in height; Rev. 21, 16. 17. In other words, the writer has sketched his ideal of perfection in architecture, in order to symbolize the new celestial abode in all its perfection and excellence. All this, moreover, we spontaneously interpret as tropical and symbolical. A man would hardly be deemed sane, who should refuse here to interpret in this manner.

It were easy to show that descriptions of the world of woe are drawn in like manner, and follow the same rule of interpretation. But enough for my present purpose. I return to the angels.

After what has been said of the manner in which objects of the invisible world are and must be described, it needs no laboured effort to satisfy the mind, that angels, who belong to the invisible world, must be spoken of in a manner analogous to that in other descriptions of a similar nature. Hence, when we read in Dan. 9, 21, that Gabriel "had been caused to *fly* swiftly;" or in Is. 6, 2, that the Seraphim "had each six *wings*," we need not be anxious

to show how spiritual beings can possess wings and fly, in a literal sense. As well might we attempt to show that God himself possesses them, when the Scriptures represent the righteous as taking shelter under the shadow of his wings. The substance of the meaning, in respect to angels, is, that they have the power of most rapid movement, and especially that they are "swift to do the will" of Jehovah.

In the further discussion of our subject, we shall have occasion to revert to the like principles of interpretation in passages of Scripture that respect invisible beings; for to these principles we must conform our exegesis. The reader surely cannot fail to see, that the same general laws are applicable to communications respecting angels, as are to be applied to passages that concern other invisible objects and beings.

III. Names and Nature of Angels.

The name which we employ to designate this order of beings, is only a Greek word anglicized, viz. ἄγγελος. This is not, however, a name of nature, but merely of office. It means *messenger*, or one sent upon a special mission, and, in a more general sense, *servant*. A word with so general a meaning is, as we might well suppose, not always confined merely to the designation of spiritual beings of a higher class, but is also occasionally employed to designate merely *messengers* of men, Num. 20, 14. Josh. 6, 17. James 2, 25. Luke 7, 24. 9, 52; or *men* as messengers of God, Mal. 3, 1. Mark 1, 2. Gal. 4, 14. Under this last particular may be included both *Priests*, as in Ecc. 5, 5. Mal. 2, 7; and also *Prophets*, as in Hagg. 1, 13. Mal. 3, 1. Analogous to these last usages, is that of the ἄγγελος of the seven churches of Asia, in Rev. 2, 1. 8. 12. 18. 3, 1. 7. 14. Even the *elements*, which are specially the causes of evil or the instruments of chastisement, appear to be sometimes so named; e. g. Ps. 104, 4, where the stormy wind and the lightning are called *angels* and *servants* of God; Ps. 78, 49, where various evils are perhaps named *angels*, (I say *perhaps*, for this mode of interpretation is not here a necessary one,) and the like sentiment may be found in Ps. 148, 8. Even Satan may have his *angels* or *messengers* also; 2 Cor. 12, 7 "a thorn in the flesh, the messenger

(ἄγγελος) of Satan to buffet me," meaning probably some physical evil; Matt. 25, 41 "the devil and his angels;" Rev. 12, 7. 9 "the dragon and his angels."

There is, however, no serious difficulty in distinguishing all these secondary classes of meaning from what may be called the leading and predominant one, viz. *spiritual messenger* or *special agent of God*. The context is an almost infallible guide; and the designations, angel of God, angel of Jehovah, his (God's) angel, etc. leave no rational doubt on the mind of the reader what is meant, and need no comment on my part.

I will merely remark here, in passing, that other designations are occasionally given to the spiritual messengers in question. Thus *sons of God*, in Job 1, 6. 2, 9. 38, 7; *servants*, Job 4, 18; *saints* or *holy ones*, קְדוֹשִׁים, ἅγιοι, Job 5, 1. 15, 15. Mark 8, 38. Luke 9; 26. Acts 10, 22. Rev. 14, 10; *watchman*, עִיר, Dan. 4, 10. 14. 20; in which interpretations, however, all are not agreed. The corresponding ἐγρήγορος is so used in the Greek version of the Book of Enoch, in the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, and in the Pastor of Hermas. Whether אֱלֹהִים in Ps. 8, 6. 82, 1. 97, 7. 138, 1, means *angels*, is disputed; but the New Testament writers sanction this principle (see Heb. 2, 7), and both ancient and modern critics in great numbers defend it.

Thus much for the names of angels. I pass to a very brief view of their *nature*.

They are *spiritual* beings. "Are they not all ministering *spirits*, πνεύματα?" Heb. 1, 14. This is predicated of good angels. They are naturally invisible, ἀόρατοι, Col. 1, 16; and hence they are spoken of as 'making their appearance' when they at any time become visible, Luke 1, 11. 22. Matt. 2, 13. 19. Gen. 18, 2. Thus far of good angels. But evil angels, as well as good, are ranked under the same general category, i. e. they are named *spirits*; Matt. 8, 16. 10, 1. 12, 43–45. Mark 9, 20. Luke 10, 20. 11, 24. Eph. 2, 2. 6, 12. al. This seems to decide, for us, that angelic beings are incorruptible, immaterial, immortal, and impalpable (in their proper nature) to our senses. But there has not always been a unity of opinion in respect to this matter. Most of the ancient Christian fathers regarded angels as being constituted of ethereal and (so to speak) transcendental substance. Even Reinhard, Doederlein, and

Ammon, bordering upon or living in our day, maintain a similar opinion. The resplendence, which always accompanies their development to men, these writers seem to consider as only the natural effect of the ethereal and photistic or empyreal substance of which they are constituted. Even Brettschneider appears not to be disinclined to this opinion; and he remarks, that *angel of light*, in 2 Cor. 11, 14, is probably to be taken rather in a physical than a moral sense.[1] But the declarations of the Saviour, that "a spirit hath not flesh and bones," Luke 24, 39; that "God is a Spirit," John 4, 24; that "the children of the resurrection [i. e. saints raised from the dead] will neither marry nor be given in marriage," that "they cannot die any more, because they are made like to the angels," Luke 20, 35. 36. Matt. 22, 30; seem to indicate that angels are beings purely spiritual, and therefore, in this respect, like to their Maker; and moreover, that all attempts to speculate on their nature, as if they were compounded of transcendental and material substance as well as of spirit, is adverse to the simple views of the sacred writers. That angels are spoken of in a manner like to that in which men are spoken of, will prove nothing as to their physiological nature. The whole subject, as it lies before us in all the Scriptures, must be examined, and comparison of all its parts must be made, before we can know with certainty in what light we are to regard this matter. Their nature, their offices, and their usual place of abode, at least that of good angels, all indicate a nature simply spiritual. And if it be true, as it seems to be, (Jude v. 6,) that evil angels were originally good, then all the angels, of every rank, have a nature of one and the same kind, so far as this respects the substance of which they consist.

It may not be useless to remark, at the close of this representation, that the position assumed by many neological critics respecting angels, viz. that they are spoken of in the Bible merely in the way of *accommodation* to Jewish usages of speech, and that we are not to argue from these in order to prove the existence of them as veritable spiritual agents, does not seem to have any good foundation. Certainly nothing can be produced from the Scriptures, which intimates that the sacred writers did not regard them as real

[1] Dogmat. § 101.

beings. The Sadducees did indeed "deny the existence of angel or spirit," Acts 23, 8; but Jesus himself argues directly against them in Matt. 22, 23—32. And when Paul in 1 Tim. 5, 21, charges Timothy "before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the elect angels," to be impartial, it would be little or nothing short of ridiculous to suppose, that he did not regard the "elect angels" as real beings, in like manner as he regarded God and Christ, whom he here names with them. So in Heb. c. 1, the author goes into a somewhat protracted series of argument, in order to prove that Christ is superior to the angels. But if angels are not real existences, how feeble, not to say incongruous and even contemptible, his argument would be.

The position, that in modes of representation which respect angels, the sacred writers have often conformed to the usual Jewish *usus loquendi*, is a very different one from that which has just been the subject of remark; and it is one which, as we shall see in the sequel, cannot easily be overlooked by an attentive reader of the Scriptures, much less can it be shown that it is without ground.

IV. Qualities and Actions of Good Angels.

1. *They are powerful Beings.* Thus Paul names them ἄγγελοι δυνάμεως, "angels of might," mighty angels, 2 Thess. 1, 7. In the same light Peter places them, 2 Pet. 2, 11; and with reference to their mighty power to save from peril, Jesus refers to them in Matt. 26, 53. In all the extraordinary manifestations of God to his people, such as the giving of the law at Sinai, the conception and birth of the Saviour, the temptation of Christ, his agony in the garden, his ascension, the deliverance of Peter from prison, the smiting of Herod, the destruction of Jerusalem, and other occurrences of a similar kind, and especially the final judgment, angels are represented as being present and bearing some part. A power strictly miraculous is not perhaps ascribed to them; though to us, at any rate, it is a power seemingly miraculous. Among developments of this nature, may be reckoned the assumption of the human form and the manifestation made of themselves by it to men, which is so often and everywhere ascribed to them. The like is not predicated of Satan, nor of his angels. Even when the apostle

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speaks of Satan as "transforming himself into an angel of light," 2 Cor. 11, 14, he refers to the *actions* of Satan when he dissembles, and not to his physiological metamorphosis or ἀποφαίνωσις.

When Brettschneider, in order to show that angels do not possess a power of working miracles, remarks, that the writer in Matt. 28, 1 sq. who speaks of an earthquake and of angels as descending, does not ascribe the earthquake to them;[1] he forgets the ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, which stands in the apodosis of the sentence contained in v. 2. And what is the opening of the prison doors for Peter by the angel, Acts 12, 1—11, but a miraculous operation? I mean, of course, so far as the action can be seen and estimated by us.

We shall see, in the sequel, more abundant reason to believe in the extraordinary powers of angels, on account of their peculiar offices and duties.

2. *They are rational and accountable Beings.* This would follow, of course, from the offices assigned to them; at least, it must be that they are rational. Peter represents them as desirous to investigate the mysteries of redemption, 1 Pet. 1, 12; Paul, as being "principalities and powers in heavenly places," to whom is developed the manifold wisdom of God, Eph. 3, 10. The Saviour represents them as sympathizing with the penitent sinner, Luke 15, 10; and this implies a knowledge of what is passing on earth, and an interest in the affairs of human beings.

That they are accountable beings follows of necessity, when we have once decided that they are rational and free agents. God is the moral Governor of the universe; and all moral beings are of course accountable to him. Besides, the Epistle of Jude (v. 6) represents the evil angels as being those "who kept not their first estate;" and the writer in Job 4, 18 speaks of angels that are "charged with folly," that is, of angels who had sinned, and who were brought to an account by a God of justice. It follows, of course, that angels are accountable beings; for they could and did sin, that is, a portion of them committed sin, and fell under consequent condemnation.

Whether the good angels are still capable of sinning, is a ques-

[1] Dogmat. § 101.

tion of no moment to us. That sin is possible to them, that is, naturally or physiologically possible, must be regarded as theoretically true; for all beings that have free agency and power to obey, are capable, in a natural and physiological sense, of disobedience also. But whether God has not placed the good angels in a confirmed state, their season of probation having already past, just as the saints (after the resurrection) will be placed in such a state, is quite another question. To me this seems altogether probable. And what else can "elect angels," in 1 Tim. 5, 21, mean, unless it be such angels as did keep their first estate (comp. Jude v. 6), and were thus separated or chosen out of the mass, and admitted to a state of confirmed happiness? I am aware that Brettschneider construes ἐκλεκτοί here as meaning *die Vortrefflichen* or the excellent; but I apprehend it conveys something more than such a meaning.

3. *They are very numerous.* "Thousand thousands ministered unto him, ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him," Dan. 7, 10. The like is said or implied in Ps. 68, 17. 2 K. 6, 16. 17. Jude v. 14. Rev. 5, 11. etc. In Heb. 12, 22, the writer speaks of "an innumerable company of angels;" and in Matt. 26, 53, Jesus says that he might ask for, and have sent to his aid, "more than twelve legions of angels."

4. *They are guardians of individuals and of nations.* In this light the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament abundantly represent them.

a) *They were guardians or ministering spirits to the Lord Jesus Christ*, from his birth to his death and ascension. Jesus himself speaks of them as continually "ascending and descending upon the Son of Man," John 1, 51. So, even from the time when his conception was announced, and in early infancy; Luke 1, 11—20. 26—38. Matt. 1, 20. 21. 2, 13. 19. 20. And so in the sequel of his life; 4, 11. comp. 4, 6. It was an angel who strengthened Jesus in his agony, Luke 22, 43. Angels watched over his sepulchre, and aided at his resurrection, Matt. 28, 2—7. Mark 16, 5—7. They were present at his ascension, Acts 1, 10. 11. They are represented as accompanying him whenever he might come to destroy Jerusalem, Matt. 24, 31; also, when he will come to final judgment, Matt. 13, 41. 1 Thess. 4, 16. 2 Thess. 1, 7. And, in

conformity with these views and representations, the book of Revelation everywhere exhibits angels as the agents, by which the purposes of the great Head of the Church, the King of kings and Lord of lords, are accomplished.

b) *They are the guardians of particular individuals, especially of saints.* This seems to be the necessary implication of what is said in Heb. 1, 14, viz. that they are "all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who are the heirs of salvation," that is, to minister to saints. So speak Ps. 34, 7. Acts 12, 7—15. Gen. 31, 1. 2. 2 K. 6, 17. Zech. 3, 4—10. What else, moreover, can be the meaning of Matt. 18, 10; where the Saviour assures us, that the angels of little children "do always behold the face of his Father who is in heaven?" In what other way can we reasonably interpret this, except as assigning to little children—it matters not, for our present purpose, whether these are literally children or tropically so—presence-angels, or angels of the highest order (comp. Is. 6, 2 sq. and Rev. 1, 4), as their guardians and protectors? The abuse of this doctrine, in order to inculcate the invocation and worship of angels, is no good argument against the truth of it, as it lies in the Scriptures. That all worship of angels is most clearly proscribed by Christianity, is certain from Rev. 19, 10. 22, 8. 9. Col. 2, 18. But this is surely no objection against regarding angels as the guardian spirits of good men, in and through whom God operates for their deliverance and their benefit, and sometimes for their chastisement.

Bretschneider makes an unexpected objection against the guardianship of angels,—unexpected at least by me, after reading his general defence of their real existence and power. He says, "it would be derogatory to the wisdom of God, to put upon such exalted beings the degrading business of watching over human folly."[1] So? Do not the Scriptures everywhere represent God himself as taking cognizance of all and singular the vices and follies of men? And is it degrading for subordinates to do what the principal himself does? It matters not whether God absolutely needs such aid or not; for he could carry on all the processes of the natural and material world without any ministerial agency. Yet he does not.

[1] Dogmat. § 102.

What proof, then, that he may not or does not act, in the moral world, in a manner analogous to this?

c) It is a scriptural idea, that *angels are the guardians of particular nations and kingdoms*, as well as of particular individuals. In this light I understand those texts which refer to the angel of the Lord, who guided Israel from Egypt to the promised land; see Ex. 14, 19. 23, 20. 33, 2. Num. 20, 16. Josh. 5, 13. Is. 63, 9. It is probably this same angel who rebuked Balaam, Num. 22, 22–35. The book of Daniel makes a peculiar development of this general idea. In Dan. 10, 5–13. 20. 21. 11, 1, one of the guardian angels of the Jews (probably Gabriel) exhibits himself as a protector, and as struggling with the kings of Persia, viz. for the liberation of the Jewish exiles. In the discharge of this duty, Michael, the chief guardian of the same people, comes to help him; Dan. 10, 13. The first angel promises to return (from his visit to Daniel) and engage again in his former duty; Dan. 10, 20.[1] In Dan. 12, 1, Michael is expressly designated as "the great prince

[1] I am aware that, both in ancient and modern times, commentators may be found, who have understood "kings of Persia," in Dan. 10, 13, and "princes of Persia," and "prince of Grecia," in v. 20, as designating the guardian angels of the kingdoms of Persia, and of Greece. But after an attentive examination of this subject, and notwithstanding what Grotius and Rosenmüller have alleged, I feel obliged, with Hävernick, to construe those expressions in accordance with their literal and obvious meaning. The most weighty reason for this is, that scriptural analogy can hardly be made out to support the idea of guardian angels being assigned to heathen and idolatrous nations. I cannot well doubt, indeed, that the God who governs all nations, may employ angels as the ministers of his will in respect to heathen nations. But this general truth differs specifically from that of *guardian* angels as protectors. Besides this general argument from Scripture analogy, there is another ground of objection to the views of Grotius and others, viz. that their interpretation represents the good angels, who are guardians, as contending with each other for a long time, out of favouritism toward the respective nations whom they protect; see Dan. 10, 20. To say the least, this is very incongruous. Good angels may contend with evil ones, and they do so; Jude v. 9. Rev. 12, 7. But how to make it consistent with Scripture and the nature of the case, that good angels contend with each other, would be difficult. The appeal of Rosenmüller and others to the Persian *Amshaspands* and *Izeds*, as guardian angels, and the allegation that Daniel conforms to this mythology, seems to be a mistake in point of fact, both in the first and second respect. The old Persian mythology is different from this; and conformity of Daniel to the views of Zoroaster can hardly be made out. The curious reader may consult with profit Hävernick on Dan. 10, 13. 20. 11, 1.

who standeth for the people of the Jewish nation." So in Jude v. 9, Michael is represented as "contending with Satan about the body of Moses," and of course as being the particular defender of God's chosen people. For whether "the body of Moses" here means his proper and literal body, which the Lord secretly buried, Deut. 34, 5. 6; or whether this is spoken in accordance with the *usus loquendi* of Christians, who called the church "the body of Christ," Col. 1, 18. 24. Rom. 12, 5; and so analogically with this, Jude means to designate the Jewish church or people by the phrase "body of Moses," it matters not for our present purpose. Enough that, in either case, Michael is represented as the guardian angel of the Jews.

Again, in Zech. 1, 8–14, the guardian angel of the Jews exhibits his solicitude for them and his care over them. The same thing is again exhibited in Zech. 3, 1. 2, where the angel of the Lord rebukes Satan on account of his malignant intentions toward the high-priest Joshua.

At the close of this general head, I may remark, that all the particulars which have been developed serve merely to confirm the direct and general assertion made in Heb. 1, 14, viz. that the [good] angels are "all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who are the heirs of salvation." But, as I have remarked in the note on the preceding page, the Scriptures do not seem to propose to us the idea, that *guardian* angels are assigned to wicked heathen nations, or to sinful impenitent individuals. In fact, the special and peculiar idea implied in guardianship would seem to be incompatible with such a position. Yet notwithstanding this, if it be a scriptural doctrine, that God employs angels in all his works of providence as well as of grace, (and this we shall soon see to be a doctrine favoured by the Scriptures,) then it must also be true, that sinful nations and individuals may be and are committed, more or less, to the superintendence and regimen of angels, or at any rate to their inspection. To assume, as many of the fathers and recent commentators have done, the Version of the Seventy (Deut. 32, 8) as the ground of belief that the Jewish Scriptures assign guardian angels to each and every nation, is going quite too far. The Septuagint, in that passage, runs thus: "When the Most High divided the nations, when he scattered the sons of Adam, ἔστησε ὅρια ἐθνῶν

κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ, i. e. he established the bounds of the nations in accordance with the number of the angels of God." In other words, according to the Rabbins, he divided them into seventy nations. The Hebrew gives no countenance to this; for it runs thus: "When the Most High gave the nations an inheritance, he fixed the boundaries of the people; but his own people were the inheritance of Jehovah."

We come then, at the close of this not uninteresting investigation, to the general conclusion, that peculiar angelic guardianship is assigned to the people of God, whether as individuals or as nations; while oversight, superintendence, and occasional active interposition, on the part of angels, are extended to all the wicked, whether individuals or nations.

As an appendage to this general idea and connected with it, we may remark, that a particular angel, Gabriel, appears to be the usual ambassador of heaven's King, in bringing messages and communications to men. So in Dan. 8, 16 sq. 9, 21 sq. Luke 1, 19–26. Not improbably in Job 33, 23, the מַלְאָךְ מֵלִיץ, i. e. *an angel, an interpreter*, or rather *interceder*, means the guardian angel, who shows a good man the uprightness of God, rescues him from his wanderings, and thus procures favour for him. The tenor of the passage seems plainly to demand such a construction. How vividly impressions of this nature existed in the minds of the Jews, at an early period of Christianity, is most graphically shown by Acts 12, 7–15; particularly by v. 15, "Then said they: It is his *angel*."

On the whole, the impression is strongly made upon my mind, as the result of this investigation, that the Scriptures are designed to teach the doctrine of special guardianship *to the good*, on the part of holy angels. Why, if they do not actually interpose in cases of danger and difficulty, should Jesus say, when Judas with his murderous band assailed him, "I might now pray to my Father, and he would presently give me more than twelve legions of angels"? Matt. 26, 53. Why would the Father send angels to the rescue, if such be not their proper office? And why were the eyes of Elisha's doubting and timid servant, who trembled because of Syrian invaders, opened to see all the region "filled with horses and chariots of fire"? 2 K. 6, 17. Why did an angel "roll back the stone" from the tomb of Jesus? Matt. 28, 2. Why did an angel open the

prison of Peter? Acts 12, 7 sq. And why, in a word, are the Scriptures filled throughout with representations of the like kind? The natural and obvious answer to all this is, that there is something more than poetic imagery in that declaration of the Psalmist: "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them," Ps. 34, 7.

Bretschneider comes to the conclusion, that angelic guardianship is not a doctrine of the New Testament.[1] Yet he does not venture to deny that it belongs to the Old Testament; but only labours to parry the force of it, by a series of remarks on the tropical language of the anthropopathy of the Jewish Scriptures, and also on the ignorance of ancient times, which attributed all the peculiar, and especially the terrific phenomena of the natural elements to supernatural beings.

That there is in our very nature something which inclines us to believe in the special interposition of beings intermediate between God and ourselves, seems evident from the fact, that even the heathen world, not poets merely, but philosophers such as Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, (who does not call to mind his *δαίμων*?) Plato, Zeno, the Stoics, and so the Roman philosophers, maintained the doctrine of presiding and tutelar genii, *πνεύματα πάρεδρα, ἐπιστάται, προστάται, δαίμονες.* So Menander: *ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται.* It has already been stated, that all the famous nations of antiquity admitted the like doctrine. It was familiar to the Jews, during the Babylonish exile; Tob. 5, 21. The early Christian fathers seem to have been nearly or quite unanimous in it.

But subordinate branches of this generic subject also deserve particular consideration; and on this account I shall arrange them under separate heads.

5. *Good angels are special ministers and executioners of divine justice.* This is implied in many of the passages to which appeal has already been made. But the reader may further consult Gen. 19, 1–23, compared with Gen. 18, 1. 2. In Exod. 12, 23 the הַמַּשְׁחִית probably designates the destroying angel, who was the guardian of the Jews. See also Num. 22, 22–35, where the angel that rebukes Balaam is called a שָׂטָן, an *adversary* to him. Certainly the office of the angel here, and his message, are not such

[1] Dogm. § 102.

as belong to Satan, the leading malignant spirit. Compare also Josh. 5, 13. 14. 2 Sam. 24, 16. 17. 2 K. 19, 35. Acts 12, 23. Rev. c. 7–11, and Rev. c. 16 sq. Possibly the spirit who went forth to mislead Ahab, in order that he might fall, 1 K. 22, 21 sq. belongs to this same category. There are cases of judicial punishment, in which a good angel might, in a certain sense, delude, in order to accomplish the end of punishment. I see no reason why this may not be said, with as little scruple as Paul makes the declaration, that "God shall send them [impostors] strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness;" 2 Thess. 2, 11. 12.

Nothing more is necessary to confirm the view here given, than to advert to Matt. 24, 30. 31. 13, 41. 2 Thess. 1, 7; which represent the holy angels as taking an active part in the destruction of Jerusalem, and in the scenes of the judgment-day; especially in the separation of the righteous and in the punishment of the wicked. But let the reader beware how he views this part of the subject. Such a ministerial office, that is, a *punitive* function, is not predicated of good angels only. We shall see, in the sequel, that God also employs *evil* spirits in the infliction of chastisements, either in the way of probation or of punishment.

6. *To the different parts and elements of the natural world angels seem to be assigned as superintendents.* Some, perhaps many of my readers, will begin to hesitate here. Yet the general views already given of the powers and offices of good angels, almost necessarily imply this, or something equivalent to it. I do not think the Bible lays much stress on this particular view of angelic offices. But that this view is assumed, or implied, in several passages, may, I think, be made quite probable. The author of the Apocalypse has given us a fuller development of angelic natures and offices, than any other sacred writer; inasmuch as he employs to an unusual degree the agency of angels in the machinery (if I may so speak) of his grand moral epic. Much that is here is undoubtedly costume, and nothing more; as we should of course expect, in a book of the most vivid imagery. Yet this costume is in conformity to the Jewish feelings and views of angels, at the time when John lived; and, therefore, in many places, it discloses the usual opinions

of the Jews of that day respecting the agency of angels. For example; in Rev. 7, 1. 2, the four winds, which had been blowing a dreadful tempest, are held in by four angels, while the righteous are sealed in their foreheads. Here the manner of the writer shows that he appeals to the usual views of his readers, respecting spiritual superintendents of the elements. In Rev. 14, 18 we read of "the angel who had power over the fire," that is, was superintendent of that element. In Rev. 16, 5 "the angel of the waters" is spoken of, as acknowledging God's justice in smiting the rivers and fountains. "The angel out of or from the altar," in Rev. 16. 7, is probably the same mentioned in Rev. 14, 18, who is also said "to come from the altar." In Rev. 19, 17 "the angel standing in the sun," may most naturally be understood of the angel who presides over the sun.

Here is, indeed, nothing more than peculiar and special development; but is there not an implication, that this is in accordance with the general truth as to the various agencies attributed to angels in the Scriptures? Let the reader consult with care the passages in the note for the Old Testament view of the subject;[1] and then advert to the various passages of the New Testament quoted above under nos. 4, 5.

How widely sentiments resembling this were diffused among the Greeks, Romans, and oriental nations, every tyro in literature must know. Who are the borrowers in this case? The Jews or the heathen? I apprehend that neither is strictly so. It is one of those views of things, which appears to be natural or congenial to the human mind.

Bretschneider rejects the evidence from the Apocalypse respecting angels, on the ground of its tropical and figurative style. But I am fully persuaded, that John has introduced nothing into this book, which the taste or the creed of Christians in his day would reject. At all events, the supposition made above, viz. that angels superintend the different elements, serves at once to explain and illustrate many passages in the Apocalypse and elsewhere.

[1] Gen. 3, 24. 21, 17 sq. 22, 11 sq. 24, 7. 28, 12 sq. 32, 1. 2. 25 sq. 23, 20 sq. 32, 34. Deut. 33, 2. Josh. 5, 13 sq. Judg. 6, 12—23. 13, 3 sq. Job c. 1. c. 2. 33, 23—28. 38, 7. 2 K. 19, 35. Ps. 34, 8. 91, 11—14. 103, 20. 148, 2. Is. 37, 36.

7. *Angels are intercessors for men.* I do not think this capable of so clear proof from the Scriptures as either of the preceding heads. But there are some passages in the Bible which seem to be founded on the admission of this position, and which I shall now endeavour briefly to illustrate.

I have already cited, for another purpose, the passage in Job 33, 23, which speaks of the מַלְאָךְ מֵלִיץ, *the angel the intercessor*, as performing substantially the office in question. So in Zech. 1, 12. 13, the words of an angel, the intercessor for Israel, are recorded, and also the propitious answer of the Lord to his supplication. In Rev. 8, 3 an angel is represented as taking his stand by the altar in heaven, with a golden censer in his hand, and much incense as being given to him, that he might present it "with the prayers of all the saints on the golden altar before the Lord." This immediately calls forth symbols of acceptance in respect to the prayers, and of the divine indignation against the persecutors of the church. I know of no exegesis of this so probable, as that which assigns to the angel here a part like to that which the priest performed in the temple, when he offered incense while the people were praying; see Luke 1, 10. The smoke of the odorous incense ascending upwards, was a lively symbol of the supplications addressed to God on high. The sweet odour betokened the acceptable nature of prayer to Him who was the object of it. In the passage of the Apocalypse before us, every thing conspires to render this meaning not only possible but probable.

In Rev. 5, 8 occurs a case of the like nature, where the four-and-twenty elders and the four living creatures under the throne of God, present "vials filled with incense, which are the prayers of the saints," that is, which represent or symbolize the supplications of the saints on earth, who are praying that the wrongs of the church may be redressed. But this is a peculiar and extraordinary occasion, and serves only to show the extent to which the sympathy of the heavenly world proceeded in behalf of the injured church; a sympathy which we cannot doubt they felt.

I might adduce other instances of probable allusion in Scripture to the fact, that angels were regarded as intercessors. But I do not wish to dwell on doubtful passages. Yet, in order to show that I am not building upon conjecture, as to the early and usual views

of the Hebrews, and of Christians also, in respect to the matter before us, I must beg leave to refer to other evidences of such opinions, exhibited by the writings of the first century, and even of an earlier period.

The book of Tobit, which I am inclined to assign to the earlier part of the Babylonish exile, puts the following words into the mouth of Raphael, when he comes to the aid of Tobit and his wife: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels [archangels], who present the prayers of the saints, and have access, before the glory of the Holy One;" Tobit 12, 15. In v. 12 of the same chapter, Raphael speaks of himself as "having brought the memorial of [Tobit's] prayer before the Holy One."

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a production (as Nitzsch has shown) of the latter part of the first century, or, at the latest, of the beginning of the second, presents the most undoubted evidences of the opinion in question, as existing among the Jewish Christians of that day. Thus in Test. Lev. c. 3, the writer, in describing the seven heavens, says: "In the fifth [heaven] are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiatory offerings to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance committed by the righteous." In the next clause, the writer calls their offering "a rational and bloodless offering and a sweet savour." I understand him, therefore, as designating offerings of supplication. But he may possibly refer to the *incense* which they offer, as in Rev. 8, 3. 5, 8, which still could be nothing more nor less than the symbol of prayers offered. In Test. Lev. c. 5, Levi inquires for the name of the angel who is guiding him. The angel answers: "I am the angel who makes intercession for the race of Israel, that they should not be smitten to extermination." In Test. Dan. c. 6, the patriarch says to his sons: "And now draw nigh to God, and to the angel (*παραιτούμενος*) who makes intercession (or supplication) for you."

The book of Enoch, another production of the first century, and nearly contemporary with the Apocalypse, exhibits the view in question most abundantly. In c. 9, 3 the archangels are thus addressed in behalf of those who were oppressed by the giants before the flood: "And now to you, O ye holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make complaint, saying: Obtain justice for us with the Most High. Then they said to the Lord: Thou art Lord of

lords, etc." after which follows a long intercession on the part of the archangels. So in c. 47, 2, the holy ones [the archangels] assemble, and "with united voice petition the Lord of spirits, on account of the blood of the righteous which had been shed." Among other things they ask, that "the prayers of the righteous may not be intermitted before the Lord of spirits;" that is, the supplicating angels present the prayers of the righteous, and ask that they may be heard and accepted. In c. 97, 4, the prayers of the righteous are said to rise up in remembrance, and to be "deposited in testimony before the angels." In c. 40, 6, Gabriel in represented as "petitioning and praying for those who dwell on earth, and supplicating the Lord of spirits."

So late as the time of Origen, and indeed long after, the doctrine of angel-intercessors appears to have been fully believed. Thus Origen says: "Always he [the guardian angel] presents the prayers of him [the pious man], through the only High Priest [Christ], to the God of the universe."[1]

These testimonies respecting early usage cast light on the passages cited from the Scriptures, in relation to the subject before us. The biblical writers have expressed themselves, at least on this subject, like other writers of the early ages. How much of this is mere *accommodation* to the usual forms of speech? or, to put the question in another form, How much of this representation is to be literally explained, and how much tropically?

That there is, on the part of the angels, a formal presentation before God of the prayers of saints on earth, *pro more hominum*, surely need not be maintained. God is a spirit, and angels are spirits. The representation is anthropopathic, beyond a doubt; for the nature of the beings concerned with the matter in question does not permit us to give altogether a literal sense to the words. The substance of the matter seems to be, that angels, "who are all ministering spirits to the heirs of salvation," take an interest in all which concerns the saints; that among other objects of concern and interest, the supplications of the saints, which are acceptable to God, are observed and reported (so to speak) with strong desires that they may be heard. As to the real manner in which all this

[1] Origen. *περὶ Εὐχῆς* § 35. Contr. Cels. VIII. 36.

is done,—that is beyond the evidence of our senses or observation, and seems also to be without the pale of Revelation.

How easily the doctrine now before us may be abused, is sufficiently evident in the absurd practice of the Romish church, which makes invocation to angels. In Rev. 19, 10. 22, 8. 9, and Col. 2, 18, the sacred writers have decided all questions of this nature. Angels are professedly mere servants of God; they are subordinate agents, not principals. Even the leading early Christian fathers are most expressly against the Romish church in relation to invoking angels.[1]

The view which has been taken above of this subject, does not involve any superstition or absurdity. If angels are the guardians of the saints, they doubtless feel an interest in all which they do, and especially in all their acts of piety and devotion. That they gladly make report of these in heaven, (if I may be allowed to speak *more humano* of such a subject,) can neither be disproved, nor rendered improbable. But we are no more bound to worship or invoke them on this account, than laymen are bound to worship and invoke the ministers of the gospel who make intercession for them. Love is due to the angels, and gratitude; and whenever we may come to that state in which we can make expression of these, nothing will bid us withhold that expression.

Finally, every thinking reader will easily see, how many seemingly obscure texts of Scripture are placed in a clear light, by such views as have been exhibited above. When Paul says of himself and his fellow-sufferers: "We are made a spectacle unto the world and unto angels," 1 Cor. 4, 9; when it is said that Christians are "compassed about by a great cloud of witnesses," Heb. 12, 1; that Christ, when he had "spoiled [the evil] principalities and powers, made a show of them openly," Col. 2, 15, viz. to the inhabitants of the heavenly world, Eph. 3, 10; these and other like passages stand in the light of open day, when connected with the considerations that have already been adduced.

8. *There are different orders of good angels.* So the frequent designation of them by "principalities and powers," plainly implies. So the name *archangel* implies; 1 Thess. 4, 16. Jude v. 9. So "the seven spirits before the throne of God," Rev. 1, 4, and

[1] See the quotations in Suicer's Thesaurus Eccl. p. 45, sub. v. ἄγγελος.

"the seven angels who stand before God," Rev. 8, 2. So the various appellations given by Paul imply, viz. *ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι δυνάμεις, θρόνοι, κυριότητες*. It is consonant, moreover, with all that we know of order in the creation of God, to suppose that there are gradations among angelic beings.

It is another question, whether *cherubim* and *seraphim* indicate superior and different orders of angelic beings. Yet I can hardly doubt that the seraphim, (שְׂרָפִים, *ardentes*, *lucentes*, i. e. bright or resplendent beings,) indicate the same angels, who are adverted to as the presence-angels of God in Rev. 1, 4. 8, 2. But as to cherubim, they are the living creatures who are represented as supporting the throne of God; see Ezek. c. 1 and 10, and compare Rev. 4, 6 sq. Hence the symbols of them were carved on the walls of the tabernacle and temple, and images of them placed over the mercy-seat; see Ex. 25, 18 sq. 1 K. 6, 23 sq. Hence in 2 Sam. 22, 11. Ps. 18, 11, Jehovah is said to "ride upon a cherub," because cherubim support the throne on which he is seated. In Ezek. l. c. and in Rev. c. 4, the cherubim are represented as rational beings, worshipping and serving God, etc. But whether this is any thing more than the drapery of the picture, may be considered perhaps as doubtful. At all events, if they are to be regarded as real spiritual beings, they are of an order different from that of angels. Witness the peculiar form of them, viz. that of a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle, combined. In Ezekiel these four forms are all combined in each one; in the Apocalypse only one of these respective forms belongs to each of the four. Is not this a plain index, that real existences cannot be meant? So like to each other are they, as exhibited in Ezek. c. 1, and Rev. c. 4, and yet so unlike, being *composite* in the former and *simple* in the latter, that it is very difficult to make out the same real beings in both cases.

In Gen. 3, 24, indeed, cherubim are represented as guarding the tree of life. But this is a solitary case, and unlike any thing else in the Bible. In what manner the mystery which it presents can be best solved, is a question about which very different opinions have been entertained, and which my present limits forbid me to discuss at large. Perhaps it may be some satisfactory solution of the imagery employed, to suggest, that as the Old Testament idea

of cherubim is that of composite beings with four faces, and as the office here is one of guarding or watching effectually, so as to prevent all access to the tree of life, beings with four faces and full of eyes in every part, (Ezek. 10, 12, comp. Rev. 4, 8,) not unlike in this respect to the poetic Argus with his hundred eyes, are designated as the symbol of a most effectual guarding, on the part of Jehovah, against further access on the part of man to the tree of life. "The flaming sword which turned every way," Gen. 3, 24, that is, which was wielded by the hands on each of the four sides, Ezek. 1, 8, would effectually guard in every direction the gates of paradise. I cannot help thinking that this simple and easy explanation is the probable one. And I am the more induced to believe that symbol only is designated by the name of cherubim, because the second commandment forbids the Jews to "make any likeness of any thing which is in heaven above or in the earth beneath," Ex. 20, 4. Yet the tabernacle and temple were, by divine command, filled with representations of cherubim. What is the natural deduction, when these two things are brought together? It seems to be, that the cherubim are not real and actual, but only symbolic and imaginary beings; of great significance, indeed, when introduced in a manner agreeable to the Hebrew conceptions, but significant only as imagery. Let any one ask himself: Why were not the tabernacle and temple filled with images of angels and archangels? The ready answer is, that they were real "beings in heaven above or in the earth beneath;" while cherubim are the offspring of Jewish and poetic imagination, presenting an image of great significance, and therefore strongly commending itself to usage. Surely the admirers of heathen poetry do not spurn at the conception of an Argus; but the cherubim are incomparably more significant in a variety of respects. The fact that man, the lord of the lower creation; the lion, the king of wild beasts; the eagle, the king of birds; and the ox, the best and most patient servant among all the cattle or tame beasts; are all combined in one being, proves what I have just suggested; for it is thus, that these servants of the Most High, which have the honour of supporting his throne, are distinguished as possessing, at one and the same time, peculiar intelligence, strength, swiftness, with ready and patient obedience. Now all these are most appropriately symbolized, by the four liv-

ing creatures which are represented as being united in the composition of the cherubim. It needs indeed some lively exercise of aesthetical power, fully and duly to appreciate images so poetic and vivid as these, and also a good understanding of the nature of symbols, in order to make all plain and easy. But when the simple mode of explanation presented above is once offered to the mind, it seems to me rather difficult to avoid receiving and admitting it. At all events, every exegesis which makes cherubim to be actual and real beings, must meet with difficulties that are insurmountable, and contradictions that cannot be reconciled.

I have now said all, in respect to *good* angels, which my limits permit. More might easily be said; but what is omitted is, for the most part, only what is ordinary and obvious to every one acquainted in any good degree with the Bible. In a similar manner, but in some respects more briefly, do I design to treat of my next topic, which has many points of similitude, and some of striking discrepancy.

V. Names, Qualities, and Actions of Evil Angels.

1. *As to the essential nature of evil Spirits.* If we are to take Jude v. 6 and 2 Pet. 2, 4 as our guide, we must regard them as having once been *good* angels; but "they kept not their first estate," and when "they sinned, God cast them down to hell or Tartarus." This account of the matter, moreover, if we allow the present and actual existence of evil spirits, is altogether rational and probable; for it does not comport at all with the analogy of Scripture, to suppose that God created them evil at first. Even the Persian mythology ventured not so far as this. Zoroaster, in the Zend Avesta, makes Ahriman to have been originally good, when created by the Infinite One, but to have fallen and become degenerate by his own free will.

To evil angels, then, all the natural attributes which belong to this order of beings must be attributed; just as wicked men possess the natural attributes of the human race. It is unnecessary, therefore, to say any thing here of the physiological or metaphysical nature of evil spirits. It is their peculiar moral characteristics and their actions only, of which we need particularly to speak.

2. *Names and orders of evil Angels.* The most prominent division of them is into "the devil and his angels." According to this, the devil or Satan (שָׂטָן *adversary*) stands on the one side, and his angels or evil spirits or unclean spirits stand on the other.

Satan or ὁ διάβολος is a name so common, that I need scarcely refer to any proof-passages. In the Old Testament we find it in Job 1, 6–12. 2, 1–7. 1 Chron. 21, 1. Zech. 3, 1. 2. In the New Testament, the same Hebrew appellation is occasionally retained; e. g. Matt. 12, 26. Mark 4, 15. Luke 22, 3. Acts 5, 3. Rom. 16, 20. Rev. 20, 2; and elsewhere in several cases. The appellation ὁ διάβολος is still the more frequent one; and indeed it is employed so often as to render all appeal, for confirmation of usage, wholly unnecessary. *The tempter*, ὁ πειράζων, is also somewhat frequent in the New Testament; e. g. Matt. 4, 1–11. 13, 19. Luke 22, 3. 53. Acts 5, 3. 1 Cor. 7, 5, and in several other places. Once he is called Ἀβαδδών *the destroyer* Rev. 9, 11; oftener Βεελζεβούλ *Beelzebul* Matt. 10, 25. 27. 12, 24; and once Βελίαρ or Βελίαλ *Belial* 2 Cor. 6, 15. These last names, like all the others, are significant either of Satan's malignity, or of the contempt and hatred which men entertain for him.

The Rabbins usually call him אַשְׁמְדַי *the destroyer* (from שָׁמַד *to destroy*), or else סַמָּאֵל (from סַמָּא *venenum* and אֵל *mighty*), which seem to be equivalent to ἀπολλύων.

None of these appellations is a proper name. They are all indicative merely of quality or of actions. But such is the case also, as we have already seen, in respect to the names of the good angels as well as of the evil ones.

On the other hand, none of the subordinate evil spirits have particular appellations given to them. They are sometimes collectively called the devil's angels, ἄγγελοι τοῦ διαβόλου, i. e. *messengers* or *servants of the devil*, Matt. 25, 41. Rev. 12, 7. 9, comp. Rev. 9, 14. The more common appellation in the New Testament, however, is πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα *unclean spirits*, or πνεύματα πονηρά *evil spirits*; Matt. 10, 1. 12, 43. Luke 11, 24.—Matt. 12, 45. Luke 7, 21. Eph. 6, 12, etc. Apparently they once have the name Satan (in a generic sense) applied to them, e. g. Matt. 12, 26, "If Satan cast out Satan;" but here the last name stands for ἑαυτόν *himself*, according to an idiom not unfrequent in the

Hebrew and Greek Scriptures; see and compare Mark 3, 26. Luke 11, 18. 19, which seem so to decide this matter.

That evil spirits in general are subordinate, in some sense, to Satan, is clear from the fact that they are called his angels or servants. Such a view appears to have been commonly entertained by the Jews: "He casts out demons, by the prince of the demons," Matt. 9, 34.

But there is another appellation, common throughout the Gospels, viz. *δαιμόνιον* or *δαίμων*, i. e. *demon*. Paul employs the first name five times; James once, 2, 19; Luke once, Acts 17, 18; and the Apocalypse once, 9, 20. In the Gospels it is employed some forty-six times. *Δαίμων* appears there, also, three times; elsewhere only in Rev. 18, 2. Nearly always is the word *demon* employed, in the Gospels, in connection with demoniacal possessions.[1] In Acts 17, 18, it bears the heathen sense, *gods;* and the like of this is Paul's use of the word in 1 Cor. 10, 20. 21, and perhaps 1 Tim. 4, 1. In James 2, 19, it seems plainly to be equivalent to 'evil spirits,' generically considered.

That *demon* is employed in the Gospels in a sense different from the classical one, is quite plain. The oldest use of *δαίμων* in classic Greek, is to designate *deified* men, that is, heroes or benefactors. Then come, next in order, the meanings *gods superior* or *gods inferior;* then that of the *genii* of places, persons, etc. and finally that of any being belonging to the spiritual or invisible world. The name, merely of itself, never designates an evil being. Hence, in order to characterize specifically, the Greeks said *ἀγαθοδαίμων* and *κακοδαίμων*. But in the New Testament the simple appellation of itself means only and always an *evil* being, and it is plainly equivalent to *unclean spirit* or *evil spirit*.

If these affirmations needed proof, it would be sufficient to allude to the simple fact, that the Greek and Roman mythology presents us with no order of beings that corresponds to the evil spirits of the

[1] *Δαίμων* is the proper and original noun; *δαιμόνιον* is not (as it might seem) a diminutive of this, but the neuter adjective used as a noun. So *κύριος*, so often employed for *Lord*, is properly an adjective. The adjective thus employed is even more expressive and comprehensive than the noun. For the rest, there is no palpable difference which can be expressed, between *δαίμων* and *δαιμόνιον*, as to signification.

Hebrews. Of course these nations had no proper names for such beings. They spoke, indeed, of *κακοδαίμονες*, but then they meant only, that the *δαίμονες* in question were malignant or full of evil purposes toward a particular individual, or nation, or object. All the gods are of such a class, by turns, whenever they become enraged; but an order of beings like devils, only and always malignant, the Greeks and Romans knew not; and consequently they had no proper names to designate them. Hence the egregious mistake of arguing, as Farmer and others have done, from the classic Greek views of *δαίμων* to the New Testament usage. Plainly *δαίμων*, in the New Testament, is as different from *δαίμων* in Homer, Hesiod, Plato, and other Greek writers, as the *θεός*, or *ἄγγελος*, or *οὐρανός*, of the New Testament, is different from the same words as employed by the heathen. In such cases the New Testament writers have indeed employed classic words, but plainly in quite a modified sense.

Some other appellations are occasionally given to Satan and his coadjutors; but these are merely significant of rank, or power in certain respects, and will be brought to view in the sequel, where these respective topics are more particularly examined.

According to the disclosures in the Old Testament and in the New, there appears, then, to be but *one* devil or Satan, and to be *many* evil spirits or unclean spirits, or angels of Satan. But there is one circumstance here which is well worthy of special note. This is, that Satan is rarely mentioned or brought to view in the Old Testament; for it is only in Gen. c. 2, Job c. 1 and 2, 1 Chron. 21, 1, and Zech. 3, 1. 2, that we find any account of him or his agency, with any certainty; and even in Genesis, he is not named. As it respects the passages to which appeal has just been made, however, the matter has been keenly contested; but it seems now to be generally conceded. On the other hand, as to the *angels* or *servants* of Satan, no express mention of them is anywhere made in the Jewish Scriptures; unless it be, indeed, that Isaiah twice makes, in a popular way, an allusion of this nature. In Is. 13, 21. 34, 14 are mentioned the שְׂעִירִים i. e. goat-shaped monsters or forest-demons, as dancing over the ruins of ancient Babylon and of Idumea. The Seventy render the Hebrew word here by *δαιμόνια*. Also in Is. 34, 14 the לִילִית or nocturnal hobgoblin (of the feminine gender)

is associated with the satyrs or forest-demons. But there is no sufficient evidence, in the original of these passages, that any thing more than the modern elf, sprite, or hobgoblin, as believed in by the vulgar among European nations not long since, is meant. The Arabians, down to the present hour, and indeed most nations in hither Asia, believe that all desolate places are inhabited by mischievous elves and hobgoblins, who often destroy and devour travellers. The fact that part of these elves are represented as feminine, seems to exclude them from the order of demons; for the Scriptures nowhere recognize females among the angels good or evil. The two passages of the Old Testament, Deut. 32, 17. Ps. 106, 37, where the Seventy have rendered שֵׁדִים by *δαιμόνια*, afford no evidence of the fact that demons are really meant in the Hebrew Scriptures; for שֵׁדִים means properly *domini* (from שוד *dominare*), and, in the passages in question, it stands for the *idols* which were the symbols of the *domini* worshipped by the heathen.

It must be conceded, then, that frequent and familiar as the idea of Satan and his coadjutors is in the New Testament, yet in the Old, the first is very rarely mentioned, and to the second class not even any certain allusion is made, much less is there a direct mention of them. The Seventy have in their version merely given the popular views of the Jews, after their return from exile in the East, and not the exact sense of the Hebrew Scriptures.

But the fact now stated must not be over-estimated as to the influence it should have upon our creed. The Saviour, in speaking of Moses and the ancient prophets, says: "No man hath seen God at any time, the only begotten Son—he hath declared him," John 1, 18; and Paul says, that "the gospel has brought life and immortality to light," 2 Tim. 1, 10; that is, the character and designs of God, and the full nature and certainty of immortal life and glory, were but imperfectly revealed by the Jewish Scriptures. It remained for the gospel to complete this revelation. And so, likewise, of evil spirits. We could hardly make out a *demonology* from the Old Testament; indeed, we could not do any thing important toward one; and as to any very definite developments respecting Satan himself, his rank, condition, and peculiar character, we search in vain for them there. The New Testament only has given us a sketch of all these in some good measure completed.

In respect to the New Testament itself, moreover, the peculiar and appropriate sense of *δαιμόνιον*, as connected with demoniacal possessions, is scarcely, if indeed at all, to be found except in the Gospels. The instance in Rev. 16, 14 is indeed apparently of the like tenor, and seems at first view to be more in the usual way in which Satan is spoken of. But if this is so, it is in fact the only case of this nature, where such a kind of influence is directly mentioned in the other parts of the New Testament, as being connected with demons. Of course, there is ground to doubt here respecting such an interpretation. But whether there is a mischievous *moral* influence at all ascribed to demons indirectly or not, we shall find occasion to inquire in the sequel.

The fact that there is such a wide discrepancy, as to the scriptural representations respecting Satan and in regard to demons, has, somewhat naturally and not unfrequently, raised doubts whether they both belong to the same class of beings; that is, whether Satan is merely *primus inter pares*, or of an order of beings quite different from his angels or servants. The Scriptures have not given any very express and particular reasons, either for believing or rejecting the one or the other of these views. Yet they seem to me to have given hints, by which we are naturally led to conclude, that Satan is merely *primus inter pares*. Thus in Matt. 12, 26, where Jesus speaks of 'Satan as casting out Satan,' although, as we have seen, the probable meaning is: 'If Satan cast out himself,' yet the ultimate reference here is, beyond fair question, to demoniacal influence. This then is considered as belonging to, or being a part of, Satan's appropriate province. Consequently demons are regarded as acting under him, or by his procurement. So in Acts 10, 38 Peter speaks of Christ as "healing all that were oppressed *ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου by the devil;*" where, again, the reference to maladies occasioned by demoniacal influence is plain, and therefore this influence is regarded as being under the direction of Satan. These passages are in entire accordance with Matt. 9, 34, where the Pharisees are represented as saying of Jesus, that he "casts out demons by the prince of demons." All this looks like the relations between master and servant, or king and subject, and both parties may therefore naturally be considered as belonging to the same species of being. And if we join to this, the several de-

clarations in which the "devil and his angels" are mentioned, Matt. 25, 41. Rev. 12, 7. 9, and then add to all this the very frequent occurrence of the epithets unclean spirits, evil spirits, as applied to demons, is there any good reason to doubt that these are the subordinate agents of Satan, or that they belong to the same species, although not to the same rank, with himself?

A brief consideration of the *ranks* or *orders* of the evil angels, to which we must now for a moment attend, will serve, perhaps, still further to confirm this impression. Paul, in Col. 2, 15, speaks of Christ as having despoiled *τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας*, and made a show of them openly in his triumphal exhibition. Beyond all reasonable question the different orders of *evil* angels are here adverted to, and *ἀρχαί* and *ἐξουσίαι* seem to mean different gradations of rank. Still more express is this sentiment in Eph. 6, 12, where Paul says: "Our contest is not with flesh and blood, but with principalities, with powers, the rulers of this darkness—evil spirits in aerial regions." The first and last clauses of this verse show, that the application of it must necessarily be made to evil spirits; for the contest of which Paul speaks, is "not with flesh and blood," not with human beings, but it is "with evil spirits in the aerial regions, *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*." How Bretschneider can speak of this passage as applicable with any probability to heathen magistrates, I know not.[1] Certainly almost the whole current of even recent interpreters is against him. "The rulers of this darkness" means the evil spirits who influence wicked men, called "darkness" here; just as in John 1, 5, "The light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not;" and just as Paul says in this same epistle: "Ye were once darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord," Eph. 5, 8. The translation above of the last clause, "evil spirits in aerial regions," will be the subject of remark in the sequel. Paul plainly means to say, that the contest is of a most difficult nature, because it is carried on with even the higher ranks of evil spirits, and these too as having more power and being less liable to harm from us, because they belong to those which dwell in the regions of the air.

What confirms this view of the subject is, that in Eph. 2, 2 Sa-

[1] Dogmat. § 106.

tan is spoken of as the prince of the aerial host; where both his rank and the usual abode of evil spirits seem to be alluded to. Again, in 1 Cor. 15, 24, Paul speaks of Christ as reducing to utter inefficiency (καταργήσῃ) every principality, and magistracy, and power; which plainly refers, in my apprehension at least, to evil angels.

The express references thus made in Scripture to different orders or ranks of evil angels, make it altogether probable, that among them, as among the good angels, there are different gradations of condition. But more than this general idea, we cannot bring out from the Scriptures. We might guess about the various ranks, as the Rabbins have done; or we might indulge in poetic fancies, like Milton and others; but theology proper can claim nothing more than the generic fact, that there are different ranks of evil angels. What is the particular character and official station of each, lies beyond the region of our investigation.

It seems, however, to follow from these premises, that inasmuch as there are other evil spirits besides Satan who hold a high rank among this order of beings, so all of them appear to differ from each other merely in *rank*, but not as to the essential attributes of being or character.

3. *Number of evil Angels.* On this I have but a word to say. The passage in Mark 5, 9–13. Luke 8, 30, which respects the many evil spirits (called *legion*), who possessed a single individual, does not accomplish any thing important for our purpose. *Many* here is only a relative term, in distinction from the *one* demon which was usually concerned with demoniacal possessions. The plural number which Paul uses, in speaking of the higher orders of evil spirits, viz. *principalities*, *powers*, etc. seems of course to indicate that there are numerous subjects or subordinates. The fact that diabolical or demoniacal influence is exerted, according to the representations of the apostles, over all the heathen, yea over the whole world, would seem to indicate the existence of many evil spirits; for neither Satan nor any of his associates are omnipresent or omnipotent. To act in every part of the earth at the same time, and to act thus, moreover, in an habitual manner, seems to render necessary the existence of many unclean or evil spirits.

4. *Influence and agency of evil Spirits.* This topic would appear

to be encompassed with no very special difficulty, so far as it respects Satan. The adversary, the evil one, the prince of this world John 12, 31. 14, 30. 16, 11, the god of this world 2 Cor. 4, 4, the dragon, the accuser of the brethren, the tempter, and other appellations applied to Satan, all sufficiently indicate his evil nature and his actual influence. The manner in which he assailed the Saviour, his entrance into Judas the betrayer, his influence over Ananias as to covetousness and solemn falsehood Acts 5, 3 sq. and innumerable other cases of the like kind, all show what evil and pernicious influence, and what power also, Satan has over the hearts of men. He seems disposed always and everywhere to use this malicious power to the uttermost. The great efforts made by the persecuting heathen against the church, as presented in Rev. c. 13 and 19, seem to originate from and to be led on by Satan. In many respects he appears to correspond to the Ahriman of the old Persians.

I need not dwell, however, on traits so obvious and well known to all my readers as these. It shall be my endeavour to make some remarks on topics less trite than those already suggested.

We have seen, that Satan scarcely makes any figure in the Old Testament. We believe him to have been concerned with the fall of our first parents; not because he is named in Gen. c. 3, but because the nature of the transaction there related, and the explanations of this transaction and hints relating to it in the New Testament, lead us to believe it. In reference to this, in Rev. 12, 9. 20, 2, he is named 'the dragon,' 'the old serpent.' The passages in 2 Cor. 11, 3. 1 Tim. 2, 13. 14. John 8, 44, and 1 John 3, 8, all show that the apostasy of our first parents was attributed by Christ and his apostles to the influence of Satan. But his name occurs not, except in books written after the Jewish exile; e. g. 1 Chron. 21, 1. Zech. 3, 1. 2, and also Job 1, 6–12. 2, 1–7; the later origin of which last book, however, is less certain. Whatever may have been the ground of omission in the Old Testament (with these few exceptions), the fact itself stands unquestioned and unqustionable.

As to the New Testament, it is everywhere full of allusions to Satan. This is a common trait of all its writings. The persuasion respecting him must have been not only full, but deep, and as

it were all-pervading. He is often placed in contrast with the Saviour; and although the former is most evidently and markedly described as inferior to the latter, yet to Satan is everywhere assigned the power of doing great mischief.

But what shall we say of the excessive use that has been made of the passages, which speak of his influence and dominion? Because, in reference to the wide-spread influence of Satan he is called the "prince of this world," and even the "god of this world," are we literally to interpret passages of this nature, and thus in a clandestine manner introduce effectually the old dualism of Zoroaster and the Persians? This indeed has often, very often, been substantially done; done, I acknowledge, for the most part without any direct intention of such a nature. Still, there is an impression wide-spread among the lower classes of people, even in our country, that Satan is a kind of omnipotent being; and he is often represented as the successful, or rather the invincible rival of the great Redeemer. Yet the New Testament is full enough of instruction relative to this subject, to correct any erroneous views in relation to it, if it be duly examined. I need only appeal to the large class of passages, which represent Satan as a conquered enemy, as "falling like lightning from heaven;" as reduced to a state of impotence (*καταργουμένον*) in respect to that deadly power which he exercises, Heb. 2, 14; and all the evil "principalities and powers and magistrates," 1 Cor. 15, 24. Eph. 6, 12. Col. 2, 15, as subdued, or to be subdued and utterly discomfited by Christ; for "the prince of this world is cast out," John 12, 31; "the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil," 1 John 3, 8; and Christians are everywhere spoken of as being liberated from his dominant power, 1 John 5, 18. 19. 4, 4, etc. When the apostle, therefore, calls Satan the "god of this world," and the Saviour calls him the "prince of this world," it is the world of the wicked which is meant; for such is the usual idiom of the Scriptures. And as to the power of Satan even over the wicked, that is everywhere presented in the New Testament, as something which will wholly cease after a time, and the reign of the Prince of peace become universal.

It is the *extent* of Satan's influence among the wicked, then, which is designated, when his kingdom or reign is spoken of in the

manner just noted. And as all idolatry is, in the Scriptures, represented as being in connexion with the seducing spirit of Satan; and inasmuch as the greater portion of the world, even now, is in a heathen state; no wonder that the sacred books speak of Satan's dominion and power in the manner already exhibited.

But let it be remembered after all, yea let it be deeply inscribed on the tablets of every memory, that all the success of Satan is due rather to the weakness and wickedness of man, than to his absolute control over him. James, in c. 1, 14, represents every one as tempted, "when drawn away with his own lust and enticed;" and passages like Rom. 1, 21–32. Gal. 5, 19–21, which ascribe the sins of men mainly to their own evil passions and forbidden lusts, show that the causative agency of Satan is not necessarily dominant nor compulsory. The evil desires and lusts of men may bring them under the power of Satan, and thus make them members of his community; and these may and do render them far more exposed to the power of Satan's wiles, and so a more easy prey of this roaring lion. Yet all this is in a voluntary way on the part of man. To represent Satan as not only an implacable and malignant, but also an irresistible, yea quasi-omnipotent adversary, although often done in the pulpit and by the press, is not only *un*scriptural but *anti*scriptural. I say this with entire confidence, because I can establish the truth of it beyond appeal. What says James? "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." And what Peter? "Be vigilant; because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour; whom resist, steadfast in the faith," 1 Pet. 5, 8. 9. The context shows that the writer here refers to the persecutions excited by Satan against the Christian church; and that vigilance, even here, would do much for their preservation. And how does Paul express himself in relation to this subject? "Give no place to the devil," Eph. 4, 27. All his power over us, then, arises from our own remissness, weakness, and negligence. Why should we talk, or listen to others who talk, of Satan's 'irresistible' power, of his 'omnipotence' to mislead us? We see that the Scriptures declare it to be in our power to prevent the mischief he would do. "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." We are stronger than he, then, if we choose to put forth our strength. Or, to express what I mean more exactly, whatever his power or influence

may be, it cannot be such but that we are adequate to meet and to repel it. When Paul, therefore, speaks of such as oppose themselves to gospel-truth, as being "ensnared by the devil, and taken captive by him at his will," it is not because Satan has power to take them captive *nolentes volentes*, but because they voluntarily yield themselves up to his will. In this manner Paul represents at length the wickedness of the world at large, in Rom. 1, 21 sq. Indeed, any other ground than this would divest wicked men at once of all their personal guilt, and consequently of all their accountability to God because of it.

How deeply these considerations intrench upon the long practised methods of exhibiting Satan as omnipotent and omnipresent, every thinking mind will easily perceive. Especially has the Romish church erred here, beyond all bounds of reason or of moderation. According to the doctrines which they sedulously inculcate, Satan has not only irresistible power over the world of the wicked, but next to such a power even over Christians. Nothing but exorcisms, and holy chrisms, and lustrations with holy water, and incantations, and the like, can keep off evil spirits or disarm them of their fatal power. And, as the consummation and chief end of all the doctrine, nothing short of the interposition of the priesthood can secure any one against destruction, either in this world or the next; an interposition, however, which is not "freely given," as the Saviour commanded his disciples to impart the blessings of the gospel, but to be purchased at whatever price the church may fix upon it.

Many a sermon and many a book even by Protestants, also, needs correction in the light in which the Scriptures have placed this subject. I have more than once heard, from the pulpit, discourses which were eloquently and impressively written and pronounced, the amount of which was, that the devil is so formidable a rival of Almighty God, that the latter saw no way of effectually crushing his power, but by sending his Son into the world to suffer and die; and the necessary inference from the positions taken was, not that "God so *loved the world*, that he gave up his only begotten Son;" but that God so *hated the devil*, that in order to be avenged on him, and to put him down, he gave up his Son, and devoted him to suffering and death. *Horresco referens.* I shall

never forget the involuntary shudder that came over me, while listening to such appalling views of God's benevolent designs.

But enough of this topic. The result of our inquiry here is plain and simple. Satan derives his success from our *voluntary* subjection and yielding to him. He has no power to harm us, when we resist him,—no more than he had to harm the Saviour, when he was tempted, but still without any sin. Be the power of Satan what it may; be it exercised in one way or another on our own minds, either by direct influence or indirect; it matters not. RESIST THE DEVIL, AND HE WILL FLEE FROM YOU.

Thus much for the *moral* influence of Satan. But the Scriptures ascribe to him something more than this, and something in various respects different from it. They represent him, in some cases, as the author of *physical* as well as moral evil. We must pass this part of the subject, therefore, in brief review before us.

In the Old Testament, the attitude in which the introductory chapters of the book of Job place Satan, is plainly the one that is now before us. Satan is the direct agent in bringing destruction upon the patriarch's family, and then in smiting him with grievous ulcerations. It matters not whether this is merely imagination on the part of the writer, or matter of fact, so far as my present object is concerned. In either case, the views which the writer and also his contemporaries entertained in respect to the appropriate agency of Satan, are developed. If the story be fiction, still it must be fiction in accordance with the views and apprehensions of those who were originally to read it; for the period of inventing monstrosities in poetry had not yet arrived. That was a work which remained for rank superstition and enthusiasm to accomplish in after ages.

The other cases in the Old Testament of agency by Satan, in Gen. c. 3. 1 Chron. c. 11. Zech c. 3, are of a moral nature, and therefore belong to the kind of agency which we have before considered. In the New Testament, the agency in question is somewhat amply disclosed. Thus, in reference to the demoniacal influence which inflicted diseases upon men, in Matt. 12, 26 this is represented as under Satan's direction or superintendence. In Luke 13, 16 Jesus speaks of a Jewish woman, who had been bowed down by infirmity for eighteen years, as "having been bound by Satan" during that period. In Acts 10, 38 Peter speaks of

Jesus as having "healed all that were oppressed by the devil." In 1 Cor. 5, 5 Paul directs, that the incestuous person at Corinth should be "delivered over to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved," that is, given over to be chastised by disease; and this under the influence of Satan, in order that the offender might be led by chastisement to a repentance connected with salvation. So of Hymeneus and Alexander, whom Paul "had delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme," 1 Tim. 1, 20. The very nature of the object in view, in these cases, shows that only physical and temporal calamity can be meant, and not the moral delusion of Satan.

If we may be permitted to go into the Apocalypse for evidence, Satan there stands forth pre-eminent in all that is mischievous, either in a temporal or spiritual respect. If the representations there made be regarded even as nothing more than the machinery, so to speak, of this great moral Epopee, still they are indicative of the sentiment and feelings of the writer when the Apocalypse was composed.

Passages like these, in connection with the idea that demons or secondary evil angels are the subordinates of Satan, show that he has an influence in occasioning physical evil as well as moral. Not, however, that he is the author of all physical, nor even of all moral evil; but that it comes within the sphere of his agency to do mischief in both respects.

I have only one more remark to make, at present, in relation to Satan's agency in producing *moral* evil. This agency is not only made prominent in the Scriptures, but it is the only one which is very frequently mentioned. Whether this is because Satan is the dominant evil spirit, and so what other evil spirits under him do is ascribed to the leader, (in conformity with the maxim, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se,*) or whether he is in *propria persona* and directly the principal agent in tempting to moral evil among men, are questions not directly and expressly decided in the sacred writings. Still, as Satan is not omnipresent, and therefore cannot be in all places at the same time; as he is a spirit of limited powers, and cannot well superintend such an infinite variety of mischief at one and the same moment; the probability seems to be, that although the Bible speaks of him as the great moving cause,

yet it regards him as employing many subordinates. What else can be meant by "the devil and his angels," but evil agents standing in such a relation? And although we have no express declaration as to the number of Satan's angels, yet the work which they perform is of such an extent, and so exceedingly various and manifold, that we cannot well suppose the evil angels to be few in number. We feel in some measure constrained to regard them as numerous. Hence the apostle speaks in the plural of their ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι; which in itself and by consequence indicates numerous subordinates.

But it is time to pass to a more particular consideration of *demons* or the angels of Satan.

The appellations *demons*, *unclean spirits*, *evil spirits*, are indicative of the nature of those beings,—of their nature both in a metaphysical and a moral sense. But it is only the latter with which we are now concerned.

The fact, that demons are Satan's angels or servants, is in itself proof that they are malignant and mischievous. But how? We have seen that Satan is concerned with both physical and moral evil. The latter, indeed, seems to be his main object; but the former he sometimes inflicts, as one of the agents which divine justice employs. Is such the case with demons or secondary evil spirits? Or is their circle of action more contracted?

At first view, many of my readers may perhaps regard these questions as strange. And yet there is more room to ask them, if the representations of Scripture are to be our simple guide, than they probably are aware of.

A brief statement of facts will make this quite plain. In the Old Testament, Satan's angels or subordinates are never mentioned, nor even distinctly hinted at. The Jews of our Saviour's day must therefore have reasoned themselves into a belief of such a doctrine, by using premises which they found in the Old Testament, or they must have derived a hint of it from other sources. In the New Testament, however, there is no want of recognition, that subordinate evil spirits exist, and are busily engaged. But that they are direct agents in enticing to *moral* evil, it would be difficult to find any where plainly asserted.

I have already remarked, that aside from the Gospels, we rarely

meet with the mention of demons or subordinate evil spirits. *Δαιμόνιον* or *δαίμων*, in Acts 17, 18. 1 Cor. 10, 20. 21, probably 1 Tim. 4, 1, and Rev. 9, 20, has the classic or heathen meaning. In the Evangelists' sense of the word, we find 'demon' out of the Gospels, only in James 2, 19. Rev. 16, 14. 18, 2. The Gospel of John, moreover, exhibits it only as employed by the Jews, or with direct reference to their employment of it; viz. John 7, 20. 8, 48. 49. 52. 10, 20. 21. 'Unclean spirits' also is a phrase mostly confined to the first three Gospels. Luke employs it once, in Acts 8, 7, and John in Rev. 16, 13. 18, 2. The appellation 'evil spirits' is limited again to the first three Gospels, and to Acts 19, 12. 13, 15. *Ὁ πονηρός*, i. q. *ὁ διάβολος*, is more frequent. But this does not concern our present inquiry.

Of all these cases, now, in which any of these appellations are used as designating the subordinates of Satan, where is there one that stands connected directly with an account or assertion of the production of moral evil, or of solicitation to it? The only one which wears an appearance of this kind, (unless I have overlooked some other instance,) is to be found in Rev. 16, 12. 13; yet even there it is apparent, that the unclean spirits who are mentioned, are agents merely in leading out the hosts of the beast and false prophet, that they may be ultimately destroyed, in the valley of Armageddon, Rev. 16, 16. Elsewhere universally, (I believe,) it is the production of *physical* and not of moral evil, in which demons are represented as being concerned.

That the influence ascribed to them in the Gospels, and the few passages of the Acts which mention them, is of such a nature, is manifest from the fact, that the demoniacs, or the subjects of demoniacal possession, are nowhere addressed or treated as being morally to blame, because they are possessed by evil spirits. I do not mean that no blame attaches to them for having brought this evil upon themselves; for there are cases of this kind in which a return of the evil is threatened, provided they relapse into sin. But the simple fact that they are possessed by demons, is always looked upon and treated as a calamity or a punishment, and not as a crime. In no case are they treated as able to expel the demon, by any effort of their own, or by any exercise of their own will. A foreign and extrinsic power must come to their aid. They are

never rebuked because they do not resist this kind of Satanic influence. And in fact, it is regarded and treated as one of the chief miraculous powers of Christ, that he could cast out demons; nor are demoniacs ever addressed as having any power to resist, or even modify, the influence of their tormentors.

This consideration puts all the cases of demoniacs on a ground entirely different from that of those who yield themselves to the moral influence of Satan, and who are always regarded and treated as criminal, and as able to deliver themselves from the power of their seducer. *Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.* Is there any thing like this addressed to a demoniac; or any thing said respecting him, which denotes that he has power, or is under obligation, to liberate himself from his invisible tormentor?

How little this fundamental distinction between the common moral *Satanic* influence and *demoniacal* influence, has been regarded by writers upon demonology, even a common observer may soon perceive, who reads their productions. And the views of the whole subject of demonology to which this distinction necessarily leads, must be of fundamental importance.

It is no part of my present design to give even a sketch of New Testament demonology. This would require more room than can be here spared; in fact it might, of itself, easily occupy a moderate volume. It is possible I may hereafter give some hints in regard to this matter; for however confident the Neologists may be, that the contest about the real existence and influence of demons is nearly if not quite ended, I am far from being of such an opinion. My belief is, that the same principles of exegesis which eliminate actual demoniacal influence from the New Testament, must also decide against the actual existence of good angels, against the resurrection and future judgment, and in fact against every miracle which is recorded; and what proves so much, proves a great deal more than I am disposed to admit.

To aver that 'evil spirits cannot have a power of inflicting diseases,' is merely begging the question. Whatever powers they have, must be known to us only by revelation; and we cannot make out an *a priori* argument against the influence now under consideration. And when Farmer and others appeal to the divine benevolence, as deciding against the admission of demoni-

acal influence, why does he not tell us whether the tornado, the simoom, the plague, the cholera, the volcano, and thousands of other evils, disprove the divine benevolence, in case we admit their real existence? And above all, how can any one admit that Satan is permitted to roam about and entice men to their eternal ruin, and yet deny the possibility that demons can inflict temporal and physical evil consistently with the divine government?

That spirits can have control over matter, will not I suppose be questioned, so long as God governs all worlds, and we ourselves make use of our own bodies as entirely subservient to our minds. And why may not demons smite with physical maladies, as well as other agents in nature, or as well as Satan?

As to the extent in which they are empowered to do this, or as to what and how many diseases they can inflict, or what is the peculiar character of these diseases, I pretend to no certain knowledge, and am not aware of any direct sources of such knowledge. That their influence is confined, as Farmer and others seem to contend, to the infliction of epilepsy and madness, is notoriously erroneous. What means the deaf and dumb spirit? Or what the woman bowed down with infirmity by Satan for eighteen years? Most evidently when men reason thus they have not thoroughly studied the subject.

The question, whether the demoniacal influence under consideration was peculiar to the times in which the Saviour made his appearance, or whether it still continues, is a graver one than many seem to imagine. If it be in the nature of demons to inflict physical evils, is that nature changed? Have they laid aside their malignity? Or are they sent already into confinement? If not, who can disprove that they still have an efficiency, like to that of ancient times, although, as we should naturally expect, somewhat modified under the gospel dispensation?

But I must not launch out upon such an ocean, since time will not permit so long a voyage as would be necessary. I hasten therefore to close what I have to say in regard to the powers and actions of demons or evil spirits, by observing, that although the New Testament nowhere expressly asserts their evil *moral* influence, (as we have already seen,) yet there are passages which

seem to imply it. Of Satan's mischievous moral influence, we do not doubt. Nay, this is immeasurably the most considerable development of his character. Now as demons are the angels or servants of Satan; as they are sentenced to everlasting punishment with him; since the Apocalypse represents the angels of Satan as fighting, with their leader, against Michael and his angels, and against the church; inasmuch as Paul reckons principalities and powers among them as enemies with whom Christians are to contend; and as no such contention is ever mentioned in cases of usual demoniacal influence; it would seem to follow, that evil spirits are, in some respects, (not definitely disclosed to us,) the coadjutors of Satan in enticing to *moral* evil. More than this we cannot with certainty gather from the Scriptures.

That we cannot determine the *manner* in which Satan or his coadjutors act upon either our bodies or our minds, makes nothing against the views that have been taken. When we can determine how a blade of grass grows, how our spirits act upon our own bodies, or influence our fellow beings; how God himself acts upon all nature without us and within us; then we may begin to urge the great question about the manner in which evil spirits act upon us, or influence us. As to *moral* influence, one thing is clear negatively, viz. that constraint or irresistible influence on the part of the devil or his angels, is out of all question; for *if we resist them they will flee from us.* In this way the justice of God in punishing men for yielding to them, becomes manifest, and can be as clearly vindicated, as when a civil government punishes a murderer for having been persuaded by some of his fellow-men to commit the fatal deed.

My limits will permit the discussion of only one more topic connected with this part of the subject, viz.

5. *The Place of evil Spirits.* By this is meant what may be called their proper home or usual dwelling place; and with the consideration of this, we may also include their occasional places of abode.

It is obvious, that in speaking of such a subject, we must speak in language borrowed from sensible objects. But it is in this manner, also, that we are constrained to speak of God and good angels, of heaven and the abode of the spirits of the just. The relation

pure spirits have to actual locality, it would be difficult for us to determine. One thing we know of evil spirits, viz. that they are finite; and being such, we may speak of them as in one place rather than in another; for in this manner the Scriptures speak of angels and of glorified saints. *Heaven* is the abode of these. Not the *new* heaven which will be created, at the final consummation of all things, for their ultimate abode, but the heaven usually spoken of in the Scriptures.

It presents no small difficulty to the considerate mind, that evil angels are sometimes spoken of as being in a place of confinement, "in chains of darkness," and in the great abyss or pit; while in other places they are mentioned as roaming at large in quest of mischief which they may do, and as pervading the whole earth, and carrying on their plans among all nations. Is there any real contradiction here? Or can the sacred writers be reconciled with each other, and with reason, in regard to this somewhat embarrassing matter? The attempt to do this is not without its difficulties; as the sequel will disclose. Still, in my apprehension, the conciliation may be accomplished.

First of all we must bring together what the Scriptures say, or intimate, with regard to the place or abode of demons or evil spirits. When this is done, comparison may enable us to make out some satisfactory result.

a) Evil spirits are represented as confined *in the abyss or bottomless pit.*

In accordance with this, Jude speaks (v. 6) of "the angels who kept not their first estate," as being "kept in perpetual chains, beneath darkness (*ὑπὸ ζόφον*), unto the judgment of the great day." The idea is that of confinement in a dark place, and so that they cannot escape from the judgment which finally awaits them. It seems like a temporary imprisonment of an arrested criminal, before his final trial and condemnation. To the same purpose Peter speaks, 2 Pet. 2, 4: "If God spared not the angels who sinned, but, thrusting them down to the abyss (*ταρταρώσας*) in chains of darkness, assigned them to be kept for judgment." The phrase "chains of darkness" seems plainly to mean, chains or bonds in a dark place; and the participle *ταρταρώσας* indicates, of course, that this place was a deep abyss. In perfect accordance with this, Luke 8, 31 represents

a demon as beseeching Jesus that he would not order him to go away *εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον*, that is, into Tartarus or the abyss. The deprecation, on the part of the demon, shows that he anticipated some special punishment for his offence. So the demons (through the demoniac), in Matt. 8, 29, deprecate punishment by anticipation: "Art thou come hither to torment us *before the time?*" that is, before the final judgment of the great day. In Rev. 9, 11 the locusts from the pit or abyss are represented as having Abaddon, or the destroyer, for their leader; which of course indicates that he was, at least for a part of the time, an inmate of the pit; and accordingly, he is there named "the angel of the abyss." In Rev. 9, 1 the abyss is represented as being locked up, and an angel is sent with a key to open it, in order to let loose the locusts with Abaddon. This idea corresponds exactly with that designated by the word *σειραῖς* in 2 Pet. 2, 4, and *δεσμοῖς* in Jude v. 9. Finally, in Rev. 20, 1–3 Satan is represented as bound and cast into the great abyss for a thousand years, in order to prevent any harm which he might do to the church. In v. 9 of the same chapter, this abyss is called his *φυλακή* or prison.

These passages, and some others of a similar tenor, being compared together, the result is, that evil spirits, although surely kept for a future judgment, are not constant dwellers in the abyss, but only occasional ones, until their final trial comes. The deprecation, not to torment them before their time, not to be sent away into the abyss, and the thrusting of Satan into the same abyss, all show, beyond any reasonable doubt, that during a part of the time they are at liberty to roam over other regions; that is, to occupy themselves with doing mischief to men on earth.

b) Another occasional temporary abode is that of *desert places*. This idea is associated with the representations made in several passages of the Old Testament. In Is. 13, 21 the שְׂעִירִים, *forest-devils, hobgoblins*, are represented as dancing over the ruins of Babylon. In Is. 34, 14 both these and the לִילִית, *the female-sprite* or *elf*, are described as associating in their revels among the ruins of the Idumæan cities. In entire accordance with this imagery, Rev. 18, 2 represents the ruined spiritual Babylon as becoming "the abode of demons," *κατοικητήριον δαιμόνων*. In Matt. 12, 43, the unclean spirit, when expelled, is represented as

"walking δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων, through dry or desert places, seeking rest and finding none." This last circumstance shows, that such a banishment is of the nature of a penalty or punishment. A confinement to desert places of course abridges the power of the demon, and prevents him from doing harm to men. It is therefore of the like nature as confinement in the great abyss, although of less severity. It is, as we may say, the ordinary prison-room, and not the deepest dungeon. And when the Evangelists make mention of the desert, as the place whither Jesus was led in order to be tempted, is not the choice of place peculiarly appropriate? Greedily would the evil spirit there seize the opportunity to ply his work.

But we have evidence from other sources, that such were anciently the views of the Hebrews, in regard to the occasional abode of evil spirits. The book of Tobit (8, 3) represents Asmodeus or the destroyer, when cast out by Raphael, as fleeing "into the upper regions (ἀνώτατα) of Egypt," that is, into the wild and dreary parts of that country. So Baruch 4, 35, speaking of a desolate city, says: "It shall be inhabited by demons, for a long time." The book of Enoch, a work of the first century, exhibits the same *usus loquendi:* "The Lord said to Raphael, Bind Azazel [one of the leading apostate angels] hand and foot, and opening the desert in Dudael, cast him in there." Lower down we need not come for evidence of this nature; although we might find it in abundance. The recognitions of this mode of thinking and speaking among the Hebrews, in regard to evil spirits, are sufficiently plain and distinct in the New Testament; and when this is well understood, it serves to make several passages very plain, which otherwise would be quite unintelligible.

In making a comparison, now, between this and the preceding head, it is obvious, that evil spirits, although sometimes in the abyss, are not represented as being always there, even when they are banished from all opportunity of intercourse with men; for the manner in which our Saviour speaks of an unclean spirit, when cast out, viz. as 'walking through dry or desert places,' shows that this was the more usual punishment inflicted at least upon the demons of possession. And what else is all this but symbol or imagery, to show that evil spirits may be punished in different de-

grees, and in a different way, before the final judgment? The more severe punishment is the abyss; the milder one, the desert; yet either secures, for the time being, the hapless men whom demons would otherwise annoy, from their malignant attacks. But the more congenial element for the abode of evil spirits, the one which is usual while they are permitted to annoy men, still remains to be mentioned.

c) Their usual abode is *the air*. By this I mean the whole region or space between the visible heavens and the earth; which is frequently named שָׁמַיִם in Hebrew, and *οὐρανός* in Greek.

Paul has adverted, more than once, to such a view of our subject. In Eph. 2, 2 he speaks of Satan as *ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, prince of the aerial host.* No other exegesis which has been given of this text, seems capable of abiding the test of philological examination; but this, as we shall see in the sequel, is altogether in conformity with the linguistic usage of Paul's day. So again in Eph. 6, 12 Paul says: "Our struggle is with the principalities and the powers, with the rulers of this darkness, [i. e. the rulers of benighted or wicked men,] with evil spirits in the aerial regions," that is, who dwell in or belong to the aerial regions. Surely Paul does not mean to say, that the Christian has a violent struggle with good angels in the heavenly world; nor does he here mean to designate heathen magistrates, for they cannot be characterized as being or living in the upper regions of the air. I see, therefore, no other probable exegesis of this passage.

In accordance with this scriptural mode of speaking in respect to evil spirits, we find examples in other writings of the first century. The Ascension of Isaiah, a work composed in the apostolic age, represents this prophet, when he is ascending to heaven, as 'seeing Sammael [Satan] and his powers in the upper regions of the air, and in violent contention with each other;' c. 7, 9–13. Again, in 10, 29 the prince of this world is represented as dwelling "in the region of the firmament," or in proximity with the רָקִיעַ or visible expanse of the heavens,—the same thing in substance as Paul's *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.* In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, another book equally ancient, it is said, in Test. Benj. c. 3, that "he who fears God and loves his neighbour, cannot be stricken *ὑπὸ*

τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελιάρ, by the aerial spirit Beliar," or Belial.

I need not refer to Philo Judæus, or to the heathen authors, to show that they often spoke of demons as inhabiting the air. Their views of demons were so different, in various respects, from those of the biblical writers, that the comparison would hardly be apposite.

It is natural to ask, How could such a view as this last one prevail among the Jews? The question is not, as I apprehend, a very difficult one. Whoever has a correct knowledge of the metaphysical speculations of ancient times, must know, that spirits were not regarded exactly in the same light as that in which we now regard them. An extremely subtile and tenuous airy essence or substance was attributed to them, a kind of ethereal or transcendental element. Hence רוּחַ in Hebrew, and also *πνεῦμα* in Greek, designates *air*, *wind*, as well as the *spirit* of man; and such a designation was doubtless given to the latter, because tenuous aerial substance was considered as affording the nearest analogy to the component elements of spirits. How natural, now, to fix on the *air*, this symbolical element, as the appropriate region for the dwelling-place of spirits! Thus the good angels dwell in *οὐρανός* or heaven above the sky, and the evil angels dwell in another *οὐρανός* or lower heaven beneath the firmament.

In short, as Œcumenius says, in commenting on the phrase "prince of the aerial host," in Eph. 2, 2: 'He [Satan] is named prince of the power of the air, because an aerial nature dwells in him; he cannot abide in heaven, for he is evil; nor on earth, for he is not human.' The Jews, in thinking and speaking of evil spirits, must think and speak of them as having some appropriate locality; and inasmuch as they are, by their character and nature, excluded both from heaven and earth, where else could the Hebrews with consistency assign them a place, excepting in the *air?* If it be said, that 'the abyss is the proper place for them,' this might be conceded, so far as one wished to represent them as being in durance and under severe but temporary punishment. But it must be remembered, that the Bible everywhere represents them as often and actively engaged in tempting or annoying men.

This, so long as they were actually confined in the abyss, they could not do. Of course, such a place must be assigned them, for a portion of the time at least, that they could carry out the malignant purposes which they are endeavouring to execute. The most convenient place for this, the one at least seemingly most adapted to their metaphysical nature, was considered to be the atmosphere. Thus it came, that "the prince of the aerial host," the devil with his angels, had his place of resort, or his abode, in the air.

Considered in this light, some other passages of Scripture not yet quoted, seem to be quite plain. Thus when the Seventy disciples return from their mission and come to Jesus, he says: "I beheld Satan, as lightning, falling from heaven," Luke 10, 18; referring to his overthrow by the works which the Seventy had performed. The Greek here determines, that the participle (πεσόντα) must be connected with the word Satan, and not with the word 'lightning.' The meaning is, a fall, rapid and unbroken, from the height, the upper air, in which Satan dwelt; all of which, however, is only a symbolic representation, indicative of Satan's defeat. So again in Rev. 12, 7–9, Michael and his angels are represented as waging war with Satan and his angels ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, in the upper regions; from which the latter are cast down upon the earth. This passage stands connected with v. 5 of the context, which represents the man-child (Jesus) as caught up unto God. The war waged would seem to have arisen from the efforts of Satan to annoy the ascending Saviour. Such is the symbolic representation; and all becomes clear, as to the manner of the representation, and also as to the meaning, the moment that we adopt the mode of exegesis now proposed. The sum of the meaning is, that all the efforts of Satan to prevent the ascension and glorification of the Saviour were rendered null and void, and Satan experienced sore defeat through the intervention of the good angels.

Such are the various modes in which the Scriptures speak of the abode or place of evil angels. The *pit*, the *desert*, and the *air*, are all, in their turn, occupied by them. Can this variety of representation be reconciled with the harmony and uniformity of instruction in the sacred books? Something particular needs to be said, in relation to this point.

I remark then, first of all, that a merely *literal* sense of the lan-

guage employed, in describing the abodes of evil spirits, seems to be out of all question. Spirits cannot be said literally and strictly to be confined to *place*, in the usual and literal sense of this word. The simple fact that any beings are spirits, decides this point beyond appeal.

It follows of course, that all such language is merely that of *symbolical* description or representation. If any one should aver, that this is going quite too far with figure and symbol, the reply is obvious. It is going no farther than we constantly go, in speaking of God as dwelling above the sky, above the firmament, in the heaven of heavens, or in the highest heaven, or in heaven; for one and all of these phrases mean the region above the apparent expanse, or welkin, or firmament over our heads. *There* is the throne of God; there his temple; there the angels; there the spirits of the just made perfect. And the Bible, from beginning to end, is full of such representations. What reasonable man now ever thinks of interpreting all this literally? If we were to do this, then heaven, a *local* heaven, at mid-day, would be in the region exactly the opposite to that where it is at midnight; and it would, moreover, be every moment changing its position. When we speak of heaven, then, as the abode of the Godhead, we employ a symbolic representation expressive of his exalted and glorious condition. The idea of his being literally confined to a region above the expanse (רָקִיעַ), has no more foundation in the reality of things, than the solid expanse itself. I say *solid*, for nothing can be more certain, than that the apparent welkin above us, in which the heavenly bodies seem to move, is spoken of in Gen. c. 1, and in other parts of Scripture, as a solid and expanded arch or ceiling over our heads. Yet what reality is there in such a supposition? The scriptural writers were not commissioned to teach philosophy nor astronomy; and they have always spoken of objects like those just mentioned, merely in an optical manner, in the way in which they present themselves to the eye either of the body or of the mind.

Let us carry along with us, now, the instruction that we may gather from such considerations as have just been suggested, and apply it to the subject of angelic abodes. Locality, in the literal sense, we must drop. But we need not dismiss the symbols employed to de-

signate ideas that are very significant. Let us only use them and interpret them as symbols, and all is well. What it means to interpret thus, I will endeavour briefly to explain.

A Hebrew wished to say, in respect to evil spirits, that they were excluded from approach to the good and virtuous, and that they have been (and will be) in a state of degradation and more or less of punishment, ever since they sinned and fell. Shall he express this plain and simple sentiment in this didactic manner? or may he employ symbol and trope, and apply to angels, (as he does to the Supreme Being,) language borrowed from transactions and conditions among men? The latter course he felt at liberty to choose, and he has chosen it. How now, if one were to say, that 'such and such men were shut up in a deep dungeon or pit; or were sent into a desert land as exiles?' Would he not strongly picture forth their degradation and punishment? Most clearly he would. If the like then be applied to angels, in the way of symbol, does it not designate the same thing, or the same general idea —degradation and punishment? And does it not imply a gradation also in these? Most clearly language thus applied would very properly have such a meaning.

That God may deal in this way with the rebel angels, now and then after the commission on their part of some unusual act of wickedness, remitting them to a state of chastisement and special disgrace, is as reasonable as that he may deal in like manner with wicked men, and frequently chastise them during their probationary state. If revelation has taught such a doctrine as this, (and it seems clear to me that it has,) I know of no valid objection which reason can make against it.

As to the *air*, the representation which assigns an abode to evil spirits there, (a place so consentaneous with their supposed natures,) the birthplace of storms and tempests, of thunder and lightning, of vapour and clouds—an abode there, where they can have free access to men—certainly presents nothing strange or incredible. If locality must be spoken of as connected with them, I know not how the sacred writers could do better than they have done. Apostate spirits cannot dwell in heaven, for obvious reasons; nor on earth, for they are not human nor material beings. What remains then but the air? In this element, swifter than the winds,

we may suppose them to move towards any and every part of the earth where human beings are found. Their airy nature, (to speak as the ancients did,) their invisibility, their quick and easy access to men, are all shadowed forth in assigning them an aerial abode. And all this, moreover, is significant, even in the highest degree.

We have no more reason then to find difficulty in these tropical or symbolical representations, than we have in those respecting God and heaven. All that language could do, to communicate new and revealed ideas, it has done by adopting these various modes of representation.

If I am in the right in all this, then there is no contradiction or real discrepancy in the Scriptures, with respect to evil angels. It being once granted that they are permitted to tempt men, and that they are disposed to do so, it follows, that in some way they must have access to them. And how could this idea be better represented, than by assigning the air as their usual place of abode, while thus employed? It being also admitted, that they are occasionally arrested in their career and chastised in a particular manner, on account of some peculiar deed of evil, it follows, that to speak of them as banished to the deserts, or confined in the abyss, would be highly significant of the things thus admitted.

In this simple way, as it seems to me, may the Scriptures be reconciled in regard to the topic before us, and at the same time be made very significant and intelligible. What should hinder us from applying the same principles to the interpretation of passages that have respect to the nature of angel-spirits, which we everywhere apply to those which concern the great and good and all-pervading Spirit?

In casting back our view, and extending it over the whole subject of angelology as presented in the Scriptures, is it any wonder, that John, in the Apocalypse, has made angelic agency one of the leading constituents in the form of his great Epopee? Most clearly he is scriptural, he is Hebraistic, in so doing. If he needed an apology, he might find it in the books of Daniel and Zechariah; indeed, in several of the Gospels. But he needs none. The machinery which he employs is as far superior to that of the Greek and Roman poets, as the object of his work is superior to theirs.

VI. General Remarks on the preceding Views.

The intelligent reader will easily perceive, that it has not been my aim to exhaust the subject of angelology, by pursuing it into all its details. I have purposely omitted the consideration of many things, which are obvious to all classes of readers. My main design has been to exhibit the subject in such attitudes, as would serve to aid the interpreter of the Scriptures, in forming clear conceptions of what is actually taught by the various representations of angels good and bad, which are contained in the Bible.

There are two classes of men, who run into different, and in some respects opposite extremes, in regard to this subject. The one, literary and philosophic, (at least aiming so to appear,) are prone to distrust every thing which has not the evidence of our senses to support it. Some of these have become, at last, fully persuaded that we cannot rely even upon this evidence. These explain away the actual and real existence of angels, and regard all the representations of Scripture respecting them, as language borrowed from the common and superstitious notions of the multitude among the ancient Hebrews. And even these notions most of these philosophizing interpreters regard as being borrowed from the old Persian mythology, during the exile of the Jews in the East. Of course, angels good and bad are, in their view, nothing more than rhetorical personifications of the causes which bring about fortunate or unfortunate events, and virtuous or vicious actions, under the general guidance of a superintending power or principle. With one class of these philosophers, God himself is no longer regarded as an agent, but merely as an impersonal reigning or controlling principle of causation, in the changes and events that are taking place.

My views of the Scriptures compel me to regard this method of treating our subject as a species of unbelief or infidelity. It seems to originate from a practical distrust in the declarations of the Scriptures. It is no more an objection against the real existence of angels, that they are often spoken of in a tropical manner, or represented in a symbolical way, than it is an objection against the being, attributes, and actions of the Godhead, that they are spoken of in the like manner. Symbol, properly employed, must

indicate some reality; and in the case before us, how can I doubt, as a philologist, that the Scriptures mean to teach the reality of good and evil angels?

On the other hand, there is another class of men, that have never attended sufficiently to the principles of interpretation, who understand in a kind of literal way all that is said in the Bible respecting angels. They cannot conceive how trope and symbol can be employed in relation to this subject, without dispensing with, or doing away, all reality. Much less are they able to draw the boundary lines, where trope, if allowed, must begin and end. The safest way, then, as it appears to them, is to give a literal meaning to all that is said.

But what if this involves the sacred writers in contradictions, incongruities, crudities, frigid and unmeaning assertions, and superstitious notions? And all this, I cannot doubt for a moment, must be the result of such a scheme of literalism. Are we then to avoid it, or not? Can we rationally hesitate here, what answer we should give? When Swedenborg reproaches Christians in general, because they do not understand all the declarations of the Bible respecting God in a literal way, and avers, that it is a plain and undeniable declaration of the Scriptures that God made man in his own (literal) image, do we feel necessitated to go along with him, and like the foolish men reproved by the Psalmist, to think that God is altogether like ourselves? Or do we avow at once, openly and sincerely, that we believe in the hermeneutical principle, which bids us interpret as tropical or symbolical, all which, when literally interpreted, would introduce contradiction, absurdity, inept and frigid sentiment, and inconsistency with the context and the plainly avowed opinions of the writer? The application of this simple principle is all that I ask for, in regard to the subject of angelology. It is as rational here as it is in respect to what is said concerning the Godhead. But such an application sweeps away, at once, all the gross superstitions of either the great or the little vulgar, and places the whole matter in an attitude which reason does not and cannot gainsay, nor the enlightened spirit of Christianity oppose.

While then we depart, far and wide, from the path of the skeptical and the so called rationalist, on the one hand, we are at an almost

equal distance, on the other, from the road trodden by the ignorant, the credulous, and the superstitious.

Finally, I may be permitted to ask: Why should angelic interposition be deemed in any way unworthy of or unbecoming the Godhead? The world of nature is, as all acknowledge, managed, and most wisely and skilfully managed, by secondary or instrumental causes. Why should it be deemed unbecoming in the Creator and Governor of moral and intelligent beings, that he should use instruments in carrying on his designs in the moral and spiritual world? For one, I can see no good reason for such an opinion. On the contrary, I can conceive of no more ennobling and magnificent view of the Creator and Lord of all things, than that which regards him as delighting to multiply, even to an almost boundless extent, beings made in his own image, intelligent, rational, moral free-agents, like himself, and capable of a holiness and a happiness resembling his own. How different such a view, from that which represents him as the mighty Master, as it were, of a magnificent puppet-show, all of which he manages by pulling the wires with his own hands! How diverse from that which makes him the only real and free agent in the universe, and all and every part of his works as merely passive recipients of his influence! In a word; the views which I advocate are those which present the Maker of heaven and earth as delighting in the multiplication and employment of beings, who reflect the image of their Creator, the brightness of their great Original. Even the spirits of darkness were once of this number. So both Scripture and reason decide. If we suppose men to have been originally created evil, then it would be inconceivable how and why they are punished. Every being perfectly obeys the laws of God, who fully and perfectly obeys all the laws of its nature enstamped upon it. It would be as real obedience for a being created evil, to do evil, as it would for the night-shade or the hemlock to yield its deadly juice. Reparation, punishment, for obedience of this kind, seems plainly to be without the pale of justice.

Let us contemplate then, with wonder and delight, the picture which the Bible holds up to our view; and especially the poetic and prophetic parts of it. The world around us, yea, the whole universe, is filled with the ministers of Jehovah, who are "swift to do his will." They stand before his throne of glory, and

minister to him there; they preside over nations; above all are they the guardians of the saints; and even infants are committed to their care; they guide the sun in his shining course; the moon and stars send forth radiance at their bidding; all nature is made subservient to those who encamp round about them that fear the Lord. Such is the universe of the Scriptures; and such the instruments which he who is, and was, and is to come, employs in governing his boundless dominion!

It was in the midst of such a universe as this, seen by a prophetic eye, that Daniel, and Zechariah, and especially John of the Apocalypse, lived and wrote. Who can wonder at the glowing pages which they have produced, or at the ecstasies into which they so often fell? The reader, who is not prepared to allow and duly appreciate all this, can have no well-grounded claim to be an adequate expositor of their works, or of other parts of the Scriptures, which, in this respect, resemble them.

VII. Appendix on the System of Zoroaster.

I have referred, on page 145 above, to the opinion current among one class of interpreters, that the angelology of the Scriptures is derived from the old Persian mythology, or the system of Zoroaster as developed in the Zend Avesta, and now usually named *Parsism*. The supposition of these interpreters is, that the Jews, during their exile in middle Asia, became acquainted with the opinions of the Parsees, and finally adopted them as their own.

The evidence of this is said to lie in the fact, that none but the books of Scripture written during or after the exile, contain the doctrine of demonology; and as to the good angels, their appearance and interposition is altogether more frequent in the books written after the beginning of the exile than in the others; so that it is even probable, that what of angelology there is in the other books may have arisen from interpolation at a later period.

If we undertake to reply to this, by averring that the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, all speak of angelic interposition, and most of them very frequently; the answer is, that these books, one and all, were written at a late period of the Jewish history, or at any rate after the deportation of the ten tribes;

and thus an acquaintance of the Jews with the mythology of the Parsees may naturally be supposed. And should we then appeal to the Psalms of David, for evidence of the angelology current in the time of this king among the Hebrews, the reply still is, that all such Psalms as speak of angels were written at a later period, and ascribed to David by their authors, in order to give them currency.

This sweeping criticism in respect to the antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures, reminds one strongly of father Hardouin's position, maintained with much ingenuity and erudition, viz. that all the Latin and Greek classics, with the exception only of Cicero's works, Virgil's Georgics, Pliny's Natural History, and Horace's Satires and Epistles, were composed by monks of the thirteenth century. Of course I have nothing to say, in an essay like the present, in the way of canvassing such positions. I no more believe in the later origin of *all* the Hebrew books, than I do in that of all the Greek and Roman classics; and I think the arguments for the antiquity of the one are, on the whole, not less satisfactory than those for the antiquity of the other. But still, if we admit, (as later criticism strenuously urges us to do, and not without some show of reason,) the later composition of the book of Job, then we have to concede, that *demonology*, or the presentation of Satan and other evil spirits, appears only in those books of Scripture that bear date after the beginning of the Jewish exile.

Did the Jews borrow their views of evil spirits, or of angels in general, from Parsism, that is, the religion of the old Parsees, the exponent of which is admitted to be the Zend Avesta?

There are certainly some striking points of resemblance between parts of the Zend system of intermediate beings between God and men, and portions of the Bible, especially of the New Testament. A superficial observer is struck with wonder, when he sees an Ormuzd corresponding in so many respects to John's Logos; then an Ahriman tallying so well in a variety of ways with Satan; then the Amshaspands, or seven good archangels, seemingly correspondent with the seven archangels of the New Testament; and last of all, the Izeds, their subordinates, seeming to correspond with the secondary angels or subordinate spiritual agents disclosed in the Scriptures. Besides these correspondences of rank, there is seemingly a general correspondence in the nature of their respec-

tive employments. We need not therefore be surprised, should the tyro in sacred criticism be staggered with all this, and begin to cherish some doubts, or at least fears, that the system of religion in the Bible is, after all, rather derived from the traditions of surrounding nations, than revealed by the Spirit of rruth.

Of course we must expect neology to take advantage of all this, and turn it to its own account in undervaluing the authority of the Scriptures. This has often been done by critics; and several books, some of them exhibiting high evidences of talent and study, have been composed and published, in order to establish and propagate these views. I have read with attention the leading publications of this class, such as Rhode's,[1] and others; but I have not been able to satisfy myself of the correctness of the assertions, that the scriptural writers have borrowed their angelology from the traditions of the Parsees.

My limits place an ample exhibition of the subject under consideration entirely out of my present reach. I can only give a few glances at the Zoroastrian system of intermediate beings, which will serve to show how many and how striking the points of discrepancy are, as well as the points of resemblance, between this system and the Jewish Scriptures.

1. According to the Zend Avesta, the original and self-existent God is called *Zervane Akenene*, that is, unlimited or uncreated time. This original being created two others, the resplendent images of himself, Ormuzd and Ahriman, both originally good. Ahriman, through envy of Ormuzd, sinned, fell, and thus became the bitter enemy of Ormuzd.

2. For the purpose of exterminating evil thus begun, Ormuzd commenced the work of creation, by bringing into existence light and all good and useful creatures. In order to prepare specially for contest, Ormuzd created six Amshaspands or archangels, himself being reckoned one of this order and king of all; and besides these he created eight-and-twenty Izeds or leading subordinate angels, companions and helpers of the Amshaspands. Under the Izeds, again, were other subordinate Izeds or Hamkars, performing the like office for their superiors.

[1] Entitled: 'Die heilige Sage des Zendvolks.'

3. Ahriman, in order to prepare on his part for the contest, created corresponding evil beings; that is, Defs, divided into Arch-defs, Defs, and Under-defs, like to and corresponding with the associates of Ormuzd. Besides these, Ahriman created all that is evil, hateful, annoying, and destructive, either in the material or animal world.

4. The world-period established by the Infinite One, is to consist of 12,000 years. Of these, the first quarter was occupied with the creations of good and evil described above. At the commencement of the second quarter, Ahriman showed himself as disposed to enter into the contest. But Ormuzd so terrified him by his menaces, that he shrank back into Duzakh (hell) among his Defs, where he remained until the beginning of the third quarter of the 12,000 years. Ahriman and his coadjutors then commenced a furious attack upon the kingdom of light, and the contest is to be continued, with various success, down to the end of the world (i. e. of the 12000 years), when Ormuzd becomes completely victorious; the resurrection of the dead then takes place, and in the sequel the general judgment; all the Defs are annihilated, and Ahriman himself repents, makes his submission, and is permitted to live.

5. In regard to these intermediate beings which Parsism holds up to view, all but eight are reckoned to be both masculine and feminine; four are always and only masculine; and four always and only feminine.[1]

6. All the higher good beings, the Amsphaspands and Izeds, are the objects of invocation and worship. Ormuzd, however, is the chief or leading object. The Infinite One is principally worshipped in and through him; for Ormuzd is the great all in all of the Zoroastrian theosophy.

7. In addition to these worlds of good and evil spirits, there is yet another class, which lie at the foundation of the Parsee theosophy. These are the Feruers, the original ideal archetypes of all intelligent and rational beings. They correspond, in a great variety of respects, with the *ἰδέαι, ἀρχαὶ νοεραί,* and *ἀρχέτυποι,* of the Platonists. Ormuzd himself has a Feruer. The original archetypical thought of the Infinite One, which formed the first conception of him, is his Feruer; and he (Ormuzd) as creator of all other (good)

[1] Rhode, p. 325.

beings and things, unites a Feruer with every rational being, as his good genius and protector. To the Feruers invocation and supplication must be addressed, especially for the dead; and a part of the days of each month is particularly consecrated to them. The ideal archetypes of Plato, and the *ἀγαθοδαίμων* of Socrates, appear to be very intimately connected with this portion of the Parsee theosophy.

Let us now institute a comparison, by summing up the results of this oriental system.

1. The creator of all (good) things is himself a created and derived being.

2. There are two creators, and as it would seem, of equal power, for they are possessed of substantially the same natural attributes, each of them being quasi-omnipotent.

3. Angels high and low, male and female, are the subjects of invocation and worship. Even so the Feruers. They are worshipped even in heaven, as well as on earth. Ormuzd himself is represented, in fact, as invoking and worshipping his own Feruer.[1]

4. All the evil Arch-defs, Defs, and Under-defs, are represented as being annihilated at the end of the world; and Ahriman himself as becoming penitent and submissive. Hell itself (Duzakh) will be destroyed and purified at the same period; so that the final triumph of Ormuzd will leave no relic of evil or of inimical beings in any part of the universe.

About a few of these positions there is some variety of opinion among the commentators on the Zend books; but the result as here given is regarded by the most intelligent, as the *orthodoxy* of Parsism.

What have we now in the Scriptures? One only living and true God, the Creator of all things by his Logos. There is no dualism, no created gods; no equality between Satan and the Logos or God; no power in Satan to create; no worship of angels, for this is most absolutely forbidden; no annihilation of evil angels at the end of the world; no penitence and submission of Satan; no distinction of sex among the angels, and of course no generation of progeny. Above all, there is not a trace of the Feruers in the Scriptures; no worship or homage paid to these simply ideal ex-

[1] Kleuker's Zend Avesta, I. Th. III. p. 289.

istences, and most particularly no worship by the Creator of the world, of his own Feruer. These are points of discrepance which stand in high relief; so high, indeed, as fairly to overshadow all the few points of resemblance to which appeal has been made.

Well may we now ask, How comes it that the Hebrews, if they derived all their angelology from the Parsees, should have admitted only so few particulars, and excluded, yea, more or less directly proscribed, all the rest? If they had already no angelology of their own, by what means did they mete the limits beyond which they would not receive the angelology of Parsism; and why did they make any limits? These questions it would be difficult to answer. Indeed, I am not aware that any satisfactory answer has yet been given to them. Until such an answer shall be made, we may be excused for our old-fashioned belief,—the belief that the Hebrew system of angelology is patriarchal; that it was confirmed, if not originated, by revelation; and that the Gospel has only brought the twilight of sacred angelology into the full splendour of meridian day.

In fact, I know not whether we might not be fairly entitled, on this occasion, to carry the war (so to speak) into the enemy's own camp. The ten tribes were carried away captive into the land of Assyria about 678 B. C. and the birth of Zoroaster took place, according to Kleuker, in the year 589 B. C.[1] Of course there can be no doubt, considering the region in which Zoroaster spent his life, that he might have become acquainted with the Jews. Is there not, indeed, in his system, much evidence that he did form an acquaintance with them and their theology? and that this is the real source whence have sprang so many analogies to scriptural doctrines in the Zend Avesta? To suppose that he acted as Muhammed did, who had formed an acquaintance with the Jewish, Christian, and heathen theology, if I may be allowed the expression, and then incorporated something of all these into his Islam, is no improbable hypothesis. If Zoroaster obtained from the exiled Jews a knowledge of their angelology, he might incorporate this with his own and the Parsee system, already extant, and thus compound a system different from either of the others, and yet par-

[1] Leben Zor. § X.

taking in some measure of all. Parsee angelology looks very much as if it were made up in this way. The Feruers must be of heathen origin. Dualism, and the total destruction of the Defs and the annihilation of Duzakh, must be of heathen (Parsee) origin. But some of the attributes of Ormuzd and Ahriman, the different orders of angels good or bad, and the like, look very much like being taken from the Jewish notions in relation to this subject.

I am aware that certainty is not attainable here; but I leave it to the impartial reader to decide, whether these suggestions are not quite as probable as those, which are grounded on the asseveration, that the Hebrew angelology is only an offset of the doctrines of Zoroaster.

III.

THE REPUTED SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

BY THE EDITOR.

In reply to allegations contained in the Oxford "Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles."

I. Introduction.

A volume has recently been published at Oxford, comprising a revised translation of that portion of the Abbé Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, which extends from A. D. 381 to A. D. 400. The work is introduced by an advertisement signed J. H. N. the well known initials of the Rev. J. H. Newman, Fellow of Oriel College, one of the leaders in the Oxford movement so called, and likewise one of the principal authors of the "Tracts for the Times," connected with that movement.

Prefixed to the same volume is a laboured essay of no less than two hundred and six pages, upon the character and credibility of the ecclesiastical miracles; that is, those miracles recorded as wrought in the early centuries of the church, posterior to the apostolic age. The writer takes the ground, that these are "not

to be at once rejected;" "that some of the miracles reported were true miracles;" and "that we cannot be certain how many were not true." He thinks that "under these circumstances, the decision in particular cases is left to each individual, according to his opportunities of judging."[1] After treating, in separate sections, of "the antecedent probability" of these miracles, their "internal character," and "the state of the argument" respecting them; the writer, "considering the painful perplexity which many feel when left entirely to their own judgments in important matters," goes a step further and "sets down the evidence for and against certain miracles, as we meet with them."[2]

The reputed miracles which he thus selects, and of which he maintains the credibility by an array of the evidence, are the nine following, viz. 1. The Thundering Legion; 2. The change of water into oil by Narcissus of Jerusalem; 3. Miracle wrought on the course of the river Lycus by Gregory Thaumaturgus; 4. Constantine's Luminous Cross; 5. The discovery of the Holy Cross by Helena; 6. The Death of Arius; 7. The fiery eruption on Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jewish Temple; 8. Recovery of the Blind Man by relics at Milan; 9. The Miracle upon the African confessors mutilated by Hunneric.—These then, at least, are the miracles, in allusion to which the writer makes the assertion, "that it will be found that *the greater part of the miracles of Revelation are as little evidence for Revelation at this day, as the miracles of the Church are evidence for the Church.*"[3] This essay also is ascribed to the pen of the Rev. Mr. Newman; apparently without any ground for doubt or hesitation.[4]

The general subject of these alleged miracles does not here concern us; except to remark, what indeed the author admits, "that "the view here taken of the primitive [ecclesiastical] miracles, is ap- "plicable in defence of those of the medieval period also."[5] Nor is

[1] Essay page xiii.
[2] Page cv.
[3] Page cix.
[4] In the Advertiser prefixed to the Quarterly Review for Dec. 1842, the book is announced by the publisher, J. H. Parker of Oxford, as follows, p. 40: "THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of M. L'Abbé FLEURY, from the Second Ecumenical Council to the end of the Fourth Century. Translated, with Notes, and an Essay on the Miracles of the Period, by JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B. D. Fellow of Oriel College."
[5] Page ccxiv.

it possible to stop here; for the same view which sustains the miracles of the early and middle ages, is necessarily "applicable in defence of those of the *present* period also." So that, on the principles of the essayist, no one can justly withhold his belief in the truth and reality of the "recorded" miracles of Prince Hohenlohe in our own day, nor in the cases of *stigmata* still occurring in Italy, and Tyrol; the evidence in respect to all which is certainly not less strong, than that which has come down to us in behalf of the miracles of the early centuries.[1]

With none of all these miracles, however, has my present purpose any thing to do, except that which relates to the reputed discovery of the Holy Cross by Helena in A. D. 326. In attempting to sustain the credibility of that event, the essayist is necessarily led to consider the authority of the present reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre; for, if this be not the true site, the objection, as he admits, "would altogether overthrow the history of the discovery of the cross." He therefore lays out his strength to show, that the spot selected by Helena was the true one; and this he does, not by bringing forward any positive argument whatever, except the general consent of the church, but by endeavouring to set aside the contrary evidence, mainly as adduced by the writer of the present article in his work on Palestine.

Those who have read this latter work, will remember, that after a minute topographical description of the Holy City, and a rapid sketch of its history from its destruction by Titus to the present time, a particular and somewhat extended discussion is allotted to the subject of the Holy Sepulchre; in which the evidence for and against the present reputed site is canvassed in its various details. In entering upon that discussion, it certainly was the desire and in-

[1] The account of a case of *stigmata* in Italy, attested in a letter from an English nobleman who had visited the person, went the rounds of the public press a year or two since. More recently, another instance in the person of a Tyrolese girl is circumstantially reported in the *Revue de Bruxelles* Tom. II. No. 3, published under the authority and as the organ of the bishops and clergy of the Romish church in Belgium. Here is the contemporary authority of the dignitaries of the church; while in the case of Helena's holy cross the earliest testimony is seventy years afterwards. —The Editors of the British Critic (Jan. 1843, p. 282) allude to two recent cases of *stigmata*, attested by the Earl of Shrewsbury; but expressly take neutral ground, neither affirming nor denying the reality of the alleged miracles.

tent of the writer, to conduct it in a spirit of impartiality and fairness. I had no personal nor party ends to gratify; my education had taken place and my life had been passed at a distance from the controversies between Protestantism and Romanism; and my wish was, to look at the subject simply as an historical question connected with the topography of Jerusalem. If I had a partiality of feeling, it certainly was in favour of finding the true site in the traditionary one; for I went to Jerusalem prepossessed with the idea, that such, after all, might be the actual state of the case. Yet notwithstanding this bias, a careful personal examination of every local point connected with the question, forced both myself and my fellow-traveller to the conclusion, that the topographical view was fatal to the claims of the present site; nor did we afterwards find any historical testimony of sufficient weight to counterbalance this result, but rather such as tended on the whole to confirm it.

The fortune of the work here referred to, has in one respect been somewhat unusual. While, on the one hand, the Council of the Geographical Society of London, composed certainly of capable and impartial judges, unanimously awarded to it one of the gold medals of that Society for the last year; on the other hand, a writer in Protestant Oxford vigorously attacks the above-mentioned discussion and its results, in order to sustain an ecclesiastical miracle; and, at the same time, Catholic Austria, apparently on similar grounds, prohibits the work within its borders, or at least does not permit it to be advertised.[1] A singular unity of feeling between the representative of an English University-movement, and the unenlightened bigotry and intolerance usually charged upon the Austrian government!

II. Remarks on the alleged Discovery of the Cross.

The reputed discovery of the Holy Cross, as the facts appear on the pages of history, was an event merely subsidiary to the finding of the Holy Sepulchre. Eusebius the cotemporary, who dwells upon the latter event, and regards it as a resplendent miracle, says

[1] This is said on the authority of a letter from Gesenius, dated June 10th, 1842. Yet a commendatory review of the work, from the pen of Prof. Olshausen of Kiel, had already appeared in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* for Jan. Feb. March, 1842, published at Vienna.

not one word of the cross. Its existence is first implied more than twenty years later from the language of Cyril; and the only hint or vestige by which it can in any way even then be connected back with the finding of the sepulchre, is the doubtful passage in the letter of Constantine to the bishop Macarius of Jerusalem, where he speaks of the recent discovery of the "sign (monument, γνώρισμα) of the Saviour's most sacred passion, which for so long a time had been hidden beneath the earth."[1] This language, at first view, would seem naturally applicable to the cross; and so I have admitted in the discussion referred to.[2] But a closer examination of the whole of the imperial epistle, constrains me to doubt whether such a reference can be sustained. The passage occurs at the very commencement of the epistle; and if it is to be referred to the cross, then the emperor in this letter makes no allusion whatever to the discovery of the sepulchre. Yet it was the sepulchre (ὁ ἱερὸς ἐκεῖνος τόπος) which he gave orders in that same letter to decorate, and in behalf of which he caused a splendid oratory to be erected; and that too in consequence of the very miracle to which he had before thus alluded. The inference seems to be unavoidable, that the monument γνώρισμα) before spoken of, was therefore the sepulchre and not the cross. And further, if Constantine himself laid such high stress upon the finding of the cross, as a "miracle beyond the capacity of man sufficiently to celebrate," how can we account for the fact, that Eusebius, his flatterer and himself an actor in those scenes, should pass it over in deliberate silence?

The essayist indeed, following Montfaucon, attempts to connect the cross existing in Cyril's day with the finding of the sepulchre, by another link. Although he admits that Eusebius is silent about the cross itself, yet according to him that father makes mention of miracles as attending the discovery of the sepulchre; and these miracles, he assumes, can be only those related in a later age as connected with the finding of the cross. He states the matter thus: "Treating of the words, 'Dost thou show wonders among the "dead?' he [Eusebius] says, 'If any one will give his attention to "the marvels which in our time have been performed at the sepul-"chre and martyry of our Saviour, truly he will perceive how the

[1] Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 30. [2] Bibl. Res. in Palest. II. p. 13, 15.

"prediction has been fulfilled in the event.' Yet commenting upon "the 108th (109th) Psalm, he mentions the honours paid to 'the "sepulchre of Him who was delivered over to the cross and death,' "without saying a word of honours paid to the cross itself."[1]

A slight degree of attention only is necessary, to perceive that the language of Eusebius does not bear out the conclusion of the essayist; and also that, of the passages cited, the one explains the other. The words of the Psalmist commented upon, refer in the Hebrew, Greek, and common English Version, to wonders done *to* the dead, not merely among them; and these wonders Eusebius obvious applies *to Christ*, as done in honour of the Saviour around his sepulchre and martyry. What then were these wonders done *to* or in behalf of Christ? Over the sepulchre Constantine had built a splendid oratory; and over the Golgotha, an immense martyry (*μαρτύριον*) or Basilica.[2] These were wonders done to Christ in the eyes of the church; these were "honours paid to the sepulchre of Him who was delivered over to the cross and death." That the miracles intended were not performed *by* the cross in connexion with the discovery of the sepulchre, is very apparent, not only from the language itself, but also from the fact that these wonders are said to have taken place also around the martyry,—a name applied strictly to the church over Golgotha, which was not then in existence, and was not completed until nine years afterwards.[3]

[1] Page cxlvii. The original of the Scripture text and of Eusebius is as follows: Ps. [87] 88, 11 הֲלַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא; Sept. *Μὴ τοῖς νεκροῖς ποιήσεις θαυμάσια*; Engl. Vers. 'Wilt thou show wonders to the dead?' Euseb. Comm. p. 549 *Εἰ δέ τις τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσειε τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀμφὶ τὸ μνῆμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιτελεσθεῖσι θαυμασίοις, ἀληθῶς εἴσεται, ὅπως πεπλήρωται ἔργοις τὰ τεθεσπισμένα*, i. e. 'If any one will give his attention to the wonders wrought in our day around the sepulchre and martyry of our Saviour, truly he will perceive, how the things predicted have been fulfilled in the works.'

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 38–39. Bibl. Res. in Pal. II. p. 17.

[3] Euseb. ib. IV. 43–47. Bibl. Res. ib. p. 13.—The name *Martyrion* was applied to the large church, as standing directly over the place of the Saviour's passion. Cyril. Hieros. Cat. XIV. 6. ed. Touttée. Comp. Euseb. de Laud. Const. c. 9, sub fine.—Wesseling in combating the position of Montfaucon and the essayist, has further shown that the meaning they put upon this passage of Eusebius, is inconsistent with his context; ad Hieros. Itin. p. 593, 594.—By an oversight I have elsewhere spoken of Wesseling's language as referring to the Letter

It follows then, that there is no certain allusion whatever to the Holy Cross as then existing, until the time of Cyril, who became bishop of Jerusalem in A. D. 348, more than twenty years after its alleged discovery.[1] Cyril's testimony is sufficiently full, that the cross was then well known in Jerusalem; and portions of it had already been distributed throughout the world. In his letter to Constantius, which may or may not be genuine, he likewise speaks of it as having been discovered in the Holy City under Constantine, that is, prior to his death in A. D. 338. Jerome also, writing in A. D. 404, mentions it in connexion with the visit of Paula.[2] In view of these facts I have said, that "it would seem to be as little reasonable to doubt the existence of the alleged true cross at that early period, as it would be to give credit to the legendary circumstances [afterwards] related of its discovery."[3] But this follows from the evidence of Cyril alone; and not "from the passages of Eusebius," as distinctly claimed by the essayist; nor, as we have seen, from the letter of Constantine. Neither do Cyril and Jerome, writing upon the spot in Palestine, afford a hint or allusion, by which the cross can be brought into any connexion either with Helena or with the sepulchre.

It was left for writers of a later age, and in other lands, to deck out the story of the cross and its discovery, with the circumstances which give to the transaction the air of a miracle. Ambrose in Alexandria and Chrysostom in Constantinople, about A. D. 395, both mention three crosses, not one; and say that the true cross was known by the title which Pilate fixed upon it. About A. D. 400, Paulinus in Italy and Sulpicius in Gaul speak of the three crosses, and affirm that the true one was distinguished from the other two by the fact of its restoring a corpse to life. Rufinus in

of Constantine; Bibl. Res. II. p. 15. n. 2. The whole of that note should be struck out.

[1] The essayist indeed, having stated the case and alluded to the difficulties with apparent candour, afterwards always speaks of the above passage of Eusebius as an undoubted testimony of that father to the existence of the cross in his day; and by an adroit substitution of the word *miracles* for marvels or wonders, he leaves the impression on the mind of the unwary reader, that Eusebius certainly meant none other than the miracles alleged to have been wrought by the cross itself.

[2] See the references in Bibl. Res. II. p. 16.

[3] Bibl. Res. II. p. 16.

Italy, also about A. D. 400, says that the inscription was detached from the cross, and that the person restored was not a corpse, but a female at the point of death. The three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, who flourished about A. D. 440, the former at Antioch and the two latter at Constantinople, all accord with the account of Rufinus.[1]

The case then stands thus. Of the authors who lived and wrote in Palestine in the same century, Eusebius the cotemporary and an actor in the same transactions, makes no allusion to the cross whatever. More than twenty years later, Cyril testifies to the existence of the cross, in such a way as to imply that it had then been known for at least some years, and possibly before the death of Constantine. Jerome also alludes to the cross; but neither he nor Cyril afford any clew to connect it with the discovery of the sepulchre. The first hint of any such connexion occurs about seventy years after that event, in the works of foreigners at Alexandria and Constantinople. As the story travels into Italy and Gaul, it gathers fresh circumstances, and a sick or dead person is restored to life and health. After another forty years, or one hundred and fourteen years after the event in question, the latter story has become so generally current, as to find its place in the ordinary annals of the church.

It is therefore not without reason that the essayist remarks, that "perhaps it is right to draw a line between the above testimony "[that of Cyril etc.] and the evidence which follows at a later date; "except so far as the later evidence happens to be confirmatory of "the earlier. It would seem impossible, but that the original story "should receive a colour or an exaggeration, when taken up as a "matter of popular belief, and that in countries far remote from the "scene to which it belongs. These additions, when we find them in "subsequent writers, whether true or false, are exposed *primâ facie* "to a suspicion which does not attach to the [earlier] particulars." After this admission, thereader would naturally expect the essayist everywhere to draw such a line in his own course of argument. Far from it, however; nor does he afterwards allude to any distinction of the sort; but wherever it is convenient for his purpose,

[1] I follow here the statements of the essayist, pp. cli, clii.

he adduces the testimony of those later writers as conclusive evidence upon all points relating to the finding of the cross. Thus he says of Helena in her search for the place of the cross and sepulchre: "The empress availed herself of the assistance of the most learned both of Christians and Jews." But this story of the Jews comes only from Sozomen, one hundred and fourteen years after the event; and further, the essayist himself correctly relates, that "by a "law of Hadrian, the Jews were forbidden to approach within some "miles of the Holy City, and Constantine did but permit them to "view it from the neighbouring hills."[1] Even in Jerome's day they were allowed to enter the Holy City only once a year. I do not therefore see, how Helena could well avail herself of any assistance from Jews. Nor do I see precisely, how the preceding consideration answers (as the essayist says it does) my remark, that "the Fathers of the church in Palestine, and their imitators the monks, were themselves for the most part not natives of the country."[2]

There is another collateral fact, which tends strongly to confirm the conclusion legitimately to be drawn from the silence of Eusebius, that the cross had no connexion with the discovery of the sepulchre, but was an 'invention' got up some years later. It is this. In A. D. 333, seven years after the journey of Helena and two years before the dedication of the church, the Bourdeaux pilgrim visited the Holy City. He speaks of Golgotha where our Lord was crucified; of the crypt at the distance of a stone's throw, where he was buried; and of the splendid church erected by order of Constantine, furnished with reservoirs of water and a bath where infants were baptized. But he too makes no allusion either to the cross or to Helena. His silence respecting the empress can be easily explained; she had been dead for several years, and it was the emperor alone who had cared for the building of the church. But had the cross then been in existence, a well known and venerated object, it is certainly very difficult to account for the utter silence of the pilgrim respecting it; disposed as he was to mark every sacred spot and to pick up every legend, even the most trivial, connected with the Holy City. To a writer who finds the crypt where

[1] Pages cxlv, clxv. [2] Bibl. Res. I. p. 373. Essay p. cxlv.

Solomon tormented demons, and relates that the fountain of Siloam flows for six days and rests upon the seventh; who sees the palm-tree whence they broke branches to strew before our Lord, and the rock whereon Judas betrayed him; certainly the Holy Cross on which the Saviour expired, could not but have been an object far too sacred and imposing to be passed over without mention. The inference is at least natural and obvious, in connexion with the like silence of Eusebius and the absence of all positive testimony, that the cross did not then exist, or was not publicly known.[1]

Still further difficulties present themselves to the inquiring mind, on looking at the subject from other points of view. Cyril, as we have seen, is the only one to testify to the existence of the true cross in his day. Now on what evidence did Cyril believe it to be the very cross on which the Saviour expired? This question we certainly have a right to ask; for even the essayist would hardly receive the *belief* of a single witness as good evidence, without knowing the grounds of that belief. But on this point Cyril is silent. The earliest testimony which touches it, is that of Ambrose and Chrysostom nearly seventy years later, who speak of three crosses as found by Helena, and say that the true one was known by the title affixed to it by Pilate. Later writers speak of a miracle of healing. Here then is the evidence, the historical evidence, which satisfied these Fathers of the verity of the cross. It may have been that which satisfied Cyril;

[1] Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 593 sq.—On this Itinerary the essayist has the following remark in his additional note, p. ccxvi. "It is remarkable that the Bourdeaux pilgrim, whose silence about the cross "is sometimes brought in corroboration of Eusebius' silence above noticed, is silent also about the place "of the ascension and St. Helena's "church there; though no one denies this part of St. Helena's history. So unsafe is it to argue from a "negative." This remark shows, that it is sometimes also unsafe not to look before one leaps. The language of the Itin. Hieros. p. 595, is: "Inde ascendis in montem Oliveti, ubi Dominus ante passionem Apostolos docuit. *Ibi facta est Basilica jussu Constantini.*" Now, in whatever way the phrase 'ante passionem' is to be understood, no one can have the slightest doubt that the Church of the Ascension is here meant. In the same manner he describes Helena's church at Bethlehem, "ubi natus est Dominus noster J. C. Ibi Basilica facta est jussu Constantini;" p. 598. The pilgrim might easily refer these churches to the emperor and not to Helena; since the former alone had taken charge of the building, and the latter had long been dead. See more in a note farther on.

but he does not say so. It *must* be that which satisfies the essayist and others at the present day; for there is no other. Yet these are certainly "additions," and that in "later writers," which according to his own showing "are exposed *primâ facie* to a suspicion which does not attach to the particulars" of Cyril's testimony.

Further; if on the strength of this later evidence, we believe the cross in question to have been the true cross; then, on which part of this testimony do we rest our belief? Ambrose and Chrysostom receive the fact, because the true cross was known from the others by the title. This however does not satisfy any of the still later writers; because they say the title was separated from the cross, and therefore a miracle of healing was necessary to convince their minds. Even as to this they are not agreed; with some a corpse is raised to life, with others a sick person is restored to health. Now upon which of all these statements are we to build our faith? How can we know which to choose? On the essayist's principle, these Fathers, all living so near the time, must have known what was true and right much better than we can know it; yet they differ widely in their reports; and the evidence which satisfied Ambrose and Chrysostom, did not satisfy Paulinus and the other writers. The essayist seems to prefer the miraculous recognition, as "the most rational and obvious hypothesis."[1] But is there not here something of that "colour and exaggeration," which the essayist speaks of as likely to be attached to a story when taken up as a matter of popular belief, by later writers, and in other countries? Yet, let it be remembered, this is the only evidence we have, to show any connexion between the cross of the fourth century and that on which the Saviour died.—Let me also here remark, that the evidence which thus identifies the true cross, identifies likewise the crosses of the two malefactors as found by Helena. Indeed the three stand or fall together.

But, admitting for the moment that Helena did actually find crosses on the spot held to be the place of crucifixion; what evidence *à priori* could there be, that one of them was the true

[1] Page cliii.

cross? How could it be proved, or even rendered probable, that the cross of Christ and those of the malefactors should have remained undecayed for three centuries upon this spot, unmolested by enemies and unsought by friends? This question involves three distinct points of inquiry, viz. How the crosses came to remain upon the spot at all? How they could remain so long undecayed? and, How they could have remained without molestation or previous discovery?

As if in reply to the first of these inquiries, the essayist assumes that the crosses were immediately buried upon the place of execution; and he assigns this as a reason which led Helena to the search: "It was the custom of the Jews to bury the instruments "of death with the corpses of the malefactors; and ... there "seemed no reason to doubt that .... His [Jesus'] cross, and "those of the two thieves, as well as their corpses, had hastily been "thrown into the ground on the very place of crucifixion."[1] By consulting the note, the reader will perceive the late and slender Rabbinical authority on which this alleged Jewish custom rests. But even granting it to have existed, crucifixion was not a Jewish but a Roman punishment. Our Lord was sentenced by a Roman tribunal; his execution was conducted by Roman soldiers; his sepulchre was watched by a Roman guard. The Roman soldiers of course cared nothing what became of the crosses; they would be very likely themselves to use them as fuel; or even were the crosses slightly buried, it would be difficult to suppose that they

[1] "'Accedit consuetudo Judæo- "rum, quibus solemne instrumenta "suppliciorum juxta cadavera sonti- "um obruere;' Gretser de S. Cruce, "Tom. I. i. 37; he refers to Baro- "nius and Velser. S. Basnage "agrees, Annal. 326. 9." Such is the evidence on which the essayist rests the Jewish custom assumed in the text. Gretser, his chief authority, is discussing the important question, whether in taking the body of Christ down from the cross, the cross was left standing or was itself lowered with the body. He decides for the latter on two grounds; one, the improbability that the cross remained standing until the destruction of Jerusalem! and the other, this Jewish custom in question. In proof of it he cites "ex compendio Talmud quod dicitur Alphesio, et ex Rabbi Jacob et Rabbi Moyse Ægyptio;" and refers to Baronius and Velser. The latter writer I have not at hand; but Baronius merely says in apparent allusion to the same supposed custom, "that the cross [of Christ], which the sepulchre could not take in, was hid in some neighbouring cavern;" Annal. A. D. 34. 131. Basnage also (l. c.) merely makes a passing allusion to the same account.

would not be sought for and applied to a similar use by the common people, in a city where wood was never abundant and where every species of fuel was and is gathered with avidity.

As to the second point, the essayist seems to regard the preservation of the cross in the ground for three centuries undecayed, as itself a miracle. He had just said of the cross, that "a miraculous recognition is perhaps the most natural and obvious hypothesis," and then subjoins: "Nay the very fact that a beam of wood should "be found undecayed after so long a continuance in the earth, "would in most cases be a miracle."[1] No doubt it would; and there is certainly no more difficulty in supposing a miracle here in the preservation of the cross, than in the case of its recognition. Admitting then that it was thus preserved, through the divine virtue and power communicated to it as the instrument of our Lord's passion,—a power which was afterwards openly manifested in so many alleged miracles; how are we yet to account for the like preservation of the crosses of the malefactors? In these we can presuppose no such miraculous power; and yet the evidence of their identity is the same as in the case of the true cross.—And further, the same writers who alone afford us the evidence for the identity of the true cross, affirm also that the *nails* were found at the same time. Ambrose, the earliest witness, is full on this point, and says that Helena sought for and found the nails; one of which she caused to be made into a bit, and another to be set in a diadem of gems, and sent both these as a present to Constantine.[2] But could iron nails remain thus long undecayed under ground? Here at least the supposition of a miracle becomes still more necessary.

As to the third point, admitting all the particulars and that the crosses had been regularly buried, it is at least difficult to imagine that the ground in a public place, like that of the crucifixion, should have remained unmoved and unmolested during all the changes and overthrows to which Jerusalem was afterwards subjected. About eight or ten years after our Lord's death the third wall was commenced by Agrippa and was several years in building; and it must at any rate have passed not very far from the reputed place

[1] Page cliii.
[2] S. Ambrosii Oratio Funebris in Theod. Basnage Annal. A. D. 326. 10. Essay p. clii.

of crucifixion, if the latter was without the second wall, as claimed. Thirty years later the Roman armies under Titus encamped around the city, broke up the ground without and within, and left the site a heap of ruins. It was afterwards built up; and then similar scenes were repeated under Adrian.

But not to dwell on matters of fact like these, how again are we to account for the silence and apparent indifference of the Apostles and primitive Christians in Jerusalem? For nearly forty years after our Lord's death, and until the destruction of the city, they lived for the most part in the full exercise of their civil rights and religious observances; they worshipped freely in the temple, and of course were not restricted as to visiting any other part of the city or its environs. The place of the crucifixion and the sepulchre of our Lord must have been known to them; and they too could not but be acquainted with the fact, that his cross was buried on the spot. They were inspired men, and had themselves the power of working miracles; they were devoted to their Lord and Master, and rendered him homage and worship, addressing to him their prayers. His death and resurrection were the sublime theme of all their preaching; and the great Apostle of the Gentiles exclaims, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." Now with all these feelings and this knowledge and these miraculous powers, and this glorying in the cross itself, it is perfectly inconceivable, how the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem should have neglected the opportunity so entirely within their own power of recovering this cross; and have left it to an aged female three centuries afterwards to make such an "arresting" discovery. How very much must their tone of piety and veneration for their Lord and Master and for his cross, have been below that of Helena and Macarius!

According to the essayist, Helena "seems to have been animated by a hope, surely not presumptuous, that she was under a guidance greater than human."[1] But the Apostles and elders were certainly "under a guidance greater than human;" and yet they were never guided to search for the cross. It cannot with any rea-

[1] Page cxlv.

son be said, that its importance would not have been as great in that early age, as in the fourth century and later; and the question is a legitimate one, Why and how we are authorized to suppose that the Spirit of God should have left unmoved the minds of cotemporary Apostles and teachers, in order to operate three centuries later upon the heart of a female more than eighty years of age, who had but just before become a convert from heathenism? It is not enough to say in reply, that we know not the motives of the Spirit in its operations, and that there may have been good reasons in this case not revealed to us. We must take things as they are, not as they might be, in making up our judgment. And certainly the course here ascribed to the providence of God is not parallel nor like to any thing revealed to us in the Scriptures; while it is precisely parallel and like to the usual current of feeling and events in the subsequent history of the church. In the very instance of Helena herself, who according to Eusebius simply built the two churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, that empress becomes in the next century not only the finder of the cross, but likewise the founder of the Church of the Sepulchre; and as centuries roll on, her piety and zeal enkindle still louder songs of praise, until at the close of the crusades not less than thirty churches in Palestine were ascribed to her munificence, besides a chapel at Mount Sinai! And the same species of honour and praise continue to the present day.[1]

But it is said, this "most solemn and arresting occurrence" is "kept in memory even to this distant generation in the Greek, Latin, "and English Calendars, on the 3d of May and the 14th of Sep-"tember;" and it "seems hardly safe absolutely to deny what is "thus affirmed by the whole church; whether however miracles ac-"companied the discovery, must ever remain uncertain."[2] Is this a mere show of candour, or does the essayist here virtually give up all that he has been striving to prove? The discovery of the cross by Helena is one of the alleged miraculous events of ecclesiastical history, and as such the essayist has been labouring with might and main to sustain it; but here he turns about and admits that the fact of the miracles "must ever remain uncertain." So thought not the church; and on the writer's own principle it is not safe thus

[1] Niceph. Callist. H. E. VIII. 30. Bibl. Res. II. p. 16. [2] Essay p. clii.

to deny these miracles; for they are "affirmed by the whole church." To whatever extent the belief of the church imparts credit to the discovery of the cross, to the same extent does it impart credit to the accompanying miracles; for the church founded its faith in the identity of the cross on these very miracles, and on nothing else. And further, Ambrose zealously believed and the church believed with him, that not only the cross, but also the nails were found; and that Helena sent these to Constantine, as above related. Is it, or is it not, safe for us to doubt this fact?—But the essayist does not long act upon his own admission; for on the very next page he affirms, that "some *mode* of recognition is implied in the very "idea of recognition; and a miraculous recognition is perhaps the "most natural and obvious hypothesis." It should be no hypothesis at all, but a *fact* not to be gainsayed, if the universal belief of the early church is to be the standard. And if the essayist regards it as a fact, that the true cross was thus discovered by Helena, then he must also admit and maintain the fact of the miracles; for without these there is no evidence whatever, that the cross so found by Helena was the cross of Christ.[1]

The amount then of the historical testimony is this. About A. D. 350, a cross existed in the Church of the Sepulchre, which Cyril and others held to be the cross of our Lord; but it is not mentioned by earlier writers, nor does Cyril say how or why it was held to be the true one. It had already been there some years; probably not so early as A. D. 333,[2] but possibly before the death of Constantine. In A. D. 404 Jerome in Bethlehem speaks apparently of the same cross, but throws no further light upon it. About the same time several writers in foreign countries are loud in its praises; they ascribe its discovery to Helena and recount the miracles which accompanied that event. Those writers were evidently sincere in their belief; and their narratives became the received tradition of the church.

[1] The essayist says, p. clxx, "I am "as little disposed to deny that the "cross was discovered, as that the "relics of St. Cuthbert and the coffin "of Bishop Coverdale have been "found in our day." If by this he means to leave the way clear to declare, if necessary, that he does not hold to the accompanying miracles, then the remarks in the text have a particular application to this point.

[2] The Bourdeaux Pilgrim in A. D. 333 says nothing of it.

Now this cross was either the true one, or not. If the former, then its discovery was attended with miracles; for the only evidence of its identity are those miracles, attested by the belief of the whole church. Yet the essayist admits, that "whether miracles accompanied the discovery must ever remain uncertain." If this cross was not the true one, then it is very easy to account for its existence. Cesarea was at this time the metropolitan see of Palestine; and that of Jerusalem, which formerly had sunk so low, was now pressing its claims and striving to regain its ancient pre-eminence. Even so early as at the Council of Nicea in A. D. 325, its claims had been presented; and they were then acknowledged and affirmed, saving however the dignity of the metropolitan see.[1] It is worthy of notice, that the discovery of the sepulchre took place the very next year. Cyril himself contended with Acacius of Cesarea for the supremacy; but it was not until after long efforts and in the next century, that the great object was effected by the erection of Jerusalem into a patriarchate.[2] Now what would be more natural during the struggles of Macarius and his successors, than that they should employ every means to exalt the consideration and influence of their see? And what means more appropriate for this object, according to the views of that age, than the discovery and possession of the sepulchre of our Lord, and the very cross on which he suffered?

Which then, in view of all these premises, is the more obvious supposition, and most in accordance with the usual providence of God and the workings of human nature? That here was a miracle? or a well planned and successful 'invention' of the cross by the bishop of Jerusalem? Is there any thing in the general character of the clergy of that period, or of the later centuries of the church, to exclude this latter supposition? For myself, when I regard the credulous and legend-loving spirit of the age, and the object to be gained, I cannot hesitate, nor cease to regard the reputed Holy Cross as a work of pious fraud. Eusebius may have heard of this cross in his later days; but he does not mention it. His credulity might not permit him publicly to denounce it; while his feelings as bishop of the rival see would not allow him to acknowledge it.

[1] Concil. Nic. Can. VII. Labbe Conc. I. p. 47.

[2] Bibl. Res. II. p. 23, 24.

I have been unexpectedly led into this long discussion, as preliminary to my main object; because, if the discovery of the cross be sustained, the site of Calvary must have been fixed correctly; and then any and every argument against the present site of course falls to the ground. It seemed therefore appropriate to consider, whether there is any such strong evidence or presumption in favour of the story of the cross, as to destroy *à priori* the force of all argumentation against the reputed site of Calvary and the Sepulchre. Having, as I trust, shown that there is not, I now turn to consider the latter question.

III. The Argument as to the Site of the Holy Sepulchre.

The essayist commences his remarks in support of the reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre, in the following manner:

"An objection, however, has from time to time been urged with "much earnestness by several writers, which, if substantiated, "would altogether overthrow the history of the discovery of the "cross, viz. that Helena chose a wrong site for the Holy Sepulchre. "This was Dr. Clarke's opinion, whose reasons were discussed and "answered by a writer, it is believed Bishop Heber, in the Quar- "terly Review for March 1813. It has lately been revived with "some additional considerations by one or two controversialists."[1]

Before adverting to the subsequent arguments of the essayist, I would call the attention of the reader to his *unfairness* in representing me as a controversialist in treating of this topic. I have already stated under what circumstances and with what motives I entered upon the discussion, desiring and intending to look at the subject simply as an interesting historical question connected with the topography of Jerusalem.[2] In doing this, it was of course necessary to canvass the arguments brought in support of the reputed

[1] Page cliii.—It seems at first singular, when Dr. Clarke's reasons have been so well answered, that the essayist should take no further notice of that answer, nor make any use of Bishop Heber's authority. This is explained, however, on turning to the Review, by the fact, that the reviewer combats Dr. Clarke's reasons by giving up the identity of Calvary; of course rejecting the story of the cross, which the essayist is labouring to sustain.

[2] See above pp. 156, 157.

sepulchre; and I selected the statement of Chateaubriand as the most complete and plausible. So far from feeling any of the spirit of controversy, I ventured to hope that I had succeeded in avoiding even the appearance of it. The reviewer in the Quarterly seems to have taken the same view; remarking that "Dr. Robinson has been dispassionate, almost to tenderness, in his treatment of this poetic statement."[1] It was therefore perhaps adroitness on the part of the essayist, to represent the adverse arguments as coming from a writer, who is first a controversialist, and then is one of those "acute "and ingenious persons who now for the first and only time in their "lives traverse Jerusalem with their measuring tape."[2] These "measuring tapes," I am aware, are sometimes very inconvenient things when applied to the testimony of the whole ancient church, which according to the essayist ought to be regarded as infallible; and I can therefore make allowance for this sneer on the part of one who thus shows himself ready to believe any testimony, provided it be old enough, in opposition to that of his own senses. Yet after all, the plain old-fashioned English common sense, and especially that of Protestants, will probably prefer the evidence of the measuring tape to that of St. Ambrose or even of St. Helena.

Nor is it true, as the foregoing extract from the essay would seem to imply, that the difficulties respecting the reputed site of the sepulchre have been first urged in recent times. The great and obvious objection, which strikes every traveller on entering the Holy City, viz. that the places which we know from Scripture to have been without the city, are now in the very midst of its most compact part, has also been felt from the earliest times. Even the language of Pope Gregory (ob. 604) quoted by the essayist implies the same thing; and that prelate evades the objection by supposing a *transmigration* of the city.[3] So too other writers in the subsequent centuries.[4] And

[1] See Bibl. Researches II. p. 70 sq. Quarterly Review for Dec. 1841, p. 172.

[2] Page clvi.

[3] Page clxix. "Hoc quoque "quod additur, 'Non relinquant in "te lapidem super lapidem,' etiam "ipsa jam ejusdem civitatis *trans-* "*migratio* testatur; quia dum nunc "in eo loco constructa est, ubi *ex-* "*tra portam* fuerat Dominus cruci- "fixus etc." Gregor. Homil. in Evang. 39, init.

[4] St. Willibald assumes with better reason a transmigration of the *sepulchre* into the city: "Calvariæ "locus: et hæc fuit prius extra "Hierusalem; sed B. Helena

further, more than two centuries ago, Quaresmius, in bringing up the objections of some whom by way of argument he calls "non-nullos nebulones occidentales hæreticos," places first the one just mentioned, and next the difficulty of supposing that Joseph of Arimathea, 'an honourable counsellor,' would have selected a spot close by a place of execution, where too the bodies of criminals were buried, as the chosen site of his own tomb.[1] Dr. Clarke then, was by no means the first writer, who has ventured to call the authenticity of the reputed site in question.

I have elsewhere remarked, that a "true estimate of this long agitated question must depend on two circumstances. As there can be no doubt, that both Golgotha and the sepulchre lay outside of the ancient city, it must first be shown, that the present site may also anciently have been without the walls. Or, should this in itself appear impossible, then it must be shown, that there were in the fourth century historical or traditional grounds for fixing upon this site, strong enough to counterbalance such an apparent impossibility."[2] In accordance with this view I have there examined first the topographical and then the historical argument. The essayist virtually reverses this order, seeking first in his notes to evade the historical difficulties, and devoting his text mainly to the topographical objections.

First of all, however, the essayist endeavours to create a strong presumption against the validity of all objections whatever, historical or topographical, by an appeal to mere probability. "It stands "to reason," he says, "which party is the *more likely* to be right "in a question of topographical fact, men who lived three hundred "years after it and on the spot, or those who live eighteen hundred

"quando invenit crucem, collocavit "illum locum intus intra Hierusa-"lem;" Hodœpor. ed. Mabillon p. 375. (Venet. p. 340.) Other writers refer the change to the time of Adrian; so Jacob. de Vitry Hist. Hieros. c. 60. W. de Baldensel, ed. Canis. p. 348.—But this whole matter of a transmigration or extension of the later city is well and truly disposed of by a remark of Monconys in 1647, speaking of the Gate of Judgment so called, Voyages I. p. 307: "la porte où passa J. "C. allant au Calvaire; qui devoit "suivant cela être hors la ville; ce "qui est difficile à concevoir, car à "présent elle est tout au milieu, "*bien que la ville soit beaucoup "plus petite qu'elle n'étoit alors.*"

[1] Terrae Sanct. Elucidat. II. p. 515. This Pater answers these and other objections in his own way, and very much to his own satisfaction.

[2] Bibl. Res. II. p. 66.

" and at the antipodes." " Which is more *likely*, that the inhabi-
" tants of Jerusalem in the fourth century, or of New-York in the
" nineteenth, should be able rightly to determine Calvary and the
" Holy Sepulchre ?" " The presumption is very great, that such
" acute and ingenious persons . . . with their measuring tape are
" wrong, and those who were natives of the place fifteen hundred
" years ago are right." And he again recurs near the close, to
" the extreme improbability, that the parties who aided St. Hele-
" na in her search, should have placed the sepulchre where we
" find it, unless it were the true site."[1]

This, I am aware, is one of the cases, where the inconvenient Protestant " measuring-tape" comes in conflict with the tradition of the church; but I have yet to learn that mere *probability* as to the value of individual testimony, can have any great weight in a question, which after all resolves itself very much into one of feet and yards. And further, the assumption that those who aided Helena in her search were *natives* of Jerusalem, is wholly gratuitous; there is not a particle of evidence in support of it, while all analogy, and therefore probability, is against it. That the Fathers of the church in Palestine, and their fellows and successors the monks, were for the most part not natives of the country, is a well known and uncontested fact. Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome were certainly foreigners; as to Cyril it is doubtful; and in respect to those who sought for the sepulchre, Helena was not a native nor even a convert of long standing, and of Macarius we have no further account. The empress indeed is said to have " availed herself of the assistance of the most learned both of Christians and of Jews;"[2] but we have already seen that there could then have been no Jews in Jerusalem; and the whole account comes too from historians nearly or quite a century later, between whom and the earlier evidence the essayist himself thinks " it is right to draw a line."[3]

But in order to put this " antecedent probability" in favour of Helena's selection to the test, let us apply the same principle to some other parallel cases. In the vicinity of the Convent at Mount Sinai, there have been pointed out to all travellers for many centuries, not only the places where Aaron cast the golden calf and Moses

[1] Pages clvi. clvii. clxviii. [2] Essay p. cxlv. [3] Page 162, above.

broke the tables of the law, and the sites of other like events, but also the spot where the earth opened and swallowed up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their followers.[1] Now the monks, though not natives, spend their lives in the place; and there has been a long succession of them, even from the same fourth century to the present time, through whom this tradition has doubtless been handed down. They therefore are fifteen hundred years nearer than we to this "topographical fact;" and lived upon the spot, while we are antipodes. There is here therefore an "extreme improbability" that they should have fixed upon this site in question, "unless it were the true site." But it so happens, that according to the Scriptures, this miraculous occurrence took place after the Israelites had reached Kadesh, eleven days' journey from Horeb and Sinai.[2]—In like manner the crusaders found Beer-sheba, the southernmost city of Palestine, at Beit Jibrîn, a point considerably north of Hebron and Gaza.[3] Now they were at least seven centuries nearer to the "topographical fact" than we, and lived long in the land; but will the essayist on this account receive their testimony as even slightly probable?—The *Via dolorosa* too, with its stations commencing at the house of Pilate, is universally received in the Oriental and Latin churches; imitations of it are found throughout Europe; and one of the most important relics in the city of Rome is the flight of stairs from the said house of Pilate, up which for centuries all the faithful have painfully crawled upon their knees. Is not here an "extreme probability" of truth? Yet so far at least as the reputed house of Pilate is concerned, which also goes back to the fourth century,[4] the site pointed out is that of the main fortress of Antonia on the northwest corner of the temple; where we know that the Roman armies, during the siege of the temple, levelled every thing to the ground, and even dug away the rock itself in making their approaches.[5] Whence then this holy staircase?

Let us however come nearer to the very scene in question. Eusebius and Jerome both describe the site of Ramah, the city of Elkanah and Samuel, as being near to Lydda, which lies north-

[1] Bibl. Res. I. p. 167. See likewise all the early travellers.
[2] Num. c. xvi, compared with Num. xiii. 26. Deut. i. 2.
[3] Bibl. Res. II. p. 361.
[4] Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 593.
[5] Joseph. B. J. VI. 2. 7.

west of Jerusalem, in the great plain, quite away from the mountains. Now we know that when Saul had visited Samuel at this Ramah, and was about to return home to Gibeah, six Roman miles N. N. E. of Jerusalem, his way led by the sepulchre of Rachel, which is five Roman miles south of the same city.[1] Now if Ramah was near Lydda, as those fathers say, here was what amounts to a topographical impossibility. Yet they doubtless give the tradition of the day; and the testimony of Eusebius in this case is as direct and valid, as in that of the sepulchre.—Again, Eusebius describes the position of the field of blood, Aceldama, as on the *north* of Zion. He was an eye-witness, and unquestionably gives the current opinion of the church in his day, including probably those same "natives" who aided Helena in her search for the sepulchre. Yet sixty or seventy years afterwards Jerome comes and reverses the position, placing Aceldama on the *south* of Zion, where it remains unto the present day.[2] Now here is the main witness in respect to the sepulchre, testifying with equal directness as to the location of Aceldama; yet in less than a century the whole church just sets aside his testimony on this point, and adopts another position. Where then in this case does the "extreme probability" lie? with Eusebius and the whole church in A. D. 330, or with Jerome and the whole church in A. D. 400?

The truth is, that the *Onomasticon* of these two Fathers is a record of the traditions and opinions current in their day, as to the biblical topography of the Holy City and Holy Land; but these traditions and opinions must be sifted and proved in the same manner as all others. The testimony of these writers, and through them that of the church, cannot surely stand against "measuring tapes" and topographical impossibilities; and just so is it with the testimony respecting the Holy Sepulchre.

But the most striking instance to illustrate the falsity of the claim in behalf of an "antecedent probability,"—one, too, in which the probability and the testimony on which it rests are even stronger than in the case of the sepulchre itself,—is that of the reputed place

[1] Onomast. art. *Armatha Sophim.* 1 Sam. x. 2.

[2] Onomast. art. *Achel'damach.* Euseb. ὁ καὶ δείκνυται εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῇ Αἰλίᾳ ἐν βορείοις τοῦ Σιὼν ὄρους. Jerome: "qui hodie monstratur in Ælia ad *australem* plagam montis Sion."

of our Lord's ascension on the summit of the Mount of Olives. As to this spot, we know that a tradition actually existed before the age of Constantine, and that the place was visited by pilgrims. Eusebius, in this case also the main witness, writing about A. D. 315, eleven years before the journey of Helena, speaks expressly of the many Christians who came up from all quarters of the earth to Jerusalem to pay their adoration on the summit of the Mount of Olives, where Jesus taught his disciples and then ascended into heaven.[1] He too it is, who afterwards relates, that Helena founded a church upon the same summit in honour of our Lord's ascension; and another in Bethlehem over the place of his birth.[2] Yet notwithstanding this weight of testimony and tradition, the site assigned by it as the scene of our Lord's ascension is unquestionably *primâ facie* wrong; since it is in contradiction to the express statement of Scripture. According to St. Luke in his Gospel, Jesus led out his disciples "as far as to Bethany," and blessed them; and "while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."[3] Language cannot be more definite than this; and in entire accordance with it the same Evangelist elsewhere relates in the Acts: "Then returned they [the Apostles] unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath-day's journey."[4] Bethany lies upon the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, at the distance of a mile or more below the ridge; so that in order to return to Jerusalem it is necessary to cross the ridge, and one of the most direct roads leads over the main summit.

This view of a case so entirely parallel to that of the sepulchre, and still stronger than the latter, is fatal to all the weight of probability and ecclesiastical testimony with which the essayist seeks to invest the "topographical fact" in question. This he virtually admits, by laying out his strength to evade the conclusion thus drawn from Scripture, that the ascension took place at Bethany; and, not satisfied with his first attempt, he again returns to the

[1] *Τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἁπάντων πανταχόθεν γῆς συντρεχόντων .... [ἕνεκα] τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν προσκυνήσεως ... ἔνθα [τοῦ Λόγου] τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ὄρους τὰ περὶ τῆς συντελείας μυστήρια παραδεδιοκότος, ἐντεῦθέν τε τὸν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον πεποιημένου.* Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. VI. 18. p. 288. Colon. 1688.

[2] Euseb. Vita Constantini III. 34.

[3] Luke xxiv. 50, 51.

[4] Acts i. 12. Compare Luke xix. 29.

charge in a later additional note.[1] In all this, however, he exhibits himself as the skilful controversialist, rather than as the experienced and candid interpreter of Scripture.

The pith of his first argument lies in the remark, that "one does "not see how a tradition can be said to *contradict* Scripture, which "on the face of the matter does but take one text *instead* of an- "other, and contradict a point of Jewish antiquities, viz. the length "of a Sabbatical journey."[2] As to the Sabbath-day's journey, the specifications respecting its length are too various and uncertain to afford any sure basis for argument; and I have therefore never taken it into the account.[3] But the assertion that the tradition in question "does but take one text instead of another," requires some conside-

[1] Essay, p. ccxvi.

[2] Page clvii, note.

[3] The essayist admits the same: "As to the difficulty of the Sabbati- "cal distance, it is not really such, "till critics are agreed *what* that "distance is;" p. clviii, note. In proof of the diversity of opinion, he quotes Drusius as saying: "In the "number two thousand most agree; "but some say cubits, others paces, "Jerome feet, Origen ells." When now the essayist goes on to affirm, that "some of these cal- "culations make the Sabbatical "journey coincide with the actual "distance of the Church of the As- "cension from Jerusalem;" he forgets to add, what in fairness he was bound to do, that others of them coincide with the distance of *Bethany* from Jerusalem. The specification of two thousand *paces*, which is adopted also by Buxtorf (Lex. p. 1197), is equal to about two Roman miles or sixteen furlongs; and the distance of Bethany is elsewhere given at about fifteen furlongs; John xi. 18. I have as much right to insist upon this coincidence, as the essayist upon the other; and no more. Lightfoot gives several different measures; but seems to adopt at last seven and a half furlongs as the Sabbath-day's journey; Hor. Heb. in Luc. xxiv. 50.—Another hypothesis brought forward by the essayist in the same note, is, to "consi- "der Bethany not only a village but "a district, which extended over a "portion of Olivet." Here he must mean, at least, over the *summit* o Olivet, where the church is situated otherwise the supposition does not help the difficulty. Now, when he quotes Lightfoot (l. c.) as one of his main authorities for this mode of explanation, fairness required that he should also state, that Lightfoot by no means extends the limits of Bethany so far, but only to where he supposes the eastern line of Bethphage may have been, which he regards as the eastern limit of the Mount of Olives, and the place of the ascension. And as Lightfoot here makes the Sabbath-day's journey seven and a half furlongs, and Josephus gives the distance of the summit of the mountain at five furlongs, it follows that Lightfoot's point for the ascension of our Lord was two and a half furlongs below the summit towards Bethany. Whether, therefore, Lightfoot be right or wrong, his authority at least does not sustain the position of the essayist. And further, St. Luke himself rightly places Bethany at the Mount of Olives, πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν. Luke xix. 29.

ration. It takes for granted, (if it means any thing,) that the text in Acts which speaks of the Apostles as returning "from Mount Olivet," implies that the ascension took place on the summit of that mountain, where the church was afterwards erected. But does this idea lie at all in the language of the sacred writer? Were it to be said of an inhabitant of Albany, that he went down Hudson's river to Staten Island, and then returned home from New-York; would it follow in any man's mind that Staten Island and the city of New-York were on one and the same spot? Or were it to be related of a Fellow of Oriel College, that he went from Oxford to the column in Blenheim Park, and there did a certain act; and that he afterwards returned from Woodstock, which is eight miles from Oxford; would it be a necessary conclusion that the said act was done in Woodstock, or that the eight miles had any thing to do with the place of the act? This serves at least to show, that the tradition, in thus taking "one text instead of another," had no solid ground to go upon.

Again, even did the text in Acts *primâ facie* afford the implication in question, yet there is no principle of interpretation more clear than this, viz. that where two texts of Scripture exhibit an apparent discrepancy, and one of them is clear and explicit, while the other is less so, then the latter is to be interpreted by the former. Now language cannot be more definite and explicit than that of the text in Luke, which says that Jesus "led his disciples out *as far as to Bethany* (ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν); and lifting up his hands he blessed them; and it came to pass *while he blessed them* (ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτούς) he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." The parting takes place *in the very act* of blessing; and this occurs after reaching Bethany and in connexion with Bethany. This text then, according to all sound principles of interpretation and of common sense, must be the rule of exegesis as to any other texts connected with the ascension. And as Luke himself places Bethany "at the Mount of Olives,"[1] not indeed upon the summit, but upon its eastern slope, would not the Apostles, on Luke's own representation, in returning from Bethany, return also from the Mount of Olives?

[1] Luke xix. 29.

In recurring to the subject in his additional note, the essayist attempts to evade the force of this reasoning by the comparison of a parallel passage in Mark, where, on the evening after his resurrection, our Lord, it is said, "appeared to the eleven as they sat at "meat, . . . *and* said unto them, Go ye into all the world, etc. . . . "so then *after* the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received "up."[1] "It may be argued then," he says, "that as St. Mark, "in spite of the sequence of these words, does not fix the date "of the ascension upon Easter-day, neither does St. Luke [in the "language above cited] fix the place of the ascension at Bethany." But are these cases so entirely parallel? Mark relates that the Lord "appeared to the eleven . . . *and* said unto them;" and the words which he spoke were apparently uttered the same evening. So also Luke relates, that the Lord "led them out as far as to Bethany, *and* lifted up his hands and blessed them." Here in like manner the force of the *and* shows that the blessing took place at Bethany. But with this the parallel stops. Luke goes on to state, that "*while* he blessed them," in the very act of imparting his blessing, "he was parted from them." Mark on the contrary narrates, that "*after* the Lord had spoken unto them (*μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς*), he was received up." He does not say, nor necessarily imply, that this took place *immediately* after; and we know from the direct testimony of the other Evangelists, that the ascension did not occur until forty days afterwards. The comparison therefore is lame and nugatory. Nor is there the slightest foundation in the testimony of the Evangelists, nor in any laws of interpretation, for supposing, as the essayist does, that our Lord first went out to Bethany, and then returned to the summit of the Mount of Olives *before* he blessed his disciples. The language is explicit to the contrary. Indeed, this whole effort of the essayist would seem to be little more, than a mistaken endeavour to bend the truth of the Gospel for the support of a legend of the church.[2]

[1] Mark xvi. 14 sq. Essay. p. ccxvi.

[2] It is perhaps worthy of notice, that Eusebius, when first speaking of the Mount of Olives, makes it prominent, not so much as the place of the ascension, (though he mentions this,) but rather as the place "where our Lord taught his disci- "ples the mysteries respecting the "end, *περὶ τῆς συντελείας*." See above p. 163. n. Afterwards, in describing the founding of the church by Helena, he is more specific as to the ascension; but says the church was

The preceding considerations, as it seems to me, go far to settle the question as to the value of any "antecedent probability" in behalf of the reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre. The remarks have been extended thus far, because they prepare the way for a briefer discussion of the historical argument, to which we now turn.

The precise point of inquiry here to be investigated is: Did there exist, at the time, any such historical evidence or tradition respecting the place of our Lord's sepulchre, as to lead to the selection of the present site as the true one? In this case, too, Eusebius is the main witness. No earlier Father makes even the slightest allusion to the sepulchre, or to any tradition respecting it, as then existing; nor does any later writer speak of the circumstances attending the discovery, until seventy years after the event. The Bourdeaux Pilgrim, and also Cyril, are utterly silent; Eusebius, therefore, the cotemporary and an actor in these transactions, the friend and agent of the emperor Constantine in Palestine, is the sole witness to whom we are indebted for the historical facts. The plausible statement of Chateaubriand as to the "antecedent probability," and even necessary existence of such a tradition, the essayist wisely passes over in silence; and it is therefore not necessary for me again to recur to it.[1] The facts, as they come out from the testimony of Eusebius, present the following considerations.

Eusebius, writing ten years or more before the discovery of the sepulchre, speaks of crowds of pilgrims who flocked to Jerusalem to pay their devotions on the mount of Olives, where our Saviour taught his disciples and then ascended into heaven.[2] He speaks also of the place of our Lord's nativity in Bethlehem, which indeed was marked by a still earlier tradition.[3] Now had there been in like manner a distinct tradition respecting our Lord's sepulchre, it is difficult to conceive how these crowds of pilgrims, who were so wont to seek out even the most trivial scriptural localities, should

built over the cavern in which Christ taught his disciples the unspeakable mysteries. Vita Const. III. 41, 43. This may serve to explain the language of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, to which allusion has already been made, p. 163 above: "Inde ascendis in montem Oliveti, ubi Dominus *ante passionem* Apostolos docuit. Ibi facta est Basilica jussu Constantini;" Itin. Hieros, p. 595, ed. Wesseling.

[1] See Bibl. Res. in Palest. II. p. 70 sq.

[2] See above page 177.

[3] Bibl. Res. II. p. 78 sq.

have neglected to ascertain and visit the sacred spot; and also, how Eusebius should have omitted to allude to the fact, when speaking of the two other collateral traditions. On this ground, therefore, there arises a strong presumption, that no such former tradition was then extant.

Again, the language of Eusebius directly implies the non-existence of any such tradition. He relates that after the council of Nicea, the emperor Constantine became desirous of "performing a "glorious work in Palestine, by adorning and rendering sacred "the place of our Lord's resurrection. This was undertaken by "him not without a divine admonition, but as moved thereto in "spirit by the Saviour himself.[1] For hitherto impious men, or "rather the whole race of demons through their instrumentality, "had made every effort to deliver over that illustrious monument "to darkness and oblivion." Such language, certainly, would hardly be appropriate in speaking of a spot definitely known and marked by long tradition. The emperor too, in his letter to Macarius, preserved by Eusebius and already referred to, regards the discovery of "the monument of the Saviour's most sacred passion, which for so long a time had been hidden under ground," as "a miracle beyond the capacity of man sufficiently to celebrate or even to comprehend."[2] The mere removal of obstructions from a well known spot, could hardly have been described as a miracle so stupendous. Indeed, as I have elsewhere remarked, the whole tenor of the language both of Eusebius and Constantine, shows that the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre was held to be the result, not of a previous knowledge derived from tradition, but of a supernatural interposition and revelation.[3]

But it is urged by the essayist, that "the *warrant* for the preserva- "tion or recovery [of the Holy Sepulchre], is the pagan temple raised "over it upon the destruction of the city by Hadrian, which became "a lasting record of the spot."[4] This, as I have admitted, is cer-

[1] Οὐκ ἀθεεὶ τοῦτ' ἐν διανοίᾳ βαλών, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνακινηθεὶς τῷ πνεύματι. Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 25.—For the whole passage, see Euseb. ib. 25, 26.

[2] Euseb. ib. III. 30.

[3] Bibl. Researches II. p. 74, 75.

[4] Page clvi, note.—It is there also said: "The main *authority* for "the present site of the Holy Sepul- "chre is Eusebius. . . . What "is to be urged against Eusebius I "know not." So far as Eusebius testifies to the fixing of the site of the

tainly an important circumstance, and, if true, cannot but have great weight in the decision of the question. But what is the evidence? Eusebius merely relates that "impious men, or rather the whole race of demons through them," after covering over the sepulchre with earth, had built upon it "a dark retreat or cavern for the lascivious demon Venus."[1] Here is not a word of Adrian; nor any thing which can be referred to him.[2] Jerome, some seventy years after the discovery, is the next witness; and he places a marble statue of Venus on the "rock of the cross" or Golgotha, and an image of Jupiter on the place of the resurrection; and affirms that they had been upon the spot from the time of Adrian.[3] Now there is a strong discrepancy between this account and that of Eusebius; and the Latin Father must unquestionably be in the wrong, for Eusebius was an eye-witness, and Jerome not. The historians of the next century too adopt the account of Eusebius, and not that of Jerome.[4] They say nothing of Adrian; so that the supposed connexion between the temple of Venus and Adrian rests on the testimony of Jerome alone. But as that Father erred in speaking of a statue of Jupiter instead of a temple of Venus, and that after an interval of only seventy years; how much more would he be exposed to error in ascribing the two statues to Adrian after an interval of nearly two hundred years?[5]—What then is the

sepulchre, which he probably held to be the true site, and to the erection of the oratory and church by Constantine, I too do not know what is to be urged against him. But if it be here implied that his *authority* establishes the verity of the reputed site, then this is just begging the question in dispute.

[1] *Νεκρῶν εἰδώλων σκότιον Ἀφροδίτης ἀκολάστῳ δαίμονι μυχὸν οἰκοδομησάμενοι.* Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 26.

[2] The essayist indeed makes an effort to apply the expression "impious men" to Adrian alone, p. cxliv; and this he does by merely citing other passages, where the same writer speaks of an individual vaguely or by circumlocution. But in those cases there is something to connect them with a definite individual; here there is nothing. Besides, if this one circumstance be referred to Adrian, then must all the other circumstances and purposes ascribed by Eusebius to these "impious men and the whole race of demons," be also referred to him alone.

[3] Hieron. Ep. 49, ad Paulin. Opp. Tom. IV. ii. p. 564. ed. Mart.

[4] Socr. H. E. I. 17. Sozom. II. 1. Theodoret is silent as to any temple or statue.

[5] It is very possible that Jerome may have been led thus to speak of statues, and to ascribe them to the time of Adrian, in consequence of an analogous circumstance mentioned by himself and by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, viz. that statues of

amount of all this testimony? Why simply that writers *ex post facto* have mentioned such an idol or temple as standing, not over the sepulchre known of old as being that of Christ, but over *the spot fixed upon by Constantine* as that sepulchre. There is no reason to doubt, that a temple and idol stood upon that spot; but this fact has in itself no bearing to show that this spot was the true sepulchre. Indeed, the two parts of the argument are inconsistent with each other. If, on the one hand, the pagan temple had thus marked the place of the sepulchre as "a lasting record" from the days of Adrian, then this site was a definite and well known spot. Yet according to Eusebius and the later writers, and also the essayist himself, the sepulchre had been consigned to utter oblivion, and its discovery was the result of a divine warning and miraculous interposition, accompanied by diligent inquiry.

Such is the testimony derived from writers of the same century living in Palestine. "Not a word, not a hint, by which the reader would be led to suppose, that the mother of the emperor (Helena) had any thing to do with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, or the building of a church upon the spot." But all the writers of the following century, themselves living out of Palestine, relate as with one voice, though with variations in the details, that Helena was from the first instigated by a strong desire to search out and discover the sepulchre and the sacred cross. The circumstances of her search, and the discovery of both the cross and the sepulchre, with the accompanying miracles, have already been sufficiently recounted.[1] In respect to this later testimony, I have formerly remarked, that "leaving out of view the obviously legendary portions of this story, it would seem not improbable, that Helena was the prime mover in searching for and discovering the sacred sepulchre, and that through her representations her son was induced to undertake the erection of the church; which in this way might still be appropriately ascribed to her."[2] But on a review of the evi-

Adrian and of Jupiter stood upon the site of the Jewish temple. Itin. Hieros. p. 591. Hieron. Comm. in Es. ii. 8. Comm. in Matt. xxi. 15. Bibl. Res. I. p. 437, 438. As these statues were held to be from the ime of Adrian, Jerome might easily be led to assume the same as to others.

[1] See above p. 157 sq.

[2] Bibl. Res. II. p. 14, 15. The essayist in a note on p. cxlix, has brought together the two passages above marked by double commas,—

dence, I am not sure that this admission is not too broad. It is in fact a question as to the balance of probabilities. On the one side we have Eusebius the cotemporary and eye-witness, who speaks of the visit of Helena, and in glowing terms recounts her piety and her agency in the founding of the churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives; but is utterly silent as to her having had any connexion with the transactions respecting the Holy Sepulchre. This silence is imitated also by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, by Cyril, and by Jerome, all writing in the same century and in Palestine. On the other side is the unanimous testimony of writers in the next century, living out of Palestine, to the fact of Helena's having been the chief actor in discovering the sepulchre, and with it the true cross with its miracles. Which then is most probable? that all writers of the same century and on the spot should carefully omit all notice of a circumstance so prominent and in their eyes so important; or that the story should have meantime sprung up in popular belief, and gained credit among writers in another century and in other lands? [1]

Having thus weighed the evidence in respect to any antecedent tradition, and found it wanting, we are prepared to advance a step further and take the position, that even had there been such a tradition extant, it could have had no authority in opposition to contrary topographical evidence. The value of such a tradition we have already seen. In the parallel instance of the reputed place of the ascension on the Mount of Olives, there was actually a tradition, and the church was erected in accordance with it; yet the testimony of Scripture is conclusive, that tradition in this case had selected a wrong spot.[2] Still more was tradition liable to err in regard

one relating to the testimony of Eusebius, and the other to that of later writers,—as an instance of inconsistency on my part. He also speaks of the latter as a *reluctant* admission; p. cxlvi, note k. The reader can judge for himself as to the justice of this procedure in both cases.

[1] The following fact shows that such legends may spring up even in later times. Many travellers in Palestine in the two or three last centuries relate, that the emperor Frederic Barbarossa was drowned in the river el-Kâsimîyeh just north of Tyre. Yet cotemporary historical documents show, that he was drowned in the Calycadnus (some say the Cydnus) in Cilicia, on his march to the Holy Land, July 10th 1190. See Bibl. Researches III. p. 399, 400.

[2] In the Bibl. Researches I have also adduced the collateral tradition respecting the reputed

to the sepulchre, as to which the Scriptures give no topographical hint whatever, except that it was without the city. If therefore the present site cannot be shown to have been without the wall, the question as to its identity with the true sepulchre is set at rest, any tradition to the contrary notwithstanding.

The topographical argument has reference mainly to the course of the second wall, so called by Josephus, on the northern part of the city; the third or outer wall on this part having been begun by Agrippa some ten years after our Lord's crucifixion, in order to include the populous suburbs which till then were unprotected.[1] The historian's description of the second wall is short and unsatisfactory; since he merely remarks, that it began at the gate called Gennath in the first wall, and, *encircling* only the tract lying north, extended to Antonia.[2] The gate of Gennath must have been near to the tower Hippicus on the northwest part of Zion;[3] the fortress Antonia was adjacent to the temple on the north, and apparently occupied a site equal in breadth to that of the temple from west to east.[4]

place of or Lord's birth near Bethlehem, as another case of probable error. Vol. II. p. 78.

[1] Joseph. B. J. V. 4, 2.

[2] Joseph. ib. κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον, ἀνήει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας.

[3] It must have been east of Hippicus, because the third wall began at that tower; it could not have been far distant, because that part of Zion was then high and steep, and because too the farther it was from Hippicus the more was the lower city contracted. Jos. B. J. V. 4. 4.

[4] Joseph. Ant. XV. 11. 4. B. J. I. 5. 4. V. 5. 8. See the discussion upon the site and extent of this fortress, Bibl. Res. I. p. 43 sq.—It is not said at what part of Antonia the second wall terminated; whether at the northwestern or northeastern corner. It has however been always taken for granted, that the wall in question ran to the northwest corner of the fortress; for on no other supposition, as a glance at the Plan of the city will show, could it possibly in any case have passed so as to leave the present sepulchre on the outside. This must, I think, be regarded as the correct hypothesis; for Josephus informs us, after Titus had got possession of the outer wall and before his assault upon the second, that one active division of the Jewish forces was posted in Antonia and the northern portico of the temple. Had the second wall terminated at the northeast corner of Antonia, that fortress would have been within it and not yet an exposed point. Joseph. B. J. V. 7. 2, 3.—I have made the preceding remarks, because on a recent Plan of Jerusalem, constructed by Kiepert of Berlin and published with the sanction of Ritter's name, the second wall is marked conjecturally as running from the Damascus gate to the N. E. corner of Antonia.

The main point of inquiry now before us is: Whether the second wall ran on a *straight* course, or nearly so, between the gate of Gennath and Antonia? If so, then the present sepulchre would fall on the outside, and might be regarded topographically as the true site. If not, then the present site must have been on the inside, and consequently cannot have been the true site. Now Josephus expressly affirms that the wall did *not* run on a direct course, but "*circling around*[1] the tract on the north, it extended to Antonia." Language cannot well be plainer. With this too tallies another fact mentioned by the same writer, viz. that when Titus after many fierce assaults got possession of the second wall, he immediately caused all the *northern* portion of it to be thrown down, but placed troops in the towers along the *southern* part. Had the course of the wall been straight to Antonia, this language would have been inapplicable; the historian could at the most have spoken only of an eastern and western part.[2]

This testimony of Josephus I hold to be in itself incontrovertible and decisive, as to the point under discussion; and it has never yet been met. But there are, besides, several other collateral circumstances, which I have formerly urged, and which are at least "useful to corroborate the proof" thus afforded by Josephus, even should they "have very little intrinsic force to create one."[3] Such are the following:

First, if the wall ran on a straight course, or so as to exclude the sepulchre, then the Pool of Hezekiah so called, which is of high antiquity and lay within the ancient city, must also have been excluded.

Secondly, the whole space included in the lower city would in this way have been reduced to a small triangle of about four hundred yards on the south side, and some four hundred yards on the east side; its breadth between the temple and the site of the sepulchre being less than a quarter of a mile. The whole lower city, then, occupied a space not equal to that of many squares in London and New-York. Yet we know that this lower city at the time of the

[1] The Greek word (see p. 186. n. 2) is κυκλούμενον, the pres. particip. of Mid. κυκλούμαι, with an accusative. Passow's definition is: "rings umgeben, im Kreise umgehen, umzingeln, umschlingen."

[2] Joseph. B. J. V. 9. 2.

[3] Essay p. clxiii.

crucifixion was extensive and populous; three gates led from it to the temple; and ten years later Agrippa erected the third wall, in order to shelter the large suburbs which before were unprotected.

Thirdly, at the Damascus gate we discovered two ancient towers, one on each side, built of large bevelled stones, and obviously of a higher antiquity than the time of Herod. These were very apparently the towers or guardhouses of an ancient gate upon this spot, which could only have belonged to the second wall as described by Josephus.

There are some other circumstances arising out of the nature f the ground, which I have elsewhere brought into view, but which it is not necessary to discuss here. I proceed therefore to notice the objections brought by the essayist against the topographical argument, as thus stated. In these objections indeed lies all his force; for he has not been able to adduce a single positive fact or argument of his own.

How then does he deal with the language of Josephus? First, he takes of it the least notice possible; and next, in this slight notice, he misrepresents it. He makes Josephus merely say "that "the wall had a *curvature* in the interval between its extreme "points."[1] Is this truly to give the force of the historian's words? Again, in allowing that to include the pool of Hezekiah "would involve a sharp bend in the second wall," he refers further to what Josephus says "of a northern and southern portion of the wall, "which implies a change of direction somewhere," and "the *angle*," he affirms, "*must* be made any how in order to arrive at Antonia."[2] So then, when Josephus describes this wall as "*encircling* the tract on the north," he means nothing more than that it had a "sharp bend" or "angle," so as to take in the pool of Hezekiah and leave the sepulchre outside! This is all the notice which the writer bestows on the language of the Jewish historian.—Yet he does not himself seem entirely satisfied with this mode of disposing of the second wall; for in speaking of the extent of Akra, when it was for his purpose to make it as large as possible, he holds the following rather singular language: "If we suppose the [second] wall, "which is in question, on starting from Gennath, first to run north,

[1] Page clx.

[2] Pages clxiii, clxiv.

"and then to curve round, when it came over against the site of the "present Latin convent, very little of Akra will be lost."[1] Now this, as it happens, is the very course which I have formerly assigned to the wall in question, viz. "that the second wall ran first from near Hippicus northwards across the higher and more level part of Akra; and then [over against the site of the present Latin convent] sweeping round to the valley between Akra and Bezetha, somewhere in the vicinity of the present Damascus gate, etc."[2] This is in entire accordance with the description of Josephus, and gives his northern and southern part; but the wall must have made a very "sharp bend" indeed, if having once come over against the site of the Latin convent, it then turned back so as to leave outside the reputed place of the sepulchre, and afterwards ran to Antonia. Indeed, this very statement, if serious, overthrows the writer's whole argument. And at any rate, the passages here brought together show plainly one of two things,—either that the essayist's acquaintance with the topography of the Holy City is very imperfect and confused; or, that he is willing to make a show of candour at the expense of consistency.

Of the three collateral circumstances above enumerated, the two ancient towers at the Damascus gate are disposed of in the same cavalier manner and with a strong suppression of the facts. The essayist does not even let his readers suspect that they are towers at all; but reports me as speaking of them merely as "some large hewn stones far to the north," which I held to be "probably a part of the second wall." Now on this statement he certainly is justified in his remark, that "not much stress can be laid" upon this argument; and he goes on to say, that even allowing these ruins to be as ancient as I assume, it does not follow that they belonged to the second wall, because I have not shown that the second wall existed so

[1] Page clxii.—The essayist in one place (p. clix, clx) seems to consider Akra as an isolated hill, and speaks of the wall either as traversing the hill, or as enclosing it. But instead of being isolated, Akra is merely the southeastern end or point of the long swell, which forms the high ground on the northwest of Jerusalem, and sinks down gradually towards the temple as it enters the city; this lower extremity being more steep and rocky than the higher portions. The second wall, if it ran straight, would include merely the point of this hill; which could then present nothing of the gibbous form mentioned by Josephus; B. J. V. 4. 1.

[2] Bibl. Researches I. p. 462.

early; "and they may be the remains of some other ancient work, even if it did." In the same connexion he refers to the changes which the surface of the ground has undergone in the course of ages, "great enough," he thinks, "to hinder a modern traveller from "determining by its present appearance the course of the second wall."[1]

It is very easy for a writer seated in his arm-chair in Oriel college, to pronounce of any monument of antiquity which a traveller has examined with his own eyes, that it "may be the remains of some other ancient work;" especially if he withholds from his readers the facts in the case, except just so far as to mislead them. He might say the same of every monument in Rome; but would the voice of the world sustain him? He might thunder forth the same *dictum* in respect to every thing at Athens; but would Col. Leake, or Dr. Wordsworth, or Professor Ross, tremble before him? So too of Jerusalem. It has been my privilege to visit and explore to some extent all these renowned sites; and I venture to say, without the fear of contradiction from any one acquainted with the subject, that the physical features of the Holy City, and its corresponding antiquities as described in the Scriptures and by Josephus, so far as they still exist, are at the present day in no degree less distinct and definite, than in the parallel cases of Athens and Rome.

But what all this has to do in determining the character and purpose of these two ancient towers, it might be difficult to see. Instead of describing them as merely "some large hewn stones," I spoke of them only as two towers, built of massive bevelled stones on a peculiar plan, precisely alike, and each with a spiral staircase. Their style of architecture is obviously anterior to the days of Herod; and no one on the spot would probably feel a doubt as to their having once flanked an ancient gateway, affording one of the most prominent entrances to the city.[2] All these facts the essayist keeps back from his readers. But it may be asked, what circumstances are there, after all, to bring this gateway into connexion with the second wall? This is a fair inquiry, to which I am ready to reply.

First, these towers and this gateway could not have belonged to the *first* wall; for this ran from Hippicus eastward along the

[1] Pages clx, clxi. [2] Bibl. Res. I. p. 463 sq.

northern brow of Zion, and so to the west side of the temple-enclosure. Nor could they have been in the *third* wall; for their architecture is older than the time of Agrippa; and this wall too ran much further north, over against the tomb of Helena.[1] The gateway in question must therefore have belonged to a wall between the two; and such was the second wall of Josephus.

Secondly, we know that there existed before and after the exile a gate called the gate of Ephraim, leading out of the city towards the territory of that tribe on the north. Connected with this gate within the city was a broad street, showing this to have been one of the principal thoroughfares of Jerusalem.[2]

Thirdly, this gate of Ephraim was in what was then the outer wall of the city; for we learn from Scripture that a portion of the wall, from the gate of Ephraim to that of the corner, four hundred cubits, was broken down under Amaziah by Joash king of Israel in order to dismantle the city, and the same was apparently rebuilt by Hezekiah. Josephus informs us, that Joash entered in his chariot through the breach, driving Amaziah as a captive before him.[3]

Fourthly, this outer wall, in which was the gate of Ephraim, was that which enclosed the lower city or Akra. Josephus expressly mentions the lower city as existing and distinct from the upper city or Zion, in the time of Judas Maccabæus; and the same fact is implied in all those passages of Scripture, where Zion or the city of David is spoken of as a *part* of Jerusalem.[4] Indeed it is related of Solomon, that he built "the wall of Jerusalem round about," in express distinction from all his other building on Zion and elsewhere.[5] Of David also it is said, that "he built the city round about, even from Millo round about; and Joab repaired the rest of the city."[6] All this looks like something more than Zion alone. And further, Josephus informs us in so many words, that "David took in the lower city, and connecting the citadel with it made them one body; and having built walls round about,

[1] Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.
[2] 2 K. xiv. 13. 2 Chr. xxv. 23. For the street, see Neh. viii. 16.
[3] 2 K. xiv. 13. 2 Chron. xxv. 23. xxxii. 5. Joseph. Ant. IX. 9. 3.
[4] Joseph. B. J. I. 1. 4.—1 K. iii. 1. viii. 1. Neh. iii. 15. 1 Macc. i. 33. vii. 33. So too where the royal sepulchres are said to have been in the city of David, 1 K. ii. 10. 2 K. viii. 24. xvi. 20. al.
[5] 1 K. iii. 1. ix. 15.
[6] 1 Chr. xi. 8. 2 Sam. v. 9.

he gave the charge of them to Joab."[1] Now whether Josephus is right or wrong in thus carrying back the enclosing of the lower city to David himself; yet this much is certain from his testimony, viz. that the lower city had then existed from time immemorial as a walled part of Jerusalem, distinct from the upper city or Zion.—The wall which enclosed it was of course the second wall of Josephus.

We may sum up the result as follows. We find that from time immemorial there was a gate of Ephraim, an important thoroughfare, in the northern part of the wall enclosing the lower city; which wall Josephus describes as running in *a circle around* the tract on the north of Zion. We find likewise at the present day two remarkable towers of great antiquity, which obviously once flanked an important gateway, on a spot entirely corresponding to the description of Josephus, and which the nature of the ground would in all ages cause to be one of the great avenues of the city. Here are at least strong grounds to connect these remains with the ancient gate of Ephraim in the second wall; they are stronger indeed than those which have served to fix the character and site of many antiquities in Athens and Rome, as to which no one now doubts. Nor do I believe that any one would have reason to entertain doubts in the present case, were it not for the adventitious circumstance of the reputed Holy Sepulchre; to the claims of which this view is certainly fatal.[2]

In regard to the second of the collateral circumstances above enumerated,—the very contracted limits of the lower city, if the second wall be supposed to have followed a straight course,—the essayist suggests that "Josephus expressly speaks of the scantiness "of the limits of the city and of the population exceeding them in "consequence;" and remarks further that "the simple question is, "whether the *deduction* from the supposed larger area of the city "which adherence to the present site of the sepulchre requires, will

[1] Antiq. VII. 3. 2, *Δαυὶδης δὲ τήν τε κάτω πόλιν περιλαβὼν, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ, ἐποίησεν ἓν σῶμα· καὶ περιτειχίσας ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατέστησεν Ἰώαβον.*

[2] In further confirmation of the statement of Josephus that the second wall ran in a circle, we may also refer to the remains, consisting of huge bevelled stones once belonging to an ancient wall, noticed by Messrs. Tipping and Wolcott near the Latin Convent. See above, p. 29.

"materially lessen that area."[1] He conceives not. Now as to the first suggestion, Josephus in describing the origin of the *third* wall does indeed say, that the population of the city continually increasing crept by degrees beyond the walls, and taking in the tract north of the temple, extended itself not a little, so that the fourth hill called Bezetha or the New City was surrounded with dwellings.[2] This language, however, does not surely mark the scanty limits of the lower city alone, but applies equally to the whole city; and shows just as conclusively that the limits of Mount Zion must in like manner have been very scanty. And further, the true inquiry is not, whether the deduction in question would materially lessen the area of the *whole* city, but whether it would materially affect the extent of the *lower* city? This question is best answered by the map; which shows, that if the wall ran, as Josephus says it did, circling around the lower city, it would include an area at least twice as large as that which would be embraced in case it ran straight.

[1] Pages clxi, clxii.

[2] *Καὶ τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον*, Joseph. B. J. V. 4. 2.—In connexion with this topic the essayist exhibits a singular misapprehension of the Jewish historian, on which again he builds an argument. He says, as if from Josephus: "The population covered the north "side of the Temple mount, and "then crossing the deep trench "which bounded it, overflowed upon "the opposite hill Bezetha, where it "formed two large suburbs, one or "both of which were called the New "City." The language of Josephus expresses just what is cited in the text above, and no more. The "Temple mount" was covered by the temple and its courts, not by dwellings; and north of it was Antonia with its deep fosse. There was here no population to extend itself, nor does Josephus speak of any. It was the population of the lower city which, spreading beyond the former walls, occupied Bezetha, and a large tract beyond; for the third wall, built to protect these very suburbs, ran over against the Tomb of Helena. Josephus speaks of Cestius as having fired Bezetha *and* the New City, meaning obviously Bezetha *and the rest of the* New City; Bezetha being the most conspicuous part; B. J. II. 19. 4. He also describes the military wall, drawn around the city by Titus, as extending from his camp to the 'lower New City,' and thence to the Kidron and Olivet. But this was exterior to the third wall; and the lower New City is therefore to be understood as in antithesis to the higher ground of Bezetha, and as lying in the plain north of that hill adjacent to the third wall.—The essayist adduces the existence of vast caverns in Idumea and Iturea and elsewhere beyond Jordan, to show that perhaps a portion of the population of Jerusalem "lived in the excavations under Zion and Moriah." Admitting the facts, I am unable to perceive the force of the argument.

The remaining collateral circumstance above adduced, is the position of the Pool of Hezekiah, so called. This the essayist is pleased to regard as "the *main circumstance* on which the author's argument depends;"[1] and for this apparently he has reserved his main strength. Now I must deny in the outset the truth of this assertion. The position of the pool in question never held in my mind the main place in the inquiry; it was to me only one of those considerations which are "useful to corroborate a proof." The main circumstances were, and ever must be, first the express language of Josephus, and then the relative position of the sepulchre in respect to the temple and city. It may be the adroitness of a controversialist thus to keep out of view the strong points, and attach importance to one which he regards as feeble, in order to gain the more credit with his readers for overthrowing it. But whether in in all this he goes honestly to work, and whether this point is so very weak as the essayist would represent, we shall see presently.—In regard to this topic the essayist raises four objections.

First, assuming as probable the identity of the pool, and that it must have been within the ancient city, I remarked that if the second wall ran in a straight course, it would leave the pool outside; "or, if it made a curve sufficient to include this pool, it would naturally also have included the site of the sepulchre; unless it made an angle expressly in order to exclude the latter spot."[2] On this the essayist observes, "that there is no absurdity in the latter "supposition. Let us allow that it would involve a sharp bend "in the second wall.... Yet Josephus expressly speaks of a "northern and southern portion of the wall, which implies "a change of direction somewhere."[3] How boldly he here perverts the language of Josephus, I have shown already; and have also pointed out the inconsistency of this representation, not only with Josephus, but with his own admissions, where it suited his purpose to give a different direction to the wall in question.[4]

[1] Page clxiii.
[2] Bibl. Res. II. p. 68.
[3] Page clxiii.
[4] See p. 189 above.—In the same connexion the essayist remarks, that "supposing Calvary was a place "used for the execution and burial of "criminals,.... there was a reason "why the wall should avoid it;" p. clxiv. Calvary, then, as a place of execution, was older than the lower city; and when the city wall was erected, a "sharp bend" was made in it in order to avoid the spot. *Credat*

Secondly, he proceeds to say: "We come to this most important and remarkable circumstance, which will strike most readers "even at first sight, viz. that the author under review ... has fixed the "site of Hezekiah's pool by *tradition*, and by *tradition alone*. He "says that Hezekiah 'built within the city a pool, apparently the "same which now *exists under his name*;' and upon this traditionary determination of the pool of Hezekiah he proceeds to "deny the faithfulness of the tradition concerning the site of the "Holy Sepulchre."[1] So far as any reader of the essay can learn, this is the whole and sole ground of evidence which I have adduced to connect the pool in question with Hezekiah. Indeed the writer distinctly insinuates, that I have brought forward no scriptural argument.[2] But is all this a fair representation? Is it a true one? I have indeed often ascribed to this pool the name of Hezekiah, to distinguish it from others; just as I have elsewhere spoken of the Pool of Bethesda; because these are current appellations, which every body uses without pretending to decide whether they are

Judæus. He goes on to say: "We "know that wherever it was, it was "close upon the wall; both from the "expression that it was 'without the "gate,' and from the custom of the "Jews to fix their places of execution on the outside of their cities," p. clxiv. Here the position is, that Calvary was "close upon the wall;" but how does the proof sustain it? The apostle merely says it was "without the gate," not "close upon the wall;" and the passages of the Old Testament to which the writer refers, point only to the same thing: Deut. xvii. 5. Luke iv. 29: also 2 Kings x. 8; compare Lev. xxiv. 14. Num. xv. 35. He then brings proof from Lightfoot, to show that Jewish cemeteries (and Cavalry is held to have been a cemetery for criminals) were not only without the cities, but "far enough to be out of sight of the inhabitants! Those of the Levitical cities were ten thousand cubits off." Lightft. Chorogr. in Matt. 100. Id. in Marc. 8. § 38.—All probability and all existing evidence go to show that our Lord's sepulchre was *not* thus near the wall of the city. A Jewish sepulchre, hewn in the rock, could not well have been thus adjacent to the wall; first, because it was contrary to the customs and prejudices of the people; then, because the nature of the ground on the west side of the city was and is not adapted to such sepulchres, which are still found by hundreds in the sides of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and south of Hinnom; and lastly, because too the population had spread beyond the walls, and here were already extensive suburbs, which the third wall was afterwards built to protect. And further, the circumstances attending the resurrection,—the going out of the women early, Jesus' meeting them as they return to call the disciples, his appearance to Mary Magdalene, the running of Peter and John,—all imply that the sepulchre was at a certain distance from the city; further, at least than the reputed site could ever have been, even admitting that the second wall ran straight.

[1] Page clxiv.

[2] Page clxviii.

right or wrong. But in this case the truth happens to be directly at variance with the assertion of the essayist. After describing the pool in question, and the indubitable marks of high antiquity which we discovered in and around it, I went on as follows: "We are told "of king Hezekiah, that 'he made a pool and a conduit and "brought water into the city;' and also that he 'stopped the upper "water-course of Gihon and brought it straight down to the west "side of the city of David.'[1] From this language we can only "infer, that Hezekiah constructed a pool within the city on its "western part. To such a pool the present reservoir, which is "doubtless an ancient work, entirely corresponds; and it is also fed "in a similar manner."[2] Is this fixing the site "by tradition and tradition alone?" Here is certainly not a word about tradition; and further, I am not aware that any such tradition exists, or ever has existed, in respect to this pool, except on the lips of the monks; and that is a kind of tradition for which, as is well known, I do not cherish any profound respect. The native name is *Birket el-Hŭmmâm*, Pool of the Bath. The simple truth is, that in thus connecting this reservoir with Hezekiah, I was guided solely by its correspondence, in position and character, to the scriptural accounts of the pool constructed by that monarch. Yet in the face of this prominent circumstance, which no unprejudiced reader would fail to remark, the essayist goes on to assert respecting me, that "the "argument against the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre depends "on a definite and single fact; and for that single fact he offers "no proof whatever, except that very kind of proof, and that not "so good in its kind, as that on which the site of the Holy Sepul-"chre is at present received." The reader will already have become aware, that both the assertions of this paragraph are totally without foundation. I may add that they have the appearance, at least, of deliberate misrepresentation.

Thirdly, he further remarks, that I have also taken for granted that the pool was only within the second wall; and that it is necessary for my argument clearly to show, "not only that the pool was Hezekiah's, but also that the second wall was built in Hezekiah's time;"[3] and he proceeds to draw out for me what he probably con-

[1] 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chr. xxxii. 30. Comp. Sirac. xlviii. 9.

[2] Bibl. Res. I. p. 488, 489.

[3] Page clxvii.

siders a very pretty specimen of reasoning in a circle; which however exists solely on his own pages, and not a trace of it in the book he is commenting upon. And if it be so, that I omitted in that work to bring forward the proofs for the antiquity of the second wall, I trust the essayist and the reader will now be satisfied with the evidence which has been already above presented.[1]

Fourthly, the essayist appeals to the passage in the second book of Chronicles: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the *west side* of the city of David."[2] "In this passage," he says, "are two "distinct statements, each of them quite inconsistent with the tra- "dition that the supposed pool of Hezekiah is really the work "of that king. First, the inspired writer tells us that Hezekiah "brought the water into the *city of David*, and the pretended pool "is *not* in the city; and next, that he brought it to the *west* side of "the city, and the pool is on the *north*. What then can be said, but that "this author's argument against the truth of the alleged site of the "Holy Sepulchre is based . . . on a disregard of the sacred text which "it is the special object of his work to consult?"[3]—This is a grave charge; and it became the writer to be deliberate in making it, as it becomes me to be dispassionate in replying to it.

I would first remark that the essayist's "two statements" both hinge on an assumption, which he has neither proved nor clearly brought out, viz. that the phrase "city of David" means Mount Zion, and that alone; otherwise both the statements are false and absurd. Now it certainly became him to offer at least a show of proof in support of this position; especially as he is quite apt to charge me with a failure in this respect. But as the readers of the essay will look in vain for a shadow of evidence on this point, it may be well to state here the testimony in respect to the use of the name "city of David."

The original "city of David" was Bethlehem.[4] When however that monarch had taken Jerusalem, he rebuilt or strengthened the citadel on Zion, and dwelt in it, and called it the "city of David;" and this name continued thenceforth to be synonymous with

[1] See p. 191 above.
[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.
[3] Page clxviii.
[4] Luke ii. 4, 11.

Zion.[1] We find it in this special sense as late as the days of Nehemiah, and even of the Maccabees.[2] Now we know that the name Zion, which belonged specifically to the same one hill, came afterwards by synecdoche to be very commonly applied to the whole city, including also Moriah; and the question arises, whether the term "city of David," which was synonymous with Zion, may not also have been sometimes applied in a like extended sense. Several passages, aside from the one now under consideration, go to support such a view. The prophet Isaiah writes in the time of Hezekiah: "Ye have seen the breaches of the city of David, that they are many .... and ye have numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses ye have broken down to fortify the wall."[3] Here the city of David and Jerusalem are used in a sort of parallelism; and, as it would appear, synonymously; just as elsewhere the same prophet exclaims: "Wo to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt!" meaning Jerusalem.[4] Further, the writer of the first book of Maccabees uses the two names in apposition, and of course identically.[5] And lastly, Josephus relates, that David having first driven the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, called the city after his own name.[6] This would seem to show, that in the historian's time the special application of the term "city of David" had passed away, and that he understood by it the whole city.[7]

To apply this to the case before us. In the second book of Kings it is said: "And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water *into the city*, are they not written, etc." The son of Sirach says of the same king, that he "fortified his city, and brought in water *into the midst thereof;* he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells (fountains) for waters." Thus far there is no limitation to Mount Zion; it was Jerusalem that Hezekiah fortified, and into which

[1] 2 Sam. v. 9. 1 Chron xi. 7.—2 Sam. v. 7. 1 Kings viii. 1. 1 Chron. xi. 5. 2 Chron. v. 2.

[2] Neh. iii. 15. 1 Macc. i. 33. vii. 32.

[3] Is. xxii. 9.

[4] Is. xxix. 1. See Gesenius and other commentators ad h. l.

[5] 1 Macc. ii. 31, ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πόλει Δαυίδ.

[6] Antiq. VII. 3. 2, πρῶτος οὖν Δαυίδης τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκβαλὼν, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε τὴν πόλιν. It is remarkable that the name Zion nowhere occurs in the works of Josephus; nor does the term "city of David" appear, except indirectly as above. There is also an allusion to the citadel as bearing David's name, B. J. V. 4. 1.

[7] If further authority be wanted, for which the essayist has so great a reverence, I may cite that of the learned Jesuit Villalpandus: Apparat. in Ezech. I. i. 7.

he brought the water. Then comes the passage in the Chronicles: "Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David."[1] Now here nothing is said of a pool at all, nor of any water brought *into* the city; but, as we learn from Isaiah that the same king probably built the lower pool or great reservoir in the valley of Hinnom west of Zion,[2] the language *might* be taken as referring to that. Still, as the stopping of Gihon and the bringing down of the water were for the purpose of military defence, to which the lower pool would not contribute; and as we further learn from Isaiah, that a reservoir was at the same time made "between [within] the two walls for the water of the old pool;"[3] the inference is unavoidable, that a pool was formed within the city.

We have here all the facts which bear at all upon the question. If now we take the name "city of David" in the more general sense as equivalent to Jerusalem,—as we have seen that we may, and as I have taken it in the Biblical Researches,—then all the historical facts concentrate themselves around the pool now known as that of Hezekiah. It is within the ancient city; between (within) the two walls, the first and second of Josephus; hewn in the rock; and fed by a conduit from the upper pool. It is also in the *west* part of the city, and not on the north, as represented by the essayist. But if this writer or others still insist that the "city of David" is Mount Zion alone, then I suggest, that the water is nowhere said to have been brought *into* it, but only *to* its western side. This language then applies only to the lower pool in the valley of Hinnom; while we still have the pool "between (within) the two walls," corresponding entirely to the present reservoir, and like it

[1] 2 Kings. xx. 20. Sirac. xlviii. 17. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, וַיְיַשְּׁרֵם לְמַטָּה מַעֲרָבָה לְעִיר דָּוִיד "and brought them straight down on the west of the city of David."

[2] Is. xxii. 9, "ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool." The prophet is here speaking of the invasion of Sennacherib. See 2 Chron. xxxii. 3—5, from which it appears that most of these preparations were made against an expected siege.

[3] Is. xxii. 11, "Ye made also a ditch [מִקְוָה gathering-place, pool] between the two walls for the water of the old pool," i. e. the upper pool west of the city. Here the expression בֵּין חוֹמוֹתַיִם may well mean "within the two walls;" just as it is said in Job xxiv. 11, *they make oil* בְּתוֹךְ שׁוּרֹתָם *within their walls;* see too Prov. xxvi. 13.—The expression "two walls" occurs also 2 K. xxv. 4. Jer. xxxix. 4; but it there refers to walls apparently near to the fountain of Siloam.

fed from the waters of the old or upper pool.—There is also this further consideration, that the idea of bringing water from the west by an aqueduct into the city of David, regarded simply as Mount Zion, involves a physical impossibility; unless by a lofty aqueduct on arches, of which there is no trace in history or elsewhere. The "city of David," as restricted to Zion, was and is the highest part of Jerusalem; and there is no point where running water could be conducted to it from the west, without crossing the depression between Zion and Akra, where the Tyropœon had its commencement and where the gate of Yâfa is now situated. Here the water is still brought in to supply the present pool of Hezekiah. From the bed of this depression there is even now a gradual ascent to Zion, which anciently was far more considerable.[1]

I may remark here, that it makes no very great difference in the argument, whether the pool in question be that of Hezekiah, or not; provided only that it be an ancient structure, as to which there can be no doubt. A reservoir of such extent, receiving its water from another pool higher up, would not be likely to be formed close to the wall of the city on the *outside*, where of course it would benefit only besiegers and not the besieged. The whole appearance is, that it had a military purpose, and was intended to treasure up within the city the waters from the upper pool in case of a siege. Such too is the representation as to Hezekiah's pool.

After this discussion I may leave it for the reader to decide, whether I have indeed, as charged, founded my argument against the truth of the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre "on a disregard of the sacred text which it is the special object of my work to consult." The reader may judge for himself, whether the essayist, in the course of his remarks on this topic, has or has not exhibited, not only the *suppressio veri*, but also the *suggestio falsi*.

[1] In the Bibl. Res. I. p. 513, I have by an oversight represented Josephus as speaking of an aqueduct which conveyed water to the tower of Hippicus, and of one connected with Herod's palace on Zion; and have assumed that they would naturally come from Gihon. Jos. B. J. V. 7. 3. II. 17. 9. The remark in the text shows the contrary. Besides, the tower of Hippicus was solid to the height of thirty cubits; and above this was a cistern for rain-water, Jos. B. J. 4. 4. 3. And in the other passage (II. 17. 9) the high-priest Ananias is said to have been lurking περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὔριπον, where εὔριπον implies nothing more than a channel, trench, sewer.

The amount of his whole argument as to the topography is this. His only positive ground in behalf of the alleged site is the *strong presumption* that those who selected it were right; but this presumption, we have seen, was still stronger in other instances, where we now know it to be false. Of the four chief points adduced by me against the authenticity of the alleged site, he passes over the language of Josephus, except just so far as to mislead his readers; he does not even let them know that the "large hewn stones" near the Damascus gate are the towers of an ancient gateway on that spot; he evades the difficulty arising from narrowing down the limits of the lower city, by a discussion on the contracted limits of the whole city; and lastly, he exalts the pool of Hezekiah to a pre-eminence which I had never thought of, and then perverts my language and reasoning to make out a representation, such as he can appear to combat with effect.[1]

[1] One note is so remarkably disingenuous, not to say *Jesuitical*, that I cannot forbear to insert it here: "Professor Robinson, after "speaking of Hippicus, Antonia, "and Hezekiah's pool, says; 'We "have then three points for deter- "mining the probable course of "this wall' (the second); 'We re- "paired *personally* to *each* of these "*three points*, etc.' Vol. II. p. 67. "Now of the first he does but say "himself, 'it early *occurred* to us "that [the tower of David] was *ve- "ry probably* a remnant of the tow- "er of Hippicus,' Vol. I. p. 455; "'this *impression* was strength- "ened,' etc. Of the second Lami "says, 'I have set down several "places in the map, whose true "situation is *not known;* as for in- "stance the castle Antonia; App. "Bibl. p. 76, ed. 1723, Lond. though "Dr. Robinson considers he has "ascertained it. And what reliance "is to be placed on the site of the "pool, we have seen in the text. In "like manner Dr. Robinson can but "say of Gennath, '*apparently* near "Hippicus,' p. 411: '*doubtless* near "Hippicus,' p. 461. And of the sec- "ond wall, 'Josephus's description "of the second wall is very short "and *unsatisfactory*,' p. 461. And "he locates the Tyropœon different- "ly from other writers. Yet on these "private inferences from doubt- "ful conjectures on probable as- "sumptions from unsatisfactory tes- "timony, the Catholic church is to "be convicted of fraud and folly." P. clxvi.—Now had it been the object of this writer to state the whole truth, he would not have omitted what I further say of Hippicus in the very same connexion, viz. that "from a careful inspection and measurements we found our former impressions *confirmed*," Vol. I. p. 456; and that "the position of the tower and the apparent solidity of the antique part *leave little room to doubt* of its identity;" p. 457. Besides, the essayist himself, in all his own reasoning, assumes the fact that the site of Hippicus has been rightly fixed. Again, as to Antonia, why does he cite Lamy to induce the impression that its position is *not known;* when we have the express testimony of Josephus, and the assent of almost every scholar of the last three centuries, that it was situated on the north of

On the whole, I am not ungrateful to the writer for the opportunity he has thus afforded me of examining the whole subject anew. My only object, I hope, is the truth. I am bound to no party and committed to no "movement." I have also, as I trust, no personal feeling; and if in any case I have spoken pointedly, I have at the same time placed before the reader the grounds for so doing. In this respect, whoever examines for himself will find that I have not proceeded without caution, and have in every instance stated the points thus commented upon less strongly than they lie spread out upon the pages of the essay. Indeed, I can hardly expect to find my own views subjected to a severer scrutiny by any future antagonist more able, nor probably by one more disingenuous.

In conclusion, I can here only repeat what I have formerly said in closing the discussion:[1] "In every view which I have been able "to take of the question, both topographical and historical, whe- "ther on the spot or in the closet, and in spite of all my previous "prepossessions, I am led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Gol- "gotha and the tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepul- "chre, are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrec- "tion of our Lord."

the temple and adjacent to it? I certainly never thought of having *ascertained* the site of Antonia, any more than that of Jerusalem itself. As to the pool, we too have seen in the preceding discussion, what reliance is to be placed upon it. As to Gennath, as it is said by Josephus to have been in the first wall, the only question that can arise is as to its proximity to Hippicus; and the nearer it is assumed to be, the better for the essayist's own argument. Of Josephus's description of the second wall I do indeed speak, as being *unsatisfactory;* and would it not be more satisfactory were it longer and fuller, and more specific as to the points near which the wall ran, as is the case in his description of the first and third walls? The whole note here quoted is obviously an attempt merely to cast dust in the eyes of the reader.

[1] Bibl. Researches II. p. 80.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

TO THE ARTICLE ON PALESTINE.

Received chiefly from Rev. S. Wolcott after the article was printed.

Page 19. l. 7. Dele the word: [aisle].

Page 21. note. It is there stated, that the room in question had been used as a stable for horses or mules; but it seems that it is entered by steps. Mr. W. writes: "I noticed that the owner of the ground one night led his mule up the steps into the western room, which he could easily do; but I have correctly stated the elevation of its floor at ten or twelve feet above the ground outside."—"This exterior building is divided into apartments above and below. Between the lower western and eastern rooms is a doorway, which has been walled up; and the orifice through which I passed, was I think formerly a circular window, which had also been closed."

Page 24. l. 11. Read: 'We ascended to it, in all our visits, by a flight of steps from a court connected by a short street with the Haram.' By turning to the Plan it will be perceived, that south of the covered street leading to the principal entrance of the Haram, directly west of the Mosk itself, there is a court entered from the covered street and from the Haram, with the word 'Bath' upon its south side. The bath itself is on its northern side; and so is the flight of steps ascending to the mouth of the well. That is, the street to which I referred, is the narrow passage between the court and Haram; and we entered it from the covered street. Mr. Wolcott discovered a more private approach, over the adjoining terraces.

Page 24. l. 3 from bott. Read: 'evening of the 5th of January.'

Page 32. l. 10 from bott. Dele the sign: (?). The course had been west of north; and the aqueduct soon after turns N. and then E.

Page 34. l. 8 from bott. The subterranean passage there mentioned has been traced about three hundred feet, and runs from West to East.

Page 35, bott. Read: 'We accordingly had the rubbish again cleared away from the opposite end of the portico, which was done in a few hours. We found the block which the first party describe, over the supposed entrance, etc.'—Mr. Tipping was not present. Mr. Wolcott supposes, that their excavation was not deeper than that made under our directions.

Page 65. l. 14. The Roman camp on the S. E. quarter of Sebbeh (Masada), was on the flat below, towards the sea.

Page 77. l. 3–8, and note 2. Mr. Wolcott writes as follows: "The allusion to 'the olive groves' around el-Lejjûn (Bibl. Res. III. p. 178), and your silence respecting the place named to me as Sâlim, led me to think that the two were confounded by your guide; and such was probably the case. Your description of the appearance of el-Lejjûn as seen from Zer'în (ib. p. 167), which I afterwards observed, is so correct, as to lead me to believe, that from that point you saw the true site."

Ramah of Samuel.

Page 46 sq. Since the article was printed, I have learned the new and fanciful hypothesis of Gesenius as to the position of this city; see his Thesaurus, p. 1276, art. רָמָה. He places it upon the Frank Mountain! and assumes that the Ramathaim-Zophim of 1 Sam. i. 1 was merely the native place of Elkanah, and different from the Ramah of verse 19, where he dwelt and where Samuel was born.—All this of course is mere conjecture; and against it there are two insurmountable considerations. One is, that no man who has himself seen the Frank mountain, could for a moment entertain the idea that a city ever lay upon it; and the other is, that in 1 Sam. i. 3 Elkanah goes up out of *his city* to worship at Shiloh, and in verse 19 returns again "to their house, to Ramah;" both of which specifications can refer only to the city just before mentioned, Ramathaim-Zophim. On this last ground Prof. Roediger also rejects the hypothesis. Allgem. Lit. Zeitung 1842. No. 72.

Eleutheropolis.

In adducing evidence to sustain the identity of this metropolitan city with the ancient Betogabra, now Beit Jibrîn, it may be recollected that I was not able to find any historical testimony on which this point could be distinctly rested; Bibl. Res. II. p. 408 sq. There was still wanting some indubitable evidence of this kind, out of a period when a knowledge of the identity in question could be presupposed, as a matter of common notoriety. Such a testimony appears to have been discovered by Prof. Roediger of Halle. In the *Acta Sanctor. Martyrum* published by Assemani, it is related in the Syriac account, that the martyr Peter Abselama was born in Anea, which lies *in the district of Beth-Gubrin*, ܒܝܬ ܓܘܒܪܝܢ; while the Greek and Latin accounts both read, *in the district of Eleutheropolis*. See Assemani Acta Sanctor. Martyr. Oriental. Tom. II. p. 209, comp. p. 207. Allgem. Lit. Zeit. 1842. No. 72.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

I.

THE DRUZES OF MOUNT LEBANON.

BY THE EDITOR.

The whole eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea is skirted by a chain of mountains, which, branching off from the great ranges of Asia Minor, extends from north to south with slight interruptions and at various elevations, through all Syria and Palestine quite to the Red Sea. This chain is broken through on the west of Antioch by the river Orontes. Further south, it bears the name of Jebel en-Nŭsairîyeh, as being the chief seat of that singular people the Nŭsairîyeh; and terminates for a time in the conspicuous bluff occupied by the strong fortress el-Husn, nearly on a line between the inland city of Hums and the island Ruwâd, the ancient Arvad and Aradus. Then comes a broad plain, extending from the sea-coast far into the interior; and afterwards the mountain range again lifts up its head into the loftier summits of Lebanon. Here the chain is cleft into the two parallel ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with the noble valley of the Bŭkâ'a between. Towards the south these ridges converge and spurs close up the valley; and then Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon sink down into lower hills or high table-land. But the same general feature of a double range continues, shutting in the great valley of the Jordan with its three lakes, el-Hûleh, Tiberias, and the Dead Sea, and further south the desert plain el-'Arabah in its whole length; until, having enclosed likewise the Gulf of 'Akabah in their deep bosom, the eastern chain ends at the Red Sea, while the western terminates in the hoary and desolate peaks of the peninsula of Sinai. This great Jordan-valley, as is now known, is what geologists denominate a fissure or fault; and its bottom, as represented by the sur-

face of the Dead Sea, is depressed to the enormous depth of 1337 feet below the level of the Red Sea and Mediterranean.

The chain of Lebanon proper, then, may be said to spring up from the plain opposite to, or rather south of, the island Ruwâd. Its lofty ridges extend southwards as far as to Sidon, where they terminate; although the range may be said to run on in lower hills and as a broad ridge of table-land, as far as to Tyre; beyond which it spreads out into the hills and highlands of Galilee. These again, for a time, are interrupted by the great plain of Esdraelon; but once more rise up in Mount Gilboa, succeeded by the hills of Samaria, and the mountains of Ephraim and Judah.—The appearance of Lebanon proper to the mariner or from the coast, is that of a long unbroken ridge, rising at two points into loftier summits; one near the celebrated cedar grove S. E. of Tripolis, and the other Jebel Sŭnnîn, N. E. from Beirût. The height of these summits has never been measured; and the estimates respecting them vary between nine and twelve thousand feet.

The northern end of the great eastern range, or Anti-Lebanon, disappears in spurs and ledges which run out and lose themselves in the vast desert plain stretching between the cities of Damascus and Hums. So far as the ridge of Anti-Lebanon continues parallel to the higher parts of Lebanon, it is more even and less lofty; and and it is only further south, where Lebanon has already sunk to lesser hills, that Anti-Lebanon towers into the gigantic masses of Jebel esh-Sheikh, the ancient Hermon, opposite to a point considerably south of Sidon. This is the loftiest and most beautiful of all the mountains of Syria and Palestine; it rises as a majestic pyramid, not covered indeed with eternal snows, but with ravines of ice around its summit, which reflect the beams of the summer's sun and thus form for it a glittering crown. This noble mountain overhangs the sources of the Jordan and the plain of Paneas; and is visible far down the Jordan valley, even from Nebo, where Moses stood, over against Jericho. We first saw it on our journey, when about five and twenty miles north of Jerusalem, at the distance of nearly a hundred miles from the mountain in a right line, —a fine blue cone towering in beauty on the northeastern horizon. Well did the Hebrew poets select Hermon as the fit representative of their most majestic mountains

The great valley el-Bŭkâ'a between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, is the ancient Coele-Syria proper, i. e. Hollow Syria; but this name was afterward extended so as to include the surrounding district and even the city of Damascus. In its middle part, opposite Beirût, the valley is ten or twelve miles broad, exceedingly fertile and well watered with large fountains and running streams. Some miles north of the direct road from Beirût to Damascus are situated in this valley the wonderful ruins of Ba'albek. This is near the dividing line of waters in the valley. Not much further north are the sources of the river el-'Âsy, the ancient Orontes, which flows off northwards by Hums, Hamah, and Antioch; and the valley in that direction spreads out into the vast plain beyond the northern end of Anti-Lebanon.

The waters rising at and around Ba'albek go to form a stream running southwards through the valley. It is called el-Lîtâny, in which we may recognize the ancient Leontes. Opposite to a point nearly midway between Beirût and Sidon, a low spur branches off from the western side of Anti-Lebanon at a small angle, and runs very diagonally southwestwards until it unites with the last higher ridges of Lebanon, and terminates the valley el-Bŭkâ'a. The river here breaks through the opposing ridges by a narrow rocky chasm, through which it continues to flow on southwards and then westwards, until it issues upon the narrow Phenician plain, and enters the sea a few miles north of Tyre.

Where the spur above described branches off from Anti-Lebanon to form a diagonal connexion with the ridge of Lebanon, another valley takes its rise, on the east of that spur, between it and Anti-Lebanon. This valley too is fertile and populous; it is indeed crowded with villages, of which the chief are Râsheiya and Hâsbeiya; over them impend on the east or rather southeast the magnificent heights of Jebel esh-Sheikh or Hermon. A stream too waters this valley, which flowing out into the plain of Bâniâs, and the lake el-Hûleh, constitutes the remotest source of the Jordan. This valley is called the Wady et-Teim; and I have thus particularly described it here, because it is connected with the earliest, as well as with the latest history of the Druzes.[1]

[1] See the Map in No. I. of this Work.

As seen from Beirût, the mighty wall of Lebanon rises in indescribable majesty, to the height of nine or ten thousand feet, impending over the city; with one of its two loftiest summits, Jebel Sŭnnîn, in full view in the northeast. As its ridges here present themselves to the eye, one is immediately struck with the reason and the propriety of the name *Lebanon*, signifying in Hebrew the "White Mountain;" for the whole mass of the mountain consists of whitish limestone; or at least, the rocky surface, as it reflects the light, exhibits everywhere a whitish aspect. The mountain teems with villages; and on this side is cultivated more or less almost to the very top. Yet so steep and rocky is the surface, that the tillage is carried on often by terraces, built up with great labour and covered above with soil. As one looks upwards from below, the vegetation on these terraces is not visible; so that the whole mountain side appears as if composed only of immense rugged masses of naked whitish rock, severed by deep wild ravines running down precipitously to the plain. No one would suspect among these rocks, the existence of a multitude of thrifty villages, and a numerous population of mountaineers, hardy, industrious and brave. These ravines are the beds of mountain torrents, which stream down in rivers to the sea. Among them are the river of Beirût so called; and further north the Nahr el-Kelb or Dog river, the ancient Lycus, with its celebrated pass along the sea.

The preceding characteristics apply only to the western declivity of Mount Lebanon. Its eastern side, and also the western side of Anti-Lebanon, which enclose the valley of the Bŭkâ'a, are so very steep, as to have few villages above their base; and are consequently uncultivated and comparatively desert. But the eastern declivity of Anti-Lebanon is again less steep, and in like manner teems with population, now as in ancient times. Indeed, the ancient Abilene of Lysanias is now known to have been situated at the place called Sûk Wady Bŭrada, high up upon the eastern slope of Anti-Lebanon.[1]

Of all the mountains mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, none is so rich in delightful associations as Mount Lebanon. It was a source of imagery ever at hand to the Hebrew poets; and they

[1] See Bibl. Researches in Palest. III. App. p. 146.

were not slow to improve it. Sinai indeed is oftener mentioned; but it is always as a symbol of the sublime and the terrible; while the associations which cluster around Lebanon are those of majesty and beauty. Moses had heard of its fame, and desired to go over Jordan to behold it;[1] its smell was of fragrant odours; its cedars were the glory of all trees. Indeed, there would seem to have been of old in the minds of the people a sacred feeling connected with this mountain. Its cedars were of great price, and were employed in building the temple of Jehovah and the palaces of kings. On its sides too are still found the moss-grown ruins of heathen temples, of which history has preserved no record; but which in their rude though massive architecture evince an origin coeval with the mightier wonders of Ba'albek. And even to the present day, when monasticism has become antiquated and has declined in so many other countries, Lebanon is still the chosen seat of monastic life in all this region; and its convents, though small, outvie in number those of any other land.

The population of the ridge of Lebanon alone, north of Sidon, not including Anti-Lebanon nor the valley of the Bŭkâ'a, cannot well be estimated at less than 200,000 souls. Except a few Muslims and Nŭsairîyeh at the northern end of the mountain, and a few Metâwileh in villages near the base, the population is made up of Christians and Druzes; the latter constituting perhaps one third part of the whole, and dwelling chiefly on the southern part of Lebanon, though found also in the villages of Wady et-Teim and farther south, as well as in Haurân and around Damascus. The Christians of the mountain embrace more or less of all the various sects found within the limits of Syria and Palestine. But those of the Greek rite, who are the most numerous of all in Palestine itself, are here comparatively few; and the remaining sects of Greek Catholics, Syrian Catholics, Armenians, and Armenian Catholics, although each has its representatives and one or more convents, are yet too few to exert any important influence. The great body of Christians therefore inhabiting the mountain are Maronites, now holding a close and zealous connexion with the church of Rome, and wielding recently the chief power and influ-

[1] Deut. iii. 25.

ence throughout the mountain. They are found indeed in cities and large towns as far north as Aleppo and as far south as Nazareth. But they are at home, as cultivators of the soil, only in Mount Lebanon; and they dwell scattered more or less throughout its whole range, from the northern extremity about Tripolis to the regions of Galilee. Their strong-hold, however, is the district of Kesrawân, on the north of the Nahr el-Kelb, northeast of Beirût, and consequently north of the region of the Druzes.

All these various classes of population, like all the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, use the Arabic as their vernacular tongue. They are indeed all Arabs; and exhibit the striking features which everywhere mark the character of Arabs; their hospitality, their fidelity, their quickness of perception, their untamed passions and proneness to revenge. Less quick-witted than the wily Greek, they are yet without his cunning and treachery; more active than the Turk, they are likewise without his apathetic good-nature. These remarks apply to all the inhabitants of the mountain, whether Christians or Druzes. In dress, in manners and customs, in social and political forms, in respect to honesty and integrity of character, they are all one people; and their main difference consists in the institutions and practices arising out of their different religious tenets.

With the exception of two small districts at the northern end, the whole of Mount Lebanon north of Sidon has now been for at least two centuries under the government of a single head; at first apparently a Druze; then a Muhammedan; and of late years, in the person of the Emîr Beshîr, a Maronite in secret, though a Muhammedan in public. The Emîr, though nominally an immediate vassal of the Porte, has usually been more or less dependent on the Pashas who govern the surrounding territories. For a long time the Druzes possessed the chief power in the mountain; but during the last century it passed from their hands to those of the Maronites, who now far outvie them in numbers and wealth. The rivalry and hatred between them are permanent and deadly; but they have usually been ready to unite against every external enemy in defence of their soil and of their rights; and have then made themselves impregnable in their mountain fastnesses, and preserved their independence against every invader.

The coexistence of these two great rival parties on Mount Lebanon has caused their history to be so intertwined, that it is difficult to comprehend that of the one, without some knowledge of the origin and fortunes of the other. For this reason, before entering upon an account of the Druzes, I venture to premise a few words upon their Christian rivals, the Maronites.

Among the controversies which agitated the Christian church during the fifth and sixth centuries, one of the principal had respect to the person of Christ; and the question was, whether the Redeemer while in the flesh possessed two distinct natures, God and man, or one compound nature. The occidental churches held to the former; the oriental and Egyptian more to the latter; and after long discussion and controversy, the decisions of councils established the former as the orthodox doctrine, and the *Monophysites*, or adherents of the doctrine of one nature, were condemned and excommunicated. But their doctrine continued to be maintained in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt; and is held to the present day in the Syrian, Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian churches.

The emperor Heraclius, in his expedition against Persia, came in contact with the Monophysites of the East; and being desirous to win them back to the bosom of the orthodox church, he and his clergy hit upon a middle ground, on which it was supposed all might unite. The doctrine of a *single will* in Christ was proposed; leaving out of view the fact of two natures or one nature; and this being at first favourably received both in the East and West, the emperor, in A. D. 630, issued a decree establishing it as the orthodox faith. It was however soon contested; and at length, after fifty years of controversy, it was condemned in the sixth general council at Constantinople, A. D. 680, and its adherents, the *Monothelites* so called, were excommunicated. Yet in the eighth century, under the short reign of the emperor Philip Bardanes (711–13), it became again for two years the prevailing doctrine of the state; but died away under his successors, and with one exception became extinct.

This exception occurred among the independent mountaineers of Lebanon, then a portion of the Syrian church; among whom, it would seem, the Monothelitic doctrine had been propagated by

a monk named John Mârôn or the Maronite, who is said to have died in A. D. 701. From him the adherents of this doctrine in Lebanon took the name of Maronites. Such is the account of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, who wrote in the last half of the ninth century.[1] Such is also the assertion of the venerable William of Tyre near the close of the twelfth century. From him too we further learn, that in the year 1180, during a truce between king Baldwin IV. and Saladin, the whole body of the Maronites, amounting to more than 40,000 souls, who for five centuries had adhered to the Monothelitic heresy, publicly abjured that doctrine, submitted themselves in spiritual affairs to Aimeric, the third Latin patriarch of Antioch, and joined their forces to those of the crusaders.[2] From that time until the present day, they have remained steadfast adherents of the Roman pontiffs. Later Maronite writers, and among them the learned Assemani, have indeed attempted to prove, that the taint of heresy never soiled the Maronite name, and that they were always of a pure faith, and in communion with the orthodox churches. But the express testimony of Eutychius, supported as it is by William of Tyre who lived and wrote almost upon the spot, is too strong to be set aside on any grounds of criticism, much less of mere conjecture. They venerate still a St. Mârôn as the founder and patron of their nation; but they are said to regard him as a holy hermit, who in the fifth century dwelt on the Orontes, and in whose honour a celebrated monastery of Mârôn afterwards sprung up at Hamah. From this monastery, they say, came John the Maronite. But as all this is mere matter of tradition, and stands connected with the alleged orthodoxy of their ancient faith, there is strong reason to suppose, that the story may be nothing more than one of those patriotic legends which often cluster around the origin of a tribe or people.

From the time of the crusades, there is no further mention of the Maronites until the sixteenth century. When Palestine with Egypt passed under the sway of the Othman Sultan Selim I. in A. D. 1517, he did not stop to coerce the fierce and independent tribes of Lebanon; and they continued to harass the Turkish government and the inhabitants of the lowlands until near the close

[1] Eutych. Annal. II. p. 192. Oxon. 1658. [2] Will. Tyr. XXII. 8.

of the same century. In A. D. 1584, the Sultan Murad III. sent his general Ibrahim Pasha against them from Cairo. He attacked them with great address; penetrated into their mountains; took advantage of the discords between the Druzes and Christians; and succeeded in drawing from them a large tribute, which has been continued to the present day.

Up to the close of the same century, the connexion of the Maronites with the pope appears not to have been very close; although numbers of their young men, at least in that century, were brought to be educated at Rome, where a college was established for their support and instruction.[1] In A. D. 1596 the pope sent the Pater Dandini as a legate to Mount Lebanon, who found the Maronites enthusiastic for the Romish church. In a synod held in his presence their ancient errors were again disclaimed, and the dogmas of Rome affirmed. Since that time they have stood in a closer relation to the Romish see; and at the present day are characterized by an almost unparalleled devotedness to its authority. Their patriarch, who styles himself "Patriarch of Antioch," is elected by themselves, but receives confirmation from Rome.[2] He resides in the convent of Kanôbîn, in the higher parts of the mountain southeast from Tripolis. But their ecclesiastical organization is entirely distinct from that of Rome; and they have also several usages not tolerated in the papal church in Europe. They have saints of their own, not elsewhere acknowledged by the Latins, and especially their patron saint, Mâr Mârôn. And every candidate for the priesthood, who is not already under a vow of celibacy, is permitted to marry before ordination; so that most of their parochial clergy are actually married men. The common people are very little instructed; but for a select number, and for those on training for the clerical office, there is a college established by the patriarch at 'Ain Warka in Kesrawân, which takes a high stand in the study of the Arabic language, and also affords instruction in Syriac, Latin, and Italian. The church books and service of the Maronites are still all in the language of the ancient Syrian church; from which this people derive their origin.

Turning now to the Druzes, we find their origin, though less

[1] Dandini Voyage du Mont Liban, p. 4. [2] Niebuhr Reiseb. II. p. 425.

remote, yet shrouded in a darkness which for a long time was still more impenetrable. Even the learned D'Herbelot, to whom oriental history is under such lasting obligations, and whose great work was first published in A. D. 1697, has nothing more to relate of this singular people, than the fable of their being descended from some of the French warriors who accompanied Godfrey of Bouillon in the first crusade. Later additions to the story have gone further, and specified a certain Marquis de Dreux as the progenitor of the race; and French vanity has been flattered at the readiness with which the absurd legend found entrance among the ignorant princes of an ignorant people, and thus strengthened (as was supposed) the bands of their attachment to the "great nation." But it was reserved for a French scholar in our own days to sweep away this cobweb of fable; and by explaining and laying open to the world the fountains of Arabic history, to remove also the darkness which so long has enveloped the nation of the Druzes. The illustrious De Sacy published in the last days of his long and learned career an elucidation of the origin and the religion of this people, drawn up many years before; and in respect to these two points, his work exhausts the subject. He had planned, indeed, another work, to embrace their subsequent history and the modifications which their religion has undergone during the lapse of eight centuries; but the hand of death interrupted him in the midst of these labours.

The immediate origin of the Druzes and their religion has its date in the early part of the eleventh century. But the causes which prepared the way for this monstrous absurdity, go back nearly four centuries earlier, to the days of the companions and immediate successors of the false prophet.

The first three Khalifs after Muhammed,—the sovereigns and sovereign pontiffs of the Muhammedan faith,—were Abu Bekr, 'Omar, and Othman; and these were sustained by Ayeshah, the favourite wife of the prophet. But in the mean time a strong party favoured the claims of 'Aly, the cousin of Muhammed, who also had married Fatîmeh the daughter of the prophet; and on the death of Othman, 'Aly succeeded to the Khalifate, which he occupied during a short and troubled reign of four years. He was overthrown by Muawia, governor of Syria, the founder of the

house of the Ommiades, who transferred the seat of empire from Mecca to Damascus; where it remained until the house of the Abissides, after several removes, established it at Bagdad.

But the struggle which thus arose between the partisans of 'Aly and the adherents of the other Khalifs was not alone for power. It had reference also to important points of faith and doctrine; and these being more and more developed in the dreamy speculations of oriental mind and oriental philosophy, gave rise to numerous sects, one more extravagant and puerile in its dogmas than another. The great body of the followers of 'Aly bore the name of Shiites; and although overpowered and thwarted in respect to the Khalifate, yet they continued to venerate the descendants of 'Aly as the true Khalifs and Imams (or pontiffs) of the Muhammedan faith. The Muhammedans of Persia are to this day Shiites; and so too the Metâwileh scattered in Syria. They still hold to the twelve Imams, viz. 'Aly and his lineal descendants, as the true representatives and pontiffs of their religion.—The adherents of the Khalifate, the orthodox Mussulmans so called, bear the name of Sunnites.

Even during the lifetime of 'Aly, his followers began to entertain exaggerated notions in his behalf; which excited his indignation, so that he even caused some of those who held the most extravagant ideas respecting him, to be burned. The prevalent idea that the Khalif or Imam was the representative of God and his vicegerent on earth, appears early to have been perverted; and among a portion of the adherents of 'Aly, the *Rafédhis* so called, it assumed this form, viz. that a particle of the divinity actually resided in the Imams, the successors of 'Aly. The twelfth Imam of the Shiites they believe to be still alive; and that he will return at the end of the world, to reunite all the sects of the Mussulmans and all other nations into one faith.[1]

Another sect among the Shiites, derived also from the Rafédhis, were the *Isma'îlîyeh*,—Ismaelites or Ismaëlis,—which took its name from Isma'îl, the son of Jafar Sadik, the sixth Imam, about A. H. 148, or A. D. 766. This sect, during the two following centuries, spread far and wide in Syria and Egypt, and also in the

[1] D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. arts. *Imam*, *Mohammed Aboulkassem*.

East. A branch of the same was the sect of the Karmats or Karmathians; which became prevalent and powerful near the close of the ninth century (A. D. 890); and in its struggles to maintain itself and to propagate its tenets by the sword, had well nigh overthrown the already declining empire of the Abassides.[1]

The result, if not the purpose of these various sects, was to propagate materialism, atheism, and immorality. They admitted the union of the divinity with 'Aly and his descendants; they believed in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; they allegorized all the legal observances and precepts of the Korân, and dispensed with the performance of them in their literal sense; they permitted fornication, incest, and adultery, without reserve. They threw a veil in public over their dogmas and practices; and their emissaries, in attempting to make converts, proceeded with the utmost caution and duplicity, adapting themselves to the character of those whom they approached,—becoming literally "all things to all men." They unfolded their doctrines very gradually; only a small number of persons were admitted to the rank of adepts; as to the rest, their instruction ceased at different stages. The only thing rigorously exacted of all in order to be admitted to the number of the faithful, was a blind obedience to the chief of the sect and his delegates; and a readiness to consecrate all one's powers and property to his defence and the execution of his will.[2]

The germs of these wild dogmas, De Sacy is disposed to find in a still earlier age. The belief in the union of the Deity with the descendants of 'Aly, and also in the transmigration of souls, may not improbably have had its source in the creeds of interior Asia, the doctrines of Zoroaster and the Parsees. The system of allegorical interpretation arose perhaps after the introduction of the Greek philosophy, which speedily gave rise to dispute and skepticism among the teachers of Islam. Reasoning took the place of authority; and that which before had been believed without discussion on the word of the Korân, was now brought before the tribunal of human reason. As these two authorities were often at variance, and none were so hardy as openly to reject the Korân, they preferred to interpret its language in their own way; and as

[1] See Gibbon c. LII. Des Guignes, Hist. des Huns, Tom. II.
[2] De Sacy p. xxxv.

in this they were subject to no rule, it was easy to find in the words of the Korân whatever they were interested to discover there. Thus the way was open, to lead their disciples to reject all idea of revelation and divine authority, and plunge them into atheism and the greatest immorality.

Such were the chief sects of Muhammedanism prevalent in Egypt and Syria, in opposition to the orthodox faith of Islam, during the third and fourth centuries of the Hejra, corresponding nearly to the ninth and tenth of the Christian era. There were also many subdivisions and minor forms of sectarianism; but they may all be referred back to their original source in the veneration of 'Aly as the true successor of the false prophet. And I may remark, in passing, that we find a striking example of the tenacity of prejudice, and its hold upon the stereotype nature of the oriental mind, in the fact, that those sects are still extant in a greater or less degree in northern Syria; after the lapse of more than nine centuries, and after all the storms and revolutions of war and opinion which have swept over those regions. The Shîites are recognized in the Metâwileh scattered in various parts. The Isma'îlîyeh, bearing still the same name, are at present a comparatively feeble race in the mountains west of Hamah, the descendants of the warlike tribes so formidable to the crusaders under the name of the Assassins.[1] The Karmathians reappear in the Nŭsairîyeh, inhabiting the mountains north of Lebanon. Both they and the Isma'îlîyeh have a secret religion; but conform externally to the faith of those around them, whether Mussulmans or Christians.[2]— De Sacy expresses very decidedly the opinion, formed after an examination of the whole subject, that the Nŭsairîyeh and Karmathians are identical, entertaining the same dogmas, and permitting the same immoralities.[3]

The renown of the house of the Abassides lingered long in its decay. The later princes of this race held the reins of empire with a feeble hand; the various countries under their sway were torn with dissensions and bloody wars; and one province after another was wrested from the Khalîfs by revolted governors or new heret-

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in the Holy Land, p. 151 sq.
[2] Missionary Herald, March 1841, p. 104.
[3] De Sacy p. clxxxiii.

ical sects. At length in A. D. 969, Mu'ez of the race of the Fatimites, whose ancestors for sixty years had reigned as Khalîfs at Kairwân (Cyrene) over a great part of Africa, extended his conquests throughout Egypt and Syria, and transferred the seat of his empire to the new city of Musr el-Kâhirah, the present Cairo.

The Fatimite Khalîfs of Egypt professed to derive their descent from 'Aly and Fatîmeh the daughter of the prophet; though not indeed through the direct line of the Imams. They were of course Shîites; and were also Isma'îlîyeh; whence this name is sometimes given to their dynasty. A correspondence also, which took place between Mu'ez and the chief of the Karmathians, throws great light upon the mystical doctrines of these Khalîfs; implies their identity of feeling and credence with that sect; and proves that their system differed little in its general character from that which afterwards became the faith of the Druzes.

The third of the Fatimite Khalîfs in Egypt was el-Hâkim, who mounted the throne at the age of eleven years, in A. D. 996. He became a wild and visionary fanatic, who at length gave himself out as the prophet and god of a new religion; and his whole reign was a series of violence and inconsistencies. By Arabian writers he is described as a compound of atheism and insanity. At first he was fond of magnificent apparel, and rode only on horses splendidly caparisoned; but he afterwards affected to renounce the world; wore garments of black wool; let his hair grow; and rode only upon an ass. He had a passion to be acquainted with every thing passing around him; the most trivial actions of his domestics and subjects, men and women, were known to him in detail. He punished with remorseless cruelty; put to death a vast number of persons; and thus became an object of terror to all. Yet notwithstanding his tyranny, and though he caused blood to flow incessantly, he nevertheless constantly rode out in public, sometimes with his suite and sometimes alone; at one time in the streets of the city, and again in the adjacent desert. The historian Nuwairy describes him "as a furious lion in the midst of men."[1] About A. D. 1010, prompted by suspicion or some motive equally unworthy, he became jealous of the Christians

[1] De Sacy p. ccccxxxi.

who had hitherto enjoyed tranquillity and even honours under his reign; and set on foot a furious persecution against them both in Egypt and Palestine, in which many were compelled to apostatize, and many put to death. At the same time he caused the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem to be razed to the ground.—It would lead us too far to dwell longer upon the crimes and follies of this monster. Suffice it to transcribe here the language of Severus, another Arabian historian: "His character was a compound of extravagance and inconsistency joined with cruelty, and of impiety united with superstition. He adored, they say, in a special manner, the planet Saturn, and believed that he held conferences with Satan. We are assured, that in the course of his reign, eighteen thousand persons became the victims of his ferocity."[1]—Yet such is the god of the Druzes!

It would seem that Hâkim early entertained the idea of passing for a prophet, or becoming an innovator in religion; for there still exists in Cairo, over the door of a mosk erected by him, an inscription bearing date A. H. 393 (A. D. 1003), when he was not yet nineteen years old, in which he is already treated as a prophet.[2] Indeed the step was not a wide one in a weak and insane mind like his, brought up in the belief of the transmigration of souls and the union of the divinity with the successors of 'Aly, to pass from these dogmas to the belief, that in himself too, as a descendant of 'Aly, there should exist the same mysterious union of the divinity. This idea appears to have developed itself in him gradually, and to have manifested itself chiefly towards the close of his life. For a time, he exacted, that no one should pronounce his name without prostrating himself; and hence in public assemblies and elsewhere, when his name was uttered, all bowed themselves down and kissed the ground in token of respect.[3] But this could not long continue to satisfy him; and of course there were not wanting adventurers to take advantage of such frenzy, and by flattering his caprices to subserve their own ends.

According to Arabian historians, it was towards the close of A. H. 407, corresponding to the early part of A. D. 1017, that such an adventurer appeared in the person of Muhammed Ben

[1] De Sacy p. ccccxxix. [2] Wilkinson's Thebes etc. p. 547.
[3] Nuwairy De Sacy p. ccccxxxi.

Isma'îl ed-Derazy, apparently a Persian or a Turkmann by birth. "The occasion and meaning of the surname ed-Derazy," according to De Sacy, "are unknown. He was a *daï*, i. e. an emissary or missionary of the Persian sect of the Baténis, who held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; and coming into Egypt he attached himself to the service of Hâkim, who loaded him with favours and benefits. Derazy in return aided the Khalîf in bringing out his pretensions to the divine nature. He set himself to work to teach publicly, that Hâkim was God, the creator of the universe, and invited the people to embrace this doctrine. He composed a book in which he taught, that the soul of Adam had passed into 'Aly, and the soul of 'Aly into the ancestors of Hâkim, in whom it at length had become stationary. In this way Derazy secured an influence over the mind of Hâkim, who admitted him to familiar intercourse; abandoned to him the conduct of affairs; and elevated him to the highest rank; so that the viziers, the generals, and ministers of the king were obliged to pay court to him, and could obtain no decision of the sovereign without his intervention. The object of Hâkim in all this was to accustom them to a blind submission towards Derazy. The latter now ventured to publish his book, and read it in the mosk of Cairo. But the people were not yet ripe. On the contrary, they were greatly shocked, and rushed upon Derazy to kill him; but he escaped. His house was pillaged; there was a general rising of the people; and the gates of the city were closed. The tumult continued for three days; and a great number of the followers of Derazy perished. One account makes Derazy himself to have been killed during this tumult; which is doubtless an error. Hâkim no longer dared to take his part openly; but sent him money secretly, and urged him to retire into Syria, and to spread his doctrine among the mountains; where he would find a rude and ignorant people disposed to adopt his novelties. Derazy repaired therefore to Syria, to the valley called Wady et-Teim in the territory of Bâniâs. He read his book to the inhabitants of that region; invited them to recognize Hâkim as God; distributed to them money; taught them the dogma of metempsychosis; permitted the use of wine and the practice of fornication; and gave up to their will the property and the lives of those who refused to embrace their

faith."[1] He is said to have perished in a battle with the Turkmanns about A. D. 1020.

In the preceding recital we have the origin and founder of the sect of the Druzes. The name *ed-Derazy* is at the present day in Arabic the appellation of every single Druze; and its plural form, *ed-Derûz*, is the Arabic name which we have transformed into *Druzes*.[2] The adventurer Derazy was their founder; and carried with him from Egypt their doctrine of Hâkim as god into Wady et-Teim on the west of the ancient Hermon; whence this monstrous faith climbed on one side the steeps of Lebanon, and on the other, spread itself out over the plains of Haurân.

But Derazy, if the founder, was yet not the prophet of the Druze religion, nor perhaps even its originator. Other adventurers also undertook to establish the divinity of Hâkim; and one of them at least with more success. This was Hamza, surnamed Hadi, whom the Druzes still venerate as the author of their religious system. He was a foreigner in Egypt, probably a Persian; and his first public appearance, which took place in the next year, or the latter part of A. D. 1017, is thus described by the Arabian historian Elmacin:

"After Derazy there appeared another Persian *daï* (emissary, missionary), named Hamza, the son of Ahmed, and surnamed Hadi. He took up his residence outside of the city of Cairo, at a place called the mosk of Bîr near Matarîyeh;[3] and invited the people to embrace the doctrine of Derazy. He established a certain number of *daïs* (emissaries), whom he sent out on a mission through all Egypt and its dependencies and into Syria. They taught a licentious system of doctrines; permitted incestuous alliances; and suppressed all the external observances and practices of religion, such as fasting, prayer, and pilgrimage. They made proselytes in great numbers. Hâkim took great interest in Hamza; and inquired of him in respect to his followers and their number. He himself also ceased to offer prayer and supplication in the mosks, as he had been wont; and suppressed for several years the great pilgrimage

[1] De Sacy p. ccclxxxiii, sq.

[2] Sing. الدرزى *ed-Derazy*, Plur. الدروز *ed-Derûz*, Druzes.

[3] Probably 'Ain Shems; as it is said to be near the fig-tree. De Sacy p. ccclxxxviii. note.

to Mecca, under pretence of the incursions of the Arabs whose forces had become formidable. He ceased also to send, according to custom, the costly stuffs as a covering for the Ka'aba. All this greatly shocked the true Mussulmans, who perceived that their prince seemed to renounce the religion of Muhammed. Thus was formed the sect of the Druzes, or followers of Derazy, which have become celebrated among men. The places where they exist in the greatest number are Wady et-Teim, Tyre, Sidon, the mountain of Beirût, and the adjacent parts of Syria."[1] Elmacin wrote in the thirteenth century, more than two hundred years after the reign of Hâkim. De Sacy affirms that Hamza himself did not directly teach licentiousness, as asserted by Elmacin; but that this doctrine, already current among the Karmathians, was afterwards introduced into the system by some of his *daïs* or missionaries.

Similar is the testimony of Severus, another Arabic historian: "Hâkim had about him a man called Hadi; to whom were attached twelve other persons, who accompanied him as his disciples, allured to him followers, and listened to his teaching. Hadi (Hamza) declared to those who assembled around him, that Hâkim was the Messiah; and held with them other discourse, which it is not proper to repeat."[2] This accords with the writings of Hamza himself; from which it appears that he actually sought to persuade the Christians, that Hâkim was the Messiah whose future advent they expected.

A slight cloud hangs over the mutual relations of Hamza and Derazy. There is no doubt, that Hamza first publicly promulgated his doctrine in A. H. 408, after the career of Derazy in Egypt was ended; but it also seems most probable, that he had taught it privately at an earlier period and had gained over proselytes. Among these proselytes, it is said, was Derazy, who had been converted by a *daï*, and who afterwards endeavoured to exalt himself above Hamza. At any rate, it is certain that the preaching of Hamza (probably in private) was anterior to the eclat of Derazy; for Hamza himself accuses Derazy of insolently attempting to seize upon the ministry of the manifestation; declares that he was at

[1] De Sacy, p. cccIxxxviii. [2] Ibid. p. cccIxxxix.

first of the number of the faithful; but having become proud, he went out from under the robe of the Imam, that is, violated the secret with which Hamza had intrusted him; and that he had arrogated to himself the rank of Imam, and a superiority over Hamza.—In all this we see how Hamza might well be the real founder and prophet of the new sect; and yet its first public existence and its name be derived from Derazy. And thus it is, that even now, the writings of Hamza are the authoritative code of religion and morals among the Druzes.

The Khalîf Hâkim having thus manifested his pretensions to the divinity in A. H. 408 (A. D. 1017), and delivered himself up to this impious extravagance, could no longer declare himself the protector of Islam, nor remain the cruel persecutor, as heretofore, of Jews and Christians. His irreligion made him more tolerant. But his career drew near its close; and three years afterwards, in A. D. 1020, he was assassinated during a lonely walk at night in a retired valley of Jebel el-Mukattem, by two slaves, at the order of his own sister. Yet different Arabian historians throw some doubt upon the manner of his death; the common people long believed that he was still alive; and there were not wanting impostors who assumed his name and person. This doubt and mystery respecting his death furnished an opportunity for Hamza to carry out his system; to represent to his followers, that Hâkim had disappeared on account of their sins; and therefore to prohibit them from any attempt to search out or discover the place of his retreat; and also to expect his future return.

We have seen that Derazy retired to the Wady et-Teim, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, where he secured numerous disciples to his doctrine, by money and various motives, among a rude and ignorant people on and around Mount Lebanon; who probably were already followers of the similar sects of the Isma'îlîyeh and Karmathians, which were prevalent at the time in Syria and were known to the crusaders. Here too Elmacin speaks of the Druzes as numerous in the thirteenth century. But we have also another independent witness to the same fact out of the twelfth century, in the person of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, the celebrated Jewish traveller, who was in Palestine between A. D. 1160 and

1170. While at Sidon, he speaks of the Druzes[1] as a nation near by upon the mountains, who made war upon the Sidonians; and he goes on to relate, evidently upon hearsay, that they were a people without religion, inhabiting the summits of the mountains and the caverns of the rocks, with neither king nor prince to govern them; that they lived free and independent among their mountains and rocks, which extended to the Hermon; that they were plunged in vice, and married their own daughters; that they believed in the transmigration of souls; and that they climbed their mountains and hills with an extraordinary agility, and no person dared to attack them.—It is remarkable, that with the exception of Rabbi Benjamin, no Frank writer makes the slightest mention of the Druzes, either during the time of the crusades, nor for several centuries after that period.

I have thus dwelt the longer on these details respecting the origin of the Druzes; because, with the exception of the notices by Elmacin and Rabbi Benjamin, and some of the minor Druze catechisms, they have only recently been brought forth out of the dust and lumber of Arabic manuscripts, and arranged by De Sacy, in a work usually accessible to none but professed scholars, and of which, as yet, only a very few copies have reached this country. These details go to show, that monstrous and incoherent as is the system of the Druzes, it is but an offset in the series or network of wild and puerile absurdities, which sprung up out of and accompanied the faith of Islam in the first centuries of its progress; the fitting products of such seed sown in the oriental mind, then, as now, a nursery and hotbed of the grossest credulity and superstition.

These details serve likewise to show, that the idea of reserve and mystery in their religion was also not a peculiarity of the Druzes. The same secrecy prevailed in like manner among the earlier sects, the Isma'îlîyeh, the Karmathians, and others; and is still found among their successors, the Isma'îlîyeh and Nŭsairîyeh of Syria. It was a natural consequence of the relations in which

[1] The reading in the common editions of Benjamin is דוגזרין *Dugzîn;* but the Ferrari edition has דרוזרין or דורזרין *Drûzîn,* which is properly followed by Asher, Berl. 1840.

those sects all stood towards the orthodox faith of Islam; which was sustained by the governments, while those who openly abandoned it were punished with fire and sword. Even now, the doctrines of the Druzes have not been made known by themselves; but the writings of their prophet Hamza, which still exist secretly among them in manuscript and are accounted as divine, have by accident and the fortunes of war found their way into the libraries of Europe; and from them De Sacy has compiled his summary. Four such volumes, forming a connected series, but apparently not the whole series,[1] are in the Royal library at Paris; and other copies of the same or parts of the same exist in the Bodleian library at Oxford, in the Vatican at Rome, and also at Vienna and at Leyden. In the course of the insurrection of A. D. 1838, the Egyptians as they sacked and laid waste the towns and villages of the Druzes, seized also many of their sacred books; one or two of which were purchased by the American missionaries at Beirût, and more are said to have reached Europe.

I subjoin here a brief outline of some portions of the religious creed of the Druzes, drawn from their sacred books. It is proper, however, to remark, that these books and the mysteries of their faith are known only to the adepts, the initiated, the ministers of their religion, the *spiritualists* as they are called, and not to the common people, whose chief duty is entire submission to the authority and precepts of these illuminated guides. And further, as these sacred books are the production of Hamza and his immediate successors, we cannot learn from them the modifications which have taken place in matters of faith and practice, during the lapse of seven or eight centuries.

1. God, as manifested in Hakim.

God is one, and he alone is to be adored. His divinity is incomprehensible and cannot be defined.

God has manifested himself at various times to men in a human form like their own. In the last of these personifications he appeared under the name of Hâkim, and performed extraordinary actions full of profound wisdom.

[1] De Sacy, p. ccccix.

Since the disappearance of the shape called Hâkim, no other manifestation or personification of the divinity is to be expected, until the time when Hâkim shall again appear among men to cause the true religion to triumph and punish the infidels.

The doctrine of the unity of God is held by the Druzes in its most absolute and abstract form—a form indeed peculiar to themselves. They divide men in respect to this belief into three classes. One class seeks the idea of unity in God by the testimony of the eyes or corporeal vision; another by language, by logic, and by discourse consisting in a succession of words; and the third, rejecting all these, contents itself with confessing his unity by the understanding or intelligence.

The first class are the Sunnites or orthodox Muhammedans, the disciples of the *Tenzil* or letter of the Korân, and of legal observances.

The second class are the followers of the *Tawil* or allegory; these are the Shiites and their numerous subdivisions, who allegorize the Korân.

The third class are those who confess the Deity in their hearts; who, in their right minds and in their intelligence disengage him from all attributes and qualities whatever; who do not conceive of his unity under the relations of form and of figures, nor under those of certain words or of a certain definition; but confess his unity by one simple direct thought, and affirm the reality of his existence; separating from him and rejecting all that which the two former classes imagine; and removing from him at the same time every idea of non-existence.

It is this peculiar form of the doctrine of the unity of God, as an abstraction from every attribute or quality or mode of existence, which constitutes the essential character of the Druze religion in their own eyes. They call themselves *Muwahhidûn*, that is, those who confess the unity, or Unitarians.

They hold that there have been ten manifestations of the divinity in the human form, of which Hâkim was the last. Or, as their books express it, the Lord Hâkim has already appeared ten times in a corporeal form.

They offer as proof of the divinity of Hâkim his extraordinary actions, and the profound wisdom which regulated all his conduct.

His most ridiculous and extravagant acts are justified by allegorical explanations.

Hâkim, or rather the divinity within him, will reappear at the last day, the day of the resurrection, to make the true religion universal, and to distribute rewards and punishments. There will be various signs of his coming; but these are borrowed, in the Druze books, from the Muhammedan belief respecting the signs of the last judgment.

2. Ministers.

In order to be an adept in the Druze religion, it is not enough to know and confess the dogma of the unity of God, as held by them, and his manifestation in the human figure known by the name of Hâkim; but it is necessary to know also the ministers of religion, and to render the respect and obedience due to the rank which they hold.

There is a hierarchy of five superior ministers; the first of whom is called the Universal Intelligence; the second, the Universal Soul; the third, the Word; the fourth, the Preceder; and the fifth, the Succeeder. All these are spiritual beings, always existing. Below them are the inferior classes of Daïs (or missionaries), and other orders. These, however, are not spiritual beings; but are distinguished from the simple faithful by a higher degree of virtue and religious knowledge.

The first of these high ministers, the Universal Intelligence, is no other than Hamza; that is to say, Hamza is the name of the figure under which this Intelligence appeared in the time of Hâkim. He had thus appeared before in human form seven times since the creation of the world. In the age of Adam he was called *Shatnil;* in the time of Noah, *Pythagoras;* in the time of Abraham, he was *David;* in the time of Moses, *Shu'eib* or *Jethro;* in the time of Jesus he was the true Messiah and bore the name of *Eleazar* or *Lazarus;* in the time of Muhammed he was called *Solomon the Persian;* and in the days of Sa'îd he was known as *Saleh.* The Gospel in the hands of the Christians is true; it contains the words of the true Messiah, who, in the days of Muhammed, bore the name of Solomon the Persian, and who is Hamza the son of 'Aly. The false Messiah is he who was born of Mary; for he was the son of

Joseph. He who rose from the tomb, and who entered the place where the disciples were, the doors being shut, was the living and immortal Messiah, who is Hamza, the servant and slave of the Lord Hâkim. Hamza, like his Lord, disappeared from the earth; and is again to return with him in his advent.

Such is the Druze doctrine respecting Hamza. The four other high ministers have also appeared in human forms, but were personages of less note.

3. Transmigration of Souls.

The sacred books of the Druzes teach the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; but the human soul does not pass into the bodies of animals.

4. The Resurrection and Judgment.

These words, in the system of the Druzes, only mark the time when the doctrine of the unity of God shall be publicly manifested to all men; when all other religions shall be annihilated; and when the lot of all men, believers and unbelievers, shall be definitely fixed, never to be changed. Hâkim is expected to return and reign over all the earth during ages of ages. Those who have not before received his doctrine, are to be subdued, put in irons, and subjected to an annual tribute; but the true believers shall reign with him for ages of ages. Of course, the idea of a future state in another world is discarded.

5. Ethics.

The seven great commandments of the Muhammedans are: Profession of faith in the unity of God and the divine mission of Muhammed; Prayer; Payment of tithes; Fasting; Pilgrimage to Mecca; War against unbelievers; and lastly, Submission to the depositaries of the legitimate authority. All these commandments Hamza abolished; and substituted for them seven others, viz. Veracity in discourse; Mutual protection and assistance; Renunciation of every other religion and worship; Entire separation from demons and from those who are in error; Profession of the unity of God or Hâkim in all ages and epochs; Contentment with all his works; and lastly, Submission and resignation to his will at all times.

Veracity is strictly required towards all the brethren of the same faith; but not towards those of another religion.

Under the precept which requires the renunciation of every other religion, is included also the keeping of their own religion a profound secret. Whoever reveals its mysteries, is to be put to death publicly and without mercy. No one besides the Imam is to read these mysteries; and he only in a secret place, in the presence of those who have long professed the same faith.

The sacred books of Hamza require also the practice of chastity; but universal report ascribes to the Druzes in modern days great licentiousness of manners; and it would seem, too, that the same immoral doctrine was taught in Syria by Derazy himself, the founder of this people.—A species of occasional monasticism is likewise prescribed; which also is observed among the Druzes at the present day.

Such is a brief summary of the doctrines of the sacred books of the Druzes,—their secret yet authoritative code of faith and morals; presenting in its spiritual dogmas an unintelligible mysticism, and in its practical tendencies, the grossest materialism. To reveal these mysteries is death to the Druze; and if the sacred books or any part of the mysteries be found in the hands of an unbeliever, a heretic, an apostate, or any unworthy person, or be known unto them, the decree is, Let him be cut in pieces![1] Such is the faith of the initiated; which, though derived indeed from earlier centuries, is binding upon them to the present hour. We shall revert again to their religious observances in more recent times, after having traced the few facts known in their history down to our own days.

I have already remarked, that no Frank historian of the crusades or of the middle ages makes the slightest allusion to the Druzes; and the only hint we have of their existence from any Frank, is the passing notice of Benjamin of Tudela between A. D. 1160 and 1170. The Arabian writer Elmacin, in the thirteenth century, describes their origin and speaks of their spread in Syria; but gives us no particulars of their state and character in his day. From that time

[1] De Sacy, II. p. 670.

until near the close of the sixteenth century, there appears to be no mention of them by any historian yet known, whether Frank or oriental; except perhaps the assertion of one modern writer, that two religious teachers became celebrated among them, Kabakras of Alexandria, and Baikar. The latter name is indeed mentioned in one of their catechisms; he is said to have appeared about A. D. 1414, claiming to be God and Adam; and having made proselytes he withdrew with them to an island to live in greater holiness, where they were all cut off in A. D. 1420. The specific authority on which this story rests, I have not been able to discover.[1]

After the subjugation of Syria by the Othman Sultan in A. D. 1517, the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon, as I have before remarked, remained independent; and it was not until A. D. 1584, that they were subdued and made tributary by Ibrahim, Pasha of Egypt under Murad III. At that time we find the sovereignty of the mountains, so to speak, divided up among several independent houses or families of Sheikhs, forming a sort of hereditary nobility, each with its numerous villages of vassals. The eldest, or head, of each family took the title of Emîr or prince. These noble families seem to have sprung up out of the constitution of Arab social and civil life, and had nothing to do with their religion; for they were and are still found professing the faith of the Muslims, the Druzes, and the Maronite Christians. The feudal principle was perhaps never stronger in any people, than it is to this day among the Druzes. Their complete deference to their Sheikhs is wonderful.

The power of all these families was broken by the conquest of the Turks; although they were not made subject to the neighbouring Pashas of Sidon or Damascus. It would seem rather, that the Turkish policy selected, or required them to select, one of their own Emîrs to be the organ of communication between them and the Porte, and to be responsible for the tribute of the mountains. Not long after, indeed in the very beginning of the seventeenth century, we find this post occupied by the celebrated Fakhr ed-Dîn, through whose fame and prowess the Druzes first became known in Europe; and who by his energy and bravery extended his authority not only over the whole mountain, but also as far as to Latakia in the north,

[1] So the Italian Ms. used by Adler, Museum Cuficum I. p. 136, 137. Eichh. Repertor. XII. p. 154.

and to the plain of Esdraelon in the south. He had possession also of Tyre, Sidon, Beirût, and Tripolis, and once plundered Damascus. In Sidon and Beirût he erected palaces for himself; and large Khâns for the accommodation of merchants. His policy was to encourage commerce, especially with the French; and although he filled up the ports of Sidon and Beirût with stones, as a measure of defence against the Turks, yet the trade of these cities, and of the whole country, revived and flourished to an important extent.

Fakhr ed-Dîn was of the house of Ma'ân; but whether he was of the Druze or Muslim faith seems not to be known, or at least is not precisely stated. He had talent and genius, a prepossessing exterior, and sometimes manifested a noble and generous spirit. Honest Sandys, the traveller, who was his cotemporary, and visited Sidon in A. D. 1611, thus speaks of him: "As for this Emîr, he was never known to pray, nor ever seen in a mosk. He is small of stature, but great in courage and achievements; about the age of forty, subtil as a fox, and not a little inclining to the tyrant. He never commenceth battel, nor executeth any notable design, without the consent of his mother.—A severe justicer; re-edifies ruinous, and replants depopulated places; too strong for his neighbours, and able to maintain a defensive war with the Turk; but that it is to be suspected, that his people would fall from him in regard of his tyranny."[1]

But the policy and prosperity of Fakhr ed-Dîn were not without reverses. In his day, and probably centuries before, there prevailed throughout the mountains two great parties, called Keis and Yemen, which names go back to the very earliest history of Muhammedanism; and the like parties are found in the south of Palestine to the present day; where, however, no one knows the origin nor the ground of the mutual hostility, but only that they are born enemies. They often wage war with each other; and such was the case in Lebanon in the time of Fakhr ed-Dîn. He was supported by the Keisîyeh, who bore a red flag; the Yemenîyeh with a white flag were against him; and ultimately, by calling in the aid of the Turks, they succeeded in compelling him for a time to place the government in the hands of his eldest son 'Aly, and withdraw

[1] Sandys' Travels, pp. 164, 165.

himself from the country. He retired to Italy, to the court of the Medici at Florence; where the appearance of an oriental prince of high renown created a great sensation. He played his card well; and adopting the legend of the French origin of his people, professed to be descended from French ancestors, and thus claimed kindred with the courts of Europe. After a residence of nine years in the west, he returned to Syria, reassumed his government, and launched out into the luxury and expenditure of an European monarch. But the Yemen party became again his active enemies; and by the help of the Turks, again drove him to great straits. His son, the brave Emîr 'Aly, fell in battle; and Fakhr ed-Dîn himself had to seek his safety in a cavern near Jezzîn. At length he concluded a truce with the Turks on certain conditions; one of which was, that he should be permitted to repair to Constantinople. Here again the renown of his valour and splendour, and the liberality of his gifts, made a strong impression in his favour; and he was on the point of being reinstated in his government more firmly than ever; when word was brought, that his nephew, who meantime occupied his place, had made an attack upon the Turks. The Sultan, Murad IV, incensed against the Druzes on account of this step, immediately caused Fakhr ed-Dîn to be strangled. This took place about A. D. 1633; when, according to D'Arvieux, the Emîr had reached the age of seventy years.

After the death of Fakhr ed-Dîn, the government of the mountains remained in the hands of his descendants, the line of Ma'ân, but dependent on the Turks; until that line became extinct at the close of the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century. The Druzes still kept up, or at least professed to entertain the idea of their French descent; for in A. D. 1701 they are said to have sent agents to the French court, asking permission to place the arms of France over the gates of their towns and fortresses; and also that the order of St. Esprit might be conferred on their princes; alleging that they were descended from the Count de Dreux. The last request was rejected; but the first, it is said, was granted; though I find no mention nor evidence, that they ever availed themselves of the permission.[1]

[1] Benj. de Tudela par Baratier, p. 70, note.

About this time, by the election of the Sheikhs of the mountain, the chief power was transferred to an Emîr from the house of Shehâb, a Muslim family of high rank and antiquity living in Wady et-Teim; where branches of it still remain in the towns of Hâsbeiya and Râsheiya. The first Emîr of this line was Haidar; then followed his son Melhem, who after an active and prosperous administration of twenty-five years, abdicated the government in A. D. 1754, and withdrew among the Druzes, where he became one of the *'Akâl*, the initiated of that faith. As his son Yûsuf was a minor, the power devolved upon Mansûr, the brother of Melhem, who continued to exercise it, until A. D. 1770, when Yûsuf, by the aid of the Turks, was able to supplant him. But a civil war now ensued; and under the direction of the redoubtable Jezzâr Pasha, who sprung up in the midst of this struggle, the government alternated between Mansûr and Yûsuf until 1784, when Jezzâr put in their place the Emîr Isma'îl of Hâsbeiya. He was succeeded about A. D. 1790 by Beshîr, then a young man; whom we have all known as the Emîr of the mountains, and who held his power for fifty years, even down to the latest struggle.

The preceding accounts are drawn chiefly from D'Arvieux, who resided at Sidon from 1658 to 1665; from Niebuhr, who was in Palestine in 1766; from Volney, who resided among the Maronites on Lebanon for two years from 1783 to 1785; and from Burckhardt, who visited the Emîr Beshîr in 1812. To the last three writers, and also to Mr. Connor who was on Mount Lebanon in 1820, we are indebted for all the information we possess, respecting the social and political condition and character, the manners and customs, and the religious observances of the Druzes, up to the time when our own Missionaries first came in contact with them. A brief review of these particulars will here find its appropriate place, before we proceed to speak of subsequent events.

The contests of the parties Keis and Yemen, it appears, continued into the early part of the eighteenth century; when at length the Keisîyeh gained the entire ascendency, and the Yemenîyeh were disbanded and the name was at length forgotten. I am not aware that this distinction of parties is found to exist anywhere at present, except in the southern district of Judea, around Hebron. At the present day the national flag of the Druzes is only red, with

a white hand; that of the Maronites being also red, with a white cross.

These former parties among the Druzes were succeeded by others, arising out of the rivalry of different families of Sheikhs. The most powerful was the family of Jemblât, which had many followers. Opposed to this was the house of Yezbek and its partisans; and also later that of Neked, with a narrower influence. These parties continue in name, but with less strength, even to the present day.

The independence of the Druzes, nominal as it is, has depended much upon the character of the adjacent Pashas. The tendency of the national spirit has ever been in opposition to the Turks; yet since the time of Fakhr ed-Dîn, the Emîrs have ever quailed before an energetic and powerful Pasha in Acre or in Damascus. At the close of the last century, Mansûr, Yûsuf, and Isma'îl, were but the creatures of Jezzâr; nor was the late Beshîr any thing more in the outset of his career. Yet it was ever his secret endeavour to make himslf directly dependent only on the Porte. On the approach of the French in 1799, he appears to have thrown off his allegiance to Jezzâr for a time; and for two or three years afterwards was at open rupture with him. During this interval he retired for a time into Egypt. Through the alliance and efficient aid of Sir Sydney Smith, he was saved from the vengeance of Jezzâr; and ever afterwards retained a grateful sense of obligation to the English Admiral, and towards that nation. Yet he did not come off without the sacrifice of large sums of money; and at Jezzâr's death in 1804, bills for no less than 16,000 purses, or $400,000, were found in his treasury, secured upon the revenues of the mountain. These, however, at the intercession of Suleimân, Jezzâr's successor, were reduced to 4,000 purses, or $100,000.[1]

At the time of Burckhardt's visit in 1812, the Emîr Beshîr had a powerful rival in the person of the Sheikh Beshîr, the head of the Jemblât family, the richest and shrewdest man in the mountains. This led the Emîr to a closer alliance with Suleimân Pasha; contrary to his usual and natural policy of making himself independent except of the Sultan. In 1823 he again visited Egypt, and secured

[1] Burckhardt, p. 199, 200.

the favour of Muhammed 'Aly. On his return, and on beginning to levy his taxes anew, a powerful opposition arose, with Sheikh Beshîr at its head. A civil war ensued; and the Sheikh, it is supposed, would probably have triumphed, had not the Emîr Haidar of Sulîma deserted him, and one of the Sheikh's highest officers been mortally wounded early in the battle, which decided his fate. This was in A. D. 1824. The Emîr drove the Sheikh from the mountain, procured his assassination, and confiscated his estates, which probably constituted the greatest private fortune in Syria. This was about the time of the arrival of the American missionaries.

In speaking of the power and government of the mountains, it must be borne in mind that, since the days of Fakhr ed-Dîn, this includes only the ridge of Lebanon, and a portion of the valley of the Bŭkâ'a. The people of Anti-Lebanon and Wady et-Teim, Druzes and others, as also the Druzes and other population of Haurân, are under the immediate government of the Pasha of Damascus.

It is a fact worthy of remark throughout Syria and Palestine, that the inhabitants of the mountainous districts bear a character in most respects superior to those of the plains. This arises in part, no doubt, from the purer and more invigorating climate in which they live, and the hardier occupations in which they are called to engage; but it springs also in part from the different tenure by which the soil of the mountains and the plains is held. All the rich plains throughout Syria and Palestine are in the hands of the government, and not of the inhabitants; and whoever cultivates them, must yield a large portion of the produce to the government, as a tribute. But the hill country and the mountains are held in fee simple, or nearly so, by the people themselves. Hence it happens, that in general the inhabitants of the hills and mountains raise a greater variety of crops, and have an abundance of all kinds of fruits; while those of the plains are more usually poor, and are compelled to cultivate only grain, in order to satisfy the rapacity of the government. Hence, too, while the rich and fertile plains, deserted of inhabitants, or sprinkled here and there with straggling or half ruined villages, are left to run to waste, or are at the most half-tilled by the unwilling labours of a race of serfs; the rocky

and apparently almost desert mountains teem with an active, thrifty, and comparatively independent population, and the hand of industry is everywhere visible.

So it is with the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon, Christians and Druzes. They are hardy and industrious; occupying themselves with their agriculture, with their vineyards and their orchards of olive and mulberry trees, the latter for the culture of silk; and building up their fields with great labour with walls, in the form of terraces.

The manner in which some of the water-courses for irrigation are constructed, does great credit to the industry and sagacity of the Druzes. There are streams flowing many miles along the sides of the hills, which have been conducted through mountains perforated for their passage, carried over wide valleys by admirable aqueducts, and which irrigate large tracts of land in their progress.[1]

The Druzes are high spirited and brave, even to rashness. Niebuhr relates an instance, where a Sheikh with two or three hundred men made a madcap expedition to the city of Damascus, and actually plundered the Bazar in open day and escaped in safety. The young Sheikhs learn to read and write; but their external accomplishments are regarded as of more importance; they must ride well, and also be thoroughly skilled in the use of the sabre, the lance, and the musket. A Sheikh would become an object of contempt, were tears to be once seen in his eyes; no matter what the occasion.

In respect to general honesty and integrity of character, the Druzes stand upon the same footing with their neighbours, the Maronites and Muslims. According to Burckhardt, "nothing is more sacred to a Druze than his *public* reputation. He will overlook an insult, if known only to him who has offered it; and will put up with blows, where his interest is concerned, provided nobody is a witness; but the slightest abuse given in public he revenges with the greatest fury."[2] This leads them often to appear honourable in public; but they are said to be easily tempted to a contrary behaviour, when they have reason to think their conduct will remain undiscovered. But this trait, I apprehend, is hardly peculiar to the Druzes; it belongs rather to the Arab, or still more to the oriental character.

[1] Bowring's Report p. 8. [2] Burckhardt p. 201.

The practice of blood-revenge, which requires the next of kin of a person slain to kill the murderer, prevails among the Druzes, and also among their Christian neighbours, the Maronites. We find this custom also among the Bedawîn of Mount Sinai and the desert; as likewise among the Nestorian Christians in the mountains of Kurdistân, the Greeks of Maina, and the Montenegrins of the Adriatic coast. It seems to be a manifestation of the great law made known by the Creator in his word, and implanted also in the human breast: "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." In the absence of established government and the regular administration of penal justice, this law shows itself among rude nations written on the heart, and devolving for its execution upon those most interested in its maintenance.

The law of hospitality, so prevalent throughout the East, is found among the Druzes in its full strength; and to an extent which forbids them ever to betray a guest. Burckhardt expresses the opinion, after much inquiry, "that no consideration of interest or dread of power will induce a Druze to give up a person who has once placed himself under his protection. Persons from all parts of Syria are in the constant practice of taking refuge in the mountains, where they are in perfect security from the moment they enter upon the Emîr's territory. Or should that prince ever be tempted by large offers to consent to give up a refugee, the whole country would rise to prevent such a stain upon their national reputation."[1] Even the mighty Jezzâr could never prevail upon them to give up a single individual of all those who fled thither from his tyranny.

Polygamy is allowed among the Druzes; but it is seldom that a Druze has more than one wife, except among the wealthier nobles. Both the nobles and the common people usually marry among their own kindred; seldom seeking a wife beyond the circle of their own relatives. In respect to the charge sometimes brought against them, that they marry their own sisters and daughters, the Maronites and Muhammedans, who live intermingled with them, testify to the contrary.[2] The women are closely secluded, and appear only veiled; so that a Druze knows the face of no woman

[1] Burckhardt p. 203. [2] Niebuhr Reiseb. II. p. 428.

out of his own household. The famous *Tantûr* or horn worn by the females of the mountains, is intended only to support the veil. The women of all classes prepare the bread, burn the coffee, wash the linen, cook, and in a word perform all the domestic labours of the family.

The Druzes are said to have no musical instruments; and persons who have resided long among them, have heard no music whatever.

It is remarked as a national trait of the Druzes, that they are extremely fond of raw meat. Whenever a sheep is killed, the raw liver, heart and the like, are regarded as great dainties. This trait, however, exists also in some degree among the Christians of the mountains.

The religious dogmas and precepts of the sacred books of the Druzes, which have come down to them from the very origin of their religion, we have already reviewed. All these, the books and the dogmas, are at the present day kept by them a profound secret; and it is only casualty and the fortunes of war, which have unsealed them to the eyes of European scholars. Although one of the seven great precepts of their creed requires them to renounce all other religions and worship, yet, in order the better to preserve their secret, "it seems to be a maxim with them to adopt the religious practices of the country in which they reside, and to prefer the creed of the strongest. Hence they all prefer Islamism in Syria; .... and whenever they mix with Muhammedans they perform the rites prescribed by their religion. In private, however, they break the fast of Rŭmadân, curse Muhammed, indulge in wine, and eat food forbidden by the Korân. They bear an inveterate hatred to all religions, except their own; but more particularly to that of the Franks, chiefly in consequence of a tradition current among them, that the Europeans will one day overthrow their commonwealth."[1] Such was the state of feeling which Burckhardt found in 1812; how different the manifestations which have recently transpired!

At the present day the Druzes are divided into the *'Akâl*, that is, the intelligent, the initiated; and the *Jâhel*, that is, the ignorant, the uninitiated. Between these are the candidates for initiation; who however can hardly be regarded as a separate class.

[1] Burckhardt, p. 201.

To the *Jâhel*, who are the lay or secular Druzes, and form by far the most numerous class, the national characteristics already enumerated more particularly apply. They perform no religious rites whatever, except when circumstances oblige them to assume the appearance of Muhammedans. On these occasions they enter the mosks, and recite their prayers with the Turks. They consider both Christ and Muhammed as impostors; and cherish an equal dislike to Christians and Turks. They hold to the belief in Hâkim as the divinity; and expect him shortly to appear again. They believe also in the transmigration of souls.

The *'Akâl* constitute the sacred order, and are estimated at about 10,000 in number. There are different degrees of the 'Akâl. They have their own Sheikhs, men of higher renown and profounder learning. They are permitted to marry; women are also admitted into the order. The 'Akâl are distinguished by their white turbans; and may wear no article of silk or gold. They may bear arms; but only in defence of their country. They are the keepers of the sacred books; and on every Thursday evening, the eve of Friday to the Orientals, they assemble in their chapels for their religious observances. These chapels or temples (*Khŭlweh* as they are called) are isolated buildings situated upon hills. What takes place in these mysterious assemblies, at which the female 'Akâl may also be present, is unknown. No uninitiated person, not even a Sheikh or an Emîr, is admitted; guards are placed around the spot; and if any of the profane should intrude and witness any of the rites, death (it is said) would be his portion.

It has generally been asserted and believed, in modern times, that the Druzes in these assemblies render worship to Hâkim under the figure of a calf. The Maronites who live among them, do not credit this charge. It is true that small brazen or bronze images of a calf have been occasionally discovered among the Druzes. The learned Adler published the figure of one of these monuments of their superstition; and another has been brought to this country, and is now in the Museum of the Board of Missions at Boston. It was found by a native Christian in a Druze village, and sold by him to the late Mr. Abbott, British Consul at Beirût. That gentleman remarked concerning it, that it was entirely similar to a number of others which he had had an opportunity of seeing. On

this general topic, M. Venture, who spent some years among the Druzes, affirms, that in their meetings it is only known "that they exhibit the figure of a calf, read the sacred books, and give a sort of cabalistic exposition of them handed down by tradition." And he expresses very decidedly the opinion, that this image, "far from being the object of worship, is offered to their view only as the emblem of the other prevailing religions, which are on the eve of being overthrown by their legislators;" inasmuch as their sacred books, while declaiming constantly against idolatry, compare Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammedism, to a calf and to a buffalo.[1] De Sacy likewise expresses the same opinion in terms equally decided; and holds this pretended idol of the Druzes to be, on the contrary, the emblem of Iblis, the enemy or rival of Hâkim. No trace of it appears in their sacred books; and it is therefore probably a later innovation.[2]

The title and privileges of the 'Akâl are not hereditary; but every one whose life has not been stained by flagrant vices, may become a candidate, and, after certain initiatory ceremonies, enter the order. In Haurân Burckhardt saw 'Akâl boys of only eight or ten years of age.[3] Many of the order make it a rule, never to eat of any food, or receive any money, which they suspect to have been improperly acquired. They therefore eat only with one another; or with peasants and others, of whom they know that they have earned their bread by labour. The Sheikh en-Nejem, who formerly often accompanied the Sheikh Beshîr on his visits to the Emîr, never tasted food in the palace of the latter; always affirming, that whatever the Emîr possessed, had been unlawfully obtained.

I have already remarked that the house of Shehâb, to which have belonged the Emîrs of the mountain, were formerly Muslims; and they all retained their profession of Islam until the late Emîr Beshîr. That prince, probably with the view of attaching the Christians more closely to him, and to oppose them in some measure to the Druzes, privately embraced the Maronite faith with all his family; but they continued still to affect the Muhammedan rites,

[1] Venture in Mem. of Baron de Tott, Vol. III. p. 99. London, 1783–4. M. Venture speaks of a *golden* calf; but this is probably an error.
[2] De Sacy, I. p. 231, 232.
[3] Burckhardt, p. 304.

and to be treated by the Pashas as Muslims. Their example however had great influence; and was followed by the two largest branches of another family of Emîrs of Druze origin; so that now almost all the highest nobility of the mountain are Maronites. The result has been, that the balance of power which was formerly sedulously kept up between the Druzes and Maronites, is now entirely destroyed; the former having become far inferior in numbers and strength; and the latter being now more numerous than any other sect, throughout all the territory formerly governed by the Emîr. It should also be borne in mind, that although politically and nominally subject to the Emîr of the mountain, the Maronites yield a far more willing and devoted obedience to the commands of their own spiritual head, the patriarch, who resides at Kanôbîn, and exercises a powerful and almost uncontrolled influence over his flock.

Such in general were the character and condition of the Druzes, when the missionaries of the American Board first planted themselves in their vicinity twenty years ago; an event which to us forms an epoch in their history. Messrs. Fisk and King, in 1823, were the first to visit from Beirût the Emîr Beshîr in his palace at Bteddîn, near the Druze capital, Deir el-Kamr. They were soon followed by Messrs. Bird and Goodell; and since that time the station at Beirût has been maintained with little interruption. Its establishment was coeval with the return of the Emîr from his residence in Egypt, and his triumph over his rival Sheikh Beshîr; since which period, until recently, his authority remained almost absolute, and no violent political changes occurred. The missionaries, though not directing their efforts especially to the Druzes, have yet regarded them with intense interest, have often visited their Sheikhs, and endeavoured to cultivate an interchange of good feeling and kind offices. In this they were successful; and I have heard members of the mission, years ago, express a stronger interest and confidence in some of the Druze Sheikhs, than in any other portion of the native inhabitants.

When Syria and Palestine passed under the Egyptian sway in 1832, the change did not greatly affect the mountaineers of Lebanon,—at least not in a political aspect. The Emîr being personally on good terms with the Pasha of Egypt, repaired to his army

at the siege of 'Akka; and returned to his home immediately after the surrender of that fortress. The Druzes, and all classes in the mountains, remained almost entirely quiet during the whole time of the invasion. Only a few Sheikhs, men of influence, were found to oppose the Egyptian interest; and they absented themselves to join the approaching army of the Sultan in Aleppo and Damascus. As a matter of course, their estates were confiscated; their palaces destroyed; and themselves forced to remain exiles in other parts of Turkey, as were also the surviving sons of the former Sheikh Beshîr.

Muhammed 'Aly ruled Syria with a rod of iron; but at the same time he introduced a system of equal rights and equal justice, such as the inhabitants had never known; placing the Christian population, not only in name but in reality, upon the same footing in the eye of the law and the government, as the Muhammedans.

In the extensive rebellion which broke out against the Egyptian rule in 1834, in the south of Palestine and also in the mountains of the Nŭsairîyeh, the Druzes and other inhabitants of Lebanon took no part. This rebellion was made the pretext on the part of the Egyptian government for disarming the people of the cities and the plains; which was accomplished successfully, though often with great cruelty, in the course of the following year. The inhabitants of Lebanon had thus far been spared; and had even been employed to aid in the general disarming of others. But their turn was to come. Early in October, 1835, Ibrahim Pasha, having concerted his plan with the Emîr, and gathering his troops from Sidon, Beirût, and Damascus, suddenly presented himself at Deir el-Kamr, at the head of eighteen thousand men. Taken so completely by surprise, not a hand was raised in opposition. The Druzes were first disarmed, and then the Christians, from one end of the mountain to the other. In six days the disarming of the whole of Lebanon was completely achieved; to the great mortification and exasperation of all classes of its inhabitants.[1]

It was during the same year that Messrs. Bird and Smith, in the course of their summer residence on the mountain, had made the first direct missionary efforts in behalf of the Druzes. The former opened for them an Arabic service on the Sabbath, which was

[1] Bowring's Rep. p. 129. Miss. Her. 1836, p. 351.

tolerably attended; and the latter made a short missionary tour among them, and met everywhere a kind reception. For the first time individual Druzes manifested a willingness and even a desire to receive instruction, and to abandon their own national faith; in the hope probably of thus receiving foreign protection.[1]

Along with the disarming of the people, the Egyptian government had introduced into Syria the practice of military conscription; by which a certain number of soldiers was demanded of each village, and individuals were seized with brutal force and violence, without distinction, and dragged away with horrid cruelty into a service from which there was no return and no deliverance. This served still more to exasperate the minds of the people, especially of the Muhammedans; and also of the Druzes, who as being externally Muhammedans could claim no exemption. The Christian population were of course exempt by the law of Muhammed; and it does not appear that at first the policy was very rigidly enforced in Mount Lebanon.

This state of things continued without material change, until the year 1838. In the spring of that year, a brutal attempt to enforce the conscription against the Druzes of Haurân, caused them to rise in open insurrection. War ensued. The Druzes fought with desperation; and were killed outright whenever taken. Their country was overrun and wasted; their villages burned with fire; their wives and children sold as slaves in the markets of Damascus. Their temples too were robbed, and the sacred books of their religion publicly sold in their own capital on Mount Lebanon. The war spread over Anti-Lebanon, through Wady et-Teim and portions of the Bŭkâ'a; and for a time all access to Damascus from the coast was cut off. The Druzes of Lebanon could not but sympathize with their brethren; yet through the influence of the Emîr, they held themselves aloof from the conflict. In order the better to secure their neutrality, arms were again distributed by the government among the Christians of the mountain; and these were sent against the Druzes of Haurân. In all this there were materials enough to feed the Arab spirit of retaliation, which the Druzes cherish to its fullest extent. After continuing for more than a year, the war was finally terminated by the concession, on the part

[1] Miss. Her. 1836, p. 350 sq.

of the Egyptian government, of all that for which the Druzes had at first taken up arms; a concession probably extorted by the indications of an approaching war with Turkey.

The autumn of 1838 is memorable, as presenting the first general movement among the Druzes to obtain instruction from teachers of a faith different from their own. After the storm of war had somewhat lulled, the Druzes of the mountains came in throngs to the missionaries of the American Board at Beirût to put themselves under Christian instruction; and although the motive at the moment was probably political—the desire of obtaining foreign protection; yet had it been possible to take proper advantage of the movement, it might probably have resulted in an extensive and beneficial change in their relations. But this was not possible. Only two missionaries were then on the ground, and they otherwise fully occupied. Nor could they afford or promise any protection. I well remember the occasion when a friend showed me in Leipsic letters from Beirût communicating these facts; and the strong anxiety which he felt for a time to abandon the objects of his own journey thither, and repair to England to lay the case of the Druzes before the British government, and claim for them the protection of that power.

To understand the necessity of such protection, it may be borne in mind, that the Turkish government tolerates in its dominions only certain known sects of Christians, which have been publicly recognised by the government; and these again have found it necessary to obtain the sympathy and protection of some European power through its ambassador at Constantinople. Thus the French ambassador is the known and acknowledged protector of all Roman Catholics in the Turkish dominions, including the Maronites; and the Russian ambassador stands in the same relation to all Christians of the Greek rite. Hence in Syria, the French may always count upon a powerful body of partisans in the Maronites; and the Russians on one equally devoted in the Greeks. But the Druzes, so soon as they abandon the outward profession of Muhammedanism, belong as Druzes to no acknowledged sect, and have no protector; and on the other hand, England has no hold upon the sympathies of a single native in Syria. Hence it early occurred to the missionaries, as it must to every impartial observer,

that the true policy of England, in reference to Syria, would be to throw the shield of her protection over the Druze nation in its attempts to obtain instruction; and thus secure a hold upon the affections of a portion of the native population.[1]

The year 1839 passed away without important changes in Mount Lebanon. The theatre of war had been transferred to the passes of the Euphrates; the great battle of Nezib took place, and the Turkish army was annihilated. But in the following year (1840) the powers of Europe determined to take into their own hands the support of the crumbling empire of the Sultan; and for this end to drive Muhammed 'Aly out of Syria, the possession of which by him they had once formally recognised by treaty. England, unmindful of her true policy, despatched a papal emissary from Constantinople to excite the Maronites to discontent and revolt; and this emissary promised to them the chief power and influence in the mountains and the expulsion of the Protestant missionaries, who had ever been a thorn in their side. The English and Austrian fleets appeared before Beirût, and distributed arms to all the mountaineers. At this moment the Emîr Beshîr was active in attempting to quell the rebellion in the mountains; and had succeeded in retaining the Druzes on the side of the Egyptian government. This position of affairs unfortunately brought the Druzes into hostility with the English on their arrival,—a consequence of the still more unnatural alliance of the latter with the bigoted Maronites. The Druzes were insulted and neglected; nor did their attitude of hostility cease, until the Emîr abandoned the cause of his former friend, and embarking on board the British fleet retired to Malta. The cities along the coast were bombarded; and prodigies of valour are recounted as wrought against the defenceless towns of Beirût, Sidon, and Tyre. The citadel of 'Akka was destroyed by the explosion of a magazine. Muhammed 'Aly withdrew his armies from the country; the British fleet retired from the coast; and Syria and Palestine returned beneath the nominal sway of the Sultan; not to receive from him protection and good government, but to revert again to a state of anarchy and insecurity, from which at least the Egyptian rule had set them free.

The missionaries meantime had retired to Cyprus and Jerusa-

[1] See Bibl. Researches in Palest. III. p. 464 sq.

lem. They now returned to Beirût, to encounter on the one hand the deadly hatred and persecution of the Maronite patriarch and his followers; and on the other to hear the Macedonian cry of the Druzes, now more clamorous than ever for instruction. The English had left behind in Syria a corps of officers of engineers, all picked men, whose head-quarters were at Beirût, and to whom was intrusted the duty of making a military survey of the whole country, and watching over the British interests. These officers could not fail to perceive, that the proper line of policy for England was, to conciliate the Druzes, and aid them in their efforts to emancipate their minds from the thraldom and darkness of ages. They made the proper representations to their government at home; and the desired promise of protection to that extent was understood to be promptly given. It might be supposed, that all obstacles to direct missionary effort among the Druzes were now at an end; and the missionaries did indeed decide to go forward, and did open a school in Deir el-Kamr itself for the sons of the Sheikhs; besides several common schools in other places. They seemed to have acquired the confidence of the Sheikhs; and wherever they went, they received the kindest treatment, and were hailed as friends already known. Even the highest of the *'Akâl* received them into their *Khŭlwehs* (chapels) almost as brethren. Their houses were frequented every day; and their books sought with avidity. From Anti-Lebanon and from Haurân, Druzes came to make the acquaintance of the missionaries, to see their schools and to obtain their books; and more was probably accomplished in these respects in two months, than in all previous years.[1] But notwithstanding this fair appearance, two powerful obstacles soon intervened to check their efforts; and then a change came over the Druzes themselves; so that no one can yet foretell what the end shall be.

The first and most pressing of these obstacles, though it did not prove to be permanent, was the inveterate hostility of the Maronite clergy to the Protestant missionaries, and also towards the Druzes. The Maronite patriarch, possessing an uncontrolled influence over all his followers, who compose by far the dominant proportion of the population of the mountains, felt of course, that the power of himself and his nation was likely to be weakened, should the Druzes

[1] Missionary Herald, June 1842, p. 230.

actually come under English protection, and be permitted to receive instruction. He therefore, on the one hand, applied at Constantinople for permission to drive the missionaries out of the country,—a request to which the American resident at the Porte, from mistaken views of the relations existing between the two countries, was ready to yield; but which the American government at home immediately met, by promptly adopting decisive measures to secure to the missionaries in the Turkish empire the protection desired. On the other hand, the patriarch used every effort to alienate and excite the Maronites inhabiting the Druze districts. He interfered so forcibly with the education of the Druze children, that to avoid an open rupture, the Druze Sheikhs of Deir el-Kamr were constrained to allow the school to be broken up, which the missionaries had established there by their own invitation, and for their own children. The large sums of money sent by the governments of France and Austria for the sufferers in the late war, and placed in the hands of the patriarch, he was understood to have hoarded up for military purposes; and finally, the new Emîr of the house of Shehâb, who also bore the name of Beshîr, a man without talent or authority, was surrounded by a council, the evident design of which was to strip the Druze Sheikhs of all their power. The Druzes were goaded to extremity; and inquired of the British authorities whether they should be protected in disregarding the proceedings of the patriarch; supported, as they seemed likely to be, from Constantinople. The British authorities, whose friendly relations with the Druzes had already been somewhat disturbed, answered in the negative. The Sheikhs then determined to defend themselves as well as they could; and at length, early in October, A. D. 1841, the leaders of the feudal families at the head of their men poured into Deir el-Kamr, where not less than four-fifths of the inhabitants were Maronites; pillaged half the town, and besieged the Emîr of the mountains in his palace. The patriarch proclaimed a crusade, and ordered his bishops to raise troops and march against the rebels. They assembled some four or five thousand men at a point about four miles from Beirût, and remained stationary, except making excursions to burn Druze villages and rob their temples. Meantime the Druzes became masters of Deir el-Kamr and of the person of the Emîr, whom however they set at liberty; and

following up their success, were able to dislodge the hostile troops, and drive the Maronites out of the Druze territory proper, and beyond the river of Beirût. Such was the state of things at the close of the year 1841. The power and influence of the Maronite patriarch were prostrated for the time, and have so remained. The Druzes had recovered, if not their former ascendency in the mountain, yet at least an equiponderance; and they now renewed their intercourse with the missionaries, with even more friendly appearances than before. All the common schools which had been in operation before the war, four in number, were resumed, and requests were made that others might be established. The Turkish government, which had remained torpid during this civil war, now began to act. The imbecile Emîr Beshîr was deposed and repaired to Constantinople. The Seraskier Pasha arrived at Beirût from Constantinople to regulate the affairs of the mountain, and put himself in conference with the Sheikhs of both parties. The results thus far seemed favourable to the hopes and objects of the mission; but it was and is obvious, that years must still elapse ere the evil passions thus aroused can subside; and before the hatred, and the excitement, and the bloodshed, and the devastation, occasioned by this war can pass away.

The other obstacle to the efforts of the American missionaries among the Druzes at that time, (the autumn of A. D. 1841,) was an accompaniment of the protection proposed to be granted to that people by the English government. It arose from the desire of a portion of the church of England, to give a peculiar character to that protection. Instead of aiding and encouraging the Druzes by their own efforts and in their own way to carry out their own strong desires for instruction and cultivation, there would seem to have been a plan to make the British protection dependent on their reception of teachers from the English church exclusively. An influence was for a time at work among the Druzes in furtherance of such a plan; but as the English government did not see fit to afford the anticipated protection, the further agitation of this question was of course suspended; and has not since been among the difficulties in the way of the missionaries.

But other and greater difficulties were impending. In the very first month of the year 1842, another of those rapid external

changes and sudden revolutions to which the East is subject, came over the scene of things. When the Turkish government sent the Seraskier Pasha to Beirût to look into the causes of the late mountain-war, and the Druze Sheikhs were summoned to meet him, they received the impression that the ambassadors of the great powers at Constantinople had demanded the punishment of their nation; and they again applied to the British consul-general to know if he would afford them protection. Having ascertained that he had no authority to make any pledge in their behalf, they felt that no other hope remained to them, but attempt to conciliate the Turks. The latter received them kindly, and agreed to favour their cause and sustain them against the Maronites, provided they would consent to become Muslims and receive Muslim teachers and schools. To these conditions the Druzes felt constrained to submit; and they did it probably with the less hesitancy, because the nation have heretofore always passed as Muhammedans in public; doubtless, with the same degree of sincerity then as now. Accordingly a Turkish Pasha was for the first time sent to rule over the tribes of the mountains; a Muslim mission was begun among the Druzes, and Muslim schools established. One Emîr, long known as a Muslim at heart, dismissed two of the missionary schools in his district; but the Sheikhs of the adjacent district disapproved of his course, kept up the schools in their own villages, and paid little regard to the Turkish authority. There was and is no evidence of hostility to the missionaries or their schools; but the whole movement was understood to be a political arrangement to secure the protection of the Sultan in this emergency,—an arrangement which no one supposed could be of long continuance.

This course of events naturally served still more to prostrate the power and influence of the Maronites as a body. Indeed the patriarch's power became thus so completely annihilated, that he fled into one of his retired mountain fastnesses, to avoid being himself taken out of the country. Meanwhile, what the next movement would be, no one could tell; but those best informed were looking forward with anxiety and dread to the probable outbreak of another civil war. The Turkish Pasha appears to have anticipated a similar result; and in order to prevent it, by an act of treachery so common in Turkish history, he seized the leading

Sheikhs of the Druzes and conveyed them first to Sidon and then to Beirût, where they continued to be held as prisoners. This measure had its intended effect, in disabling the Druzes; for the nation was left without leaders; but it also of course destroyed even the show of confidence towards the Turks, and threw the Druzes back upon their own devices and resources. Occasional transient outbreaks against the Turkish power took place among them and the neighbouring Metâwileh during the summer; but these were soon quelled. All this time the ambassadors at Constantinople were understood to be urging the Sultan, to divide the government of the mountain; and to suffer each party to select its own head, to govern each according to its own customs, subject directly to the Turkish power. Recent public documents (1843) inform us, that the Porte has assented to this plan; and that the Maronites are to be ruled by one of their own Sheikhs nominated by themselves; and the Druzes in like manner, by any Muslim Sheikh whom they may select, not of the family of Shehâb their former rulers. These chiefs are to bear the title of *Kâim Makâm* or lieutenant; and are to be directly responsible to the Pasha of Sidon. The appointments have been made; and the plan is now in operation. What the result will be, none can tell; but it is hardly to be expected, that the volcano of fierce passions which so recently raged throughout the mountains, though for the present quelled, should yet prove to be wholly extinct.

In the mean time, while, on the one hand, the door which seemed opened to the missionaries among the Druzes has thus been partially closed; yet, on the other hand, the great persecuting power of the Maronite patriarch being now put down, the Maronites themselves residing among the Druzes are ready to receive instruction from the missionaries, and are demanding schools. Their language is: "We have no further fears of the patriarch; and schools we will have." To this cry, however, the missionaries have been compelled to turn a deaf ear; not from any distrust as to the sincerity of the poor people who made this appeal, nor from any fear of interference from the powers that be; but because the churches—our own churches here at home—do not provide them with the means to go forward in answer to the similar cries of dying thousands.

Yet in all these trying circumstances, the course of the American missionaries, so far as they can act at all, cannot be otherwise than plain. They are upon the ground; they are acquainted with the language and the habits of the people; they possess, and have long possessed, the respect and confidence of the leaders of the Druzes, and also of the people both Druzes and Maronites. Their only duty is to enter in at every door which Providence shall throw open before them, and which no man can long shut. Let them go forward at the call of the Druzes or of the Maronites, and cast themselves upon their confidence; and then, if no foreign power will afford them protection, the people of the mountains will themselves protect them. Let them also be supported here at home. They are the agents of the American churches; and they cannot go forward a single step, but as the churches encourage them and furnish them the means. The Druzes, the Maronites, the mountaineers of Lebanon, are knocking at your door; of you they ask light and life. See that their cry for help be not in vain!

The signs of the times are full of encouragement. The Spirit of the Lord is moving upon the minds of men; the fields are already white for the harvest. The East has for ages been the scene of external revolutions; but the oriental mind has long remained stationary and stagnant. That stagnant pool is beginning now to effervesce. The light and power of European civilization and science and art are rushing in with resistless force; and are borne on with increasing energy by every steamer that foams through the Dardanelles and along the coasts of Syria and Egypt. The Frank traveller already feels the effects of these mighty influences, as he wanders at will and securely through the streets of Cairo and Constantinople, or through the midst of the wildest deserts; where twenty years ago he would have been followed with curses and with stones, or might have paid for his temerity with his life. How has the Mussulman already cast off his prejudices; how changed already is the Druze, to invite among his people the ministers of another religion! Soon the nothings of a nominal Christianity, and the darkness and superstition of Islam, and the monstrous fables of the Druze, will be done away; but what shall come up in their place? For the answer to this question, the churches of

Christendom, yea the churches of this land, are responsible. Before another half century shall have rolled away, in the providence of God there will be seen revolutions in the oriental mind and oriental world, of which no one now has even a foreboding. Brethren, the time is short; the crisis rushes on; let us awake and be prepared.

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* Rev. James Connor, *Journal in Syria and Palestine.* Appended to Jowett's Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, Lond. 1822. p. 443–447.

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* *Manuscript Correspondence* of the American Missionaries; chiefly communicated by the Secretaries of the A. B. C. F. M.

Foreign Quarterly Review, April, 1842, art. *The Druzes.*

Note.—The works marked with an asterisk (*) were consulted in preparing this Essay, in March, 1842. It was completed before the publication of the article in the Foreign Quarterly Review.

II.

ON THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

Including a Notice of Hahn's Edition reprinted in New-York.[1]

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The re-publication of this important edition of the New Testament in our country, and with such arrangements as are adapted to multiply the copies to any required extent, makes a kind of era in Sacred Literature for this western world; and deserves, on this account, as well as for other reasons still more important, some special notice from those who are engaged in the study of the Scriptures.

The writer does not intend, on this occasion, to limit himself merely to the volume in question. There are more important purposes to be subserved, on an occasion like the present, than the publication of a *critique* simply on the merits or demerits of the edition of the New Testament under consideration. How did this edition become what it is? By what steps has sacred criticism arrived, at last, to a state in which it is competent to issue such a publication? These are questions, the answer to which involves not a little of investigation. A full and proper answer to them must also include many things highly interesting and important to be known by the studious youth of our country.

What the writer designs to say in the sequel is connected, however, more or less directly with the *genetic* history of the volume before us. It cannot be inapposite, therefore, to pursue this history to such an extent, as will serve to place the most interesting facts concerned with it distinctly before the reader.

[1] Novum Testamentum Graece, post J. A. H. Tittmannum olim Prof. Lips. ad Fidem optimorum Librorum secundis curis recognovit Lectionumque Varietatem notavit Augustus Hahn, in Acad. Vratisl. Professor. Editio Americana stereotypa; curante Edvardo Robinson, S. T. D. Neo-Eboraci: Sumptibus et typis *Leavitt et Trow*. Bostoniae apud Crocker et Brewster. 1842.

Every one who knows that the art of printing is an invention of the latter part of the fifteenth century, must of course know, that all books, antecedent to that period, existed only in manuscript, and were published by the slow and expensive process of being copied out one by one. Years of course were demanded for the completion of any large volume, that is, to complete a single copy of it; and of course, years almost indefinite, as to the sum of them, for the completion of any large number of copies.

How much this would enhance the price and limit the circulation of books, needs no illustration. The darkness which the Romish hierarchy had spread over all Europe, by prohibiting the perusal of the Scriptures on the part of the laity, and the discouraging of the general study of other books, and even of many of the sciences, made such a condition more tolerable to the feelings of the mass of the community, than we can well imagine at the present day. When Heaven was designing speedily to shed new light over the world by the great leaders of the Reformation, it prepared the way for these new suns of righteousness, by ushering in the morning star of the art of printing.

It was only in A. D. 1514, three years before Luther abjured the papacy, that the first edition of the New Testament, in Greek, was printed at Complutum (now Alcala) in Spain, as the fifth volume of the noble Complutensian Polyglott, published under the auspices of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes. This last great work was begun in 1502, by the united labours of the cardinal and his learned coadjutors. The whole work makes six volumes; and the publication of it to the world, that is, its circulation, was delayed by various causes until the year 1522.

Before the period just named, nothing more than some scanty extracts of the New Testament had been put to the press. In 1486, the hymns of Zacharias and Elizabeth (Luke c. 1) were printed at Venice, in the appendix to a Greek Psalter. In 1504, the first six chapters of John were printed also at Venice, in an appendix to a book containing the Songs of Gregory Nazianzen translated into Latin. In 1514, John 1, 1–14 was reprinted at Tübingen. In 1520, the Epistle to the Romans was printed at Wittenberg by Melancthon. These are all the scraps, that have as yet been found,

of the New Testament published in any way by means of the press, before the Complutensian edition. To Cardinal Ximenes then belongs the honour of having conceived and executed the plan of presenting to the world, by the use of the then novel and yet very appropriate means, the sacred volume of the New Testament.

It has of course been a matter of much inquiry, what and how many codices were employed, in making out the text of this edition. The manuscripts are not described, in the preface, with any good degree of precision. The general persuasion among critics now is, that they were among the more recent codices, and therefore not of the highest value. The probability is, also, that only a small number of them were employed. But that an honest use was in general made of them, and that Ximenes did the best that the time and means and state of criticism allowed, although fiercely denied by Semler and others, seems now to be generally conceded. The controverted passage in 1 John 5, 7 (the three witnesses) appears in the Complutensian text, and, as is now generally believed, must probably have been translated into Greek by the editors, from the Latin Vulgate. It does not appear probable that Ximenes had possession of any Greek manuscript which contained this passage. Some of his manuscripts were kept at Alcala, and some were loaned to him by the Pope, from the Vatican library.

Having thus taken a summary view of the point of transition from the manuscript state of the New Testament to the printed state, let us go back, for a few moments, and take a brief survey of the former state, and of the manner in which the New Testament was continued and published, down to the time of the Reformation or the era of printing.

1. *The material on which it was written.* Originally this was probably *papyrus*, that is, paper made of the Egyptian papyrus. Not because parchment was not then in use, but because parchment was much more expensive and therefore less common than papyrus. Not improbably some of the Epistles might have been written on parchment. But, since all the original autographs of the New Testament writers appear to have perished at quite an early period, (how early, it is difficult to determine with entire certainty,) this is an additional consideration to support the position, that the

books of the New Testament were originally written on *papyrus*, inasmuch as this is a more frail and perishable material than parchment.

We may very naturally suppose, then, (what is also matter of fact,) that the Christian churches would early begin to write their sacred records on *parchment*. Constantine wrote to Eusebius a request to send him fifty copies of the New Testament ἐν διφθέραις, i. e. on prepared skins, probably parchment.[1] Jerome speaks too of a loss in the library of Pamphilius at Cæsarea, as repaired *in membranis*, i. e. by books written on parchment.[2] There can scarcely be a doubt, that at a period considerably earlier than the time of Constantine, the use of parchment was common.

In the tenth century there are distinct and frequent traces of cotton or silk paper, βόμβυξ, which was employed instead of parchment. It was more easily put into the form of a book or codex than parchment, and was far less expensive. This practice, viz. the use of this material, became very general at that period, and continued, with the occasional exceptions of a few more expensive copies, down to the era of printing.

All the most ancient codices of the New Testament, however, which have outlived the ravages of time, consist of parchment. Subsequent to these, and in later periods, we meet with cotton, silk, and even linen paper.

2. *The form of the Codices.* Most anciently this was doubtless that of a roll; like the rolls of the Hebrew Scriptures, still universal in the Jewish synagogues. The inconvenience of this, however, occasioned the abandonment of it at a very early period. Accordingly, all the codices now extant, are in the form of our folio or quarto books, and contain, usually, only a few sheets sewed together, so that the whole New Testament consists of many *fasciculi*. Those which are on paper, for an obvious reason, admit of larger and more comprehensive *fasciculi*, than those which are of parchment. The difference between a proper *volume* and a *codex*, is substantially the difference between a roll and a book. But these words are often, in later usage, employed as convertible terms and as equivalent to each other.

[1] Euseb. Vit. Const. IV. 36. [2] Ep. 141.

3. *The writing materials.* The usual pen, as at present in hither Asia, was made of a small, delicate, hard reed; of which there are many specimens in this country. But sometimes a pen (*penna*, lit. a quill) was employed; and not unfrequently an iron, brass, or silver stylus, formed somewhat like our present steel pens, but usually with a body or handle attached to the writing part, which was slender up to near the top, and there was usually made broad, for the convenience of such as might wish to write on waxen tablets, and be able to make erasures. In 3 John 13, the apostle speaks of writing *διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου by ink and reed*, or with a reed pen. Ornamented manuscripts exhibit a great variety of inks, red, blue, green, yellow, etc.

4. *Forms of the letters and mode of writing.* In all the older manuscripts, the form of the letter is what critics technically name *uncial*. This means literally any thing (and in this case a letter) which is an inch in length, breadth, or height. But as no manuscripts were written in a hand so large, the expression is to be taken as designating what we now call a *large text* hand, or, as we express ourselves, any thing written in *capital* letters. But the reader must not imagine, that these capitals were uniformly of the same shape as those now employed in printed Greek. On the contrary, almost every manuscript differs from its neighbour in some of the minutiæ of form; yet the small *cursive* letters, which we now employ almost exclusively in printing Greek, did not, so far as we know with certainty, make their appearance in New Testament manuscripts until the ninth and tenth centuries. After this period, they came into almost exclusive use. But still, there was a great variety even in the forms of these, as well as in the uncial letters. The best exhibition of all these varieties is in Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*, a work which would have immortalized the author as an antiquarian, if he had written nothing else, and which still remains the coryphæus of all works of such a nature.

As to the mode of writing in the older manuscripts, it is in most codices *continuous*, i. e. written from the beginning to the end of each line, without any other division or separation of words or indication of their limits, than what the very few final letters of the Greek indicate. The Iota, now written and printed as subscript, was anciently written in the line; e. g. *ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ* i. q. *πολέμῳ*, *ΔΕ-*

ΚΑΤΕΙ i. q. *δεκάτῃ*, where, moreover, short *O* and *E*, in the last syllables, stand, as in innumerable cases in the manuscripts, for *Ω* and *H*. The reader of manuscripts written in such a style, must of course be very familiar with the Greek, in order to read correctly and with facility. Every thing, as to sense, depended on the division of words which he himself made. How this difficulty was in some measure remedied, after a while, we shall see in the sequel. But that it would naturally give birth to not a few different modes of reading the text, must be quite obvious. Thus in Phil. 2, 4, some codices have *ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες*, but the Cod. Boern. reads *ἑκάστοις κοποῦντες*, which arises from a different manner of dividing the text.

As to the *accents*, *breathings*, and *Iota subscript*, they are generally omitted in the older codices; at least the accents are omitted, and in the generality of them the breathings and Iota subscript also. It was not until the year 462, when Euthalius published the Acts and Epistles *ἐν στίχοις*, that the text of the New Testament began to be fully both accented and aspirated. After this work of Euthalius, it soon became somewhat common to provide the Greek text with the apparatus of the diacritical signs. Yet codices still continued, more or less, to be written without them. It was so late as the tenth century, before the diacritical signs of the Greek became, in a good measure, universal.

The reader is requested to take notice of these facts, because an important use is to be made of them in the sequel.

Mention has just been made of an edition of the Acts and Epistles *ἐν στίχοις*, by Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, about A. D. 462. Some further explanation of *στίχοι* now becomes necessary, inasmuch as this was the first important departure from the old custom of writing the New Testament *serie continuâ*.

It has been said, indeed, that the continuous method of writing was universal or without exception, until about this period. But this is a mistake. Aristophanes of Byzantium, about 200 B. C. made use of some diacritical points, which answered nearly the same purpose as the *στίχοι*, and nearly the same as our modern interpunction. A point of the same form as our present period, he put behind the last letter in a full sentence, and near its top; a point (of the same form) he also placed at the *bottom* of the last letter, in a clause which we should mark with a semicolon or

colon; and a point placed at the *middle* of the last letter of a word, denoted a comma-clause. The addition to the text of accents and aspirates is also ascribed to the same individual. But, obvious as the utility of all his diacritical apparatus was, it does not appear to have been employed, except in the schools, until after the fifth century came in. Slowly did the diacritical signs, even then, make their way; so that at last, in the ninth and tenth centuries, they became all but universal.

So far as the New Testament is concerned, it is a matter of indifference how early, or how late, the present diacritical apparatus was employed in the heathen Greek schools. Enough that we cannot trace the employment of it in the New Testament, with certainty, to a period antecedent to that of Euthalius, excepting indeed some mere scraps of this apparatus; and that we have full assurance, that Euthalius, according to the testimony of Epiphanius, wrote the Scriptures (Acts and Epistles), *κατὰ προσωδίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν προσωδῶν τάδε· ὀξεῖα, δασεῖα, βαρεῖα, ψιλή, περισπωμένη, κ. τ. λ.* that is, he wrote the acute accent, the aspirate, the barytone or grave, the smooth breathing, the circumflex, etc.[1]

We have just adverted to the fact, that Euthalius (A. D. 462) made out a copy of the Acts and Epistles *ἐν στίχοις*. Although this was a novel thing, as to the codices of the New Testament at that period, yet it was not in itself novel, nor was it an original invention of Euthalius. Josephus, near the close of his Archaeology says, that he had comprised it in twenty books, *ἓξ δὲ μυριάσι στίχοις*, i. e. *and in six myriads* (60,000) *of στίχοι*. This shows, that in his time it was a common thing to write in this way.

The obvious advantages to unpractised readers of such a method, could not fail of being duly appreciated. It was making a large advance toward our present punctuation. A brief specimen of it, comprising Tit. 2, 2. 3, will at once show the reader the truth of this allegation:

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΣ ΝΗΦΑΛΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ
ΣΕΜΝΟΥΣ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑΣ
ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ
ΤΗ ΑΓΑΠΗ

[1] Epiph. de Ponder. et Mens. c. 2.

ΤΗ ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΙΔΑΣ ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ
ΕΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΙ ΙΕΡΟΠΡΕΠΕΙΣ
ΜΗ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΥΣ
ΜΗ ΟΙΝΩ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΔΕΔΟΥΛΩΜΕΝΑΣ
ΚΑΛΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥΣ

This specimen is from the Codex Coislinianus, and is copied from Montfaucon. It exhibits a division of words, as well as of clauses which accord with punctuation. It also exhibits the Omega, but omits any sign of the aspirate. Yet we are not to suppose, that so great advances were made all at once by Euthalius. A small specimen of Acts 1, 1, will show how the matter probably stood in his day:

ΤΟΝΜΕΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΛΟΓΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΗΝ
ΠΕΡΙΠΑΝΤΩΝΩΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ

In our present cursive Greek we write the same thus:

Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε.

It would seem quite probable, then, that the first advances toward interpunction did not include any division of words, but only of clauses. Yet even this was a great relief to the reader. No wonder that Euthalius found so ready a welcome in his improvements, as to the mode of writing out the New Testament text. It was not long before the Gospels were written in the same manner, i. e. *ἐν στίχοις*, as well as the Acts and the Epistles edited by Euthalius. But whether these *στίχοι* were introduced by himself into manuscripts of the Gospels, or by some other person, is not certainly known.

Erelong, this mode of copying the New Testament began to be regarded as too expensive. Parchment was dear; and the volume or codex was made too bulky by this process; for the greater portion of the lines were not half filled out. The consequence was, a relapse into the old method of filling out each line; but, at the same time, the copyist inserted a point or colon where the end of each *στίχοι* would be, so that the reader might be advertised where he should make his pauses. The Codex Cyprius, assigned by Montfaucon to the eighth century, and by Scholz to the ninth, exhibits a complete specimen of this mode of writing.

The defect in this however, is, that one point (colon) stands for all sorts of stops, whether period, colon, or comma. This defect was soon felt, and after many different substitutes,—e. g. a revival of the old diacritical signs of Aristophanes of Byzantium already mentioned, then the use of a point, and also the sign of the cross, and in some manuscripts, of two points for the end of a sentence,--the final result was, our modern and present Greek interpunction. From the tenth century onwards, nearly all the Greek codices exhibit this, although with considerable variety of forms in the symbols. Indeed, the forms of interpunction can hardly be considered as stationary and fixed, until they became so by the art of printing.

It is obvious that the division of words, as exhibited above in the specimen of the Codex Coislinianus, would soon take place, after interpunction had become an object of attention. But still, there were always some who loved and reverenced the antique manuscripts, and copied them out in all their peculiarities. This was very natural; and hence it is, that some of the more modern manuscripts preserve the form of the ancient ones, and consequently the mere form or appearance of any manuscript does not entitle it, as a matter of course, to any just and valid claim of antiquity. Let the critic beware, moreover, since such is the state of the case, how he trusts implicitly in the mere absence of accents and of Iota subscript, as certain indications of antiquity. Down to the tenth century it was not uncommon to write in this way.[1]

On the other hand, the breathings belong to some of the oldest manuscripts of the Greek Testament, e. g. Cod. Vaticanus, Claromontanus, San-Gallensis, etc. The letter *H* is the usual symbol of the aspirate, and when thus employed, it is written as a letter in the same line with other letters; yet there is a variety of forms or symbols besides this, for the breathings; and the presence or absence of them, moreover, is no certain test either of antiquity or of the contrary.

Let us pause here, for a moment, and see what influence the facts now before us ought to have on the critical exposition of the New Testament.

No division of words now existing in our copies, no punctuation,

[1] See Montfaucon, Pal. Graec. pp. 276, 278, 295. De Wette Einleit. § 29.

no accentuation, is of itself binding, in cases where a better division can be made, or a better punctuation or accentuation introduced. And although the cases are few, where another and different division of words might be more eligible, and few where the accentuation should be changed, yet the interpunction is far from being brought to a state of perfection. Critical editors are constantly taking the liberty (as they have a right to do) to change it; and not a little remains even now to be done, to make the interpunction in all cases tally in the best manner with the sense.

There are still some other ancient divisions of the text of the New Testament, to which we must briefly advert, viz. the κεφάλαια and the τίτλοι. So far back as the time of Tertullian, the κεφάλαια, capitula or chapters, of some kind, were in existence; inasmuch as this author mentions them.[1] So also Dionysius of Alexandria.[2] Yet they do not appear to have been in common use, until after Euthalius published his Acts and Epistles, in which he introduced them, arranged according to his own views. Before this period, there was a diversity among them; but after this, the codices were more generally conformed to his views, at least the *stichometrical* codices, which were copied from his. At the head of each of these was a brief summary (ἔκθεσις) of contents, after the manner of the heads to chapters in our older Bibles.

In respect to the remaining part of the New Testament, viz. the Gospels, Ammonius of Alexandria, about the middle of the third century, published a Harmony, in which, almost of necessity, κεφάλαια were introduced. These amounted to the number of 1162.[3] Eusebius of Cæsarea republished this work with some changes in the capitula, at the beginning of the fourth century. After Euthalius had published his stichometrical New Testament, (Acts and Epistles,) both the Ammonio-Eusebian capitula and his were received by many into their codices of the whole of the New Testament. But these being so numerous, and therefore so brief, did not satisfy critical readers. Some time in the sixth century, the Gospels received a new division into larger portions, each called τίτλος, Lat. *titulus*.

[1] In his book, Ad Uxorem, II. c. 2. Also, De Pudic. c. 16.

[2] In Euseb. Hist. Ecc. VII. 25.

[3] See Caesarius, Dial. I. Respons. 39. Epiphan. Ancor. c. 50.

The ratio between the τίτλοι and κεφάλαια will be perceived at once from the statement of the number:

	τίτλοι	κεφάλαια
Matthew,	68	355
Mark,	49	336
Luke,	83	342
John,	18	232

The greater part of the older manuscripts of the Gospels exhibit both τίτλοι and κεφάλαια. The word τίτλος *inscription* indicates, as usually employed, a brief hint or summary of contents.

Matters remained in this state, with this composite and perplexed arrangement, down to the thirteenth century, when Hugo de St. Caro, a Spanish cardinal, published the Latin Vulgate, in which he introduced a new and different division by *chapters*, with minute subdivisions by *verses*, in order to prepare the way for a Concordance. Subsequent to this, the like chapters were introduced into the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, and afterwards into the printed editions. The division of verses introduced by Hugo, was, with some variations, first adopted into the Greek Testament by Robert Stephens, in the fourth edition of his Greek Testament, A. D. 1551.

Thus it appears, that the whole division of chapters and verses, as now existing in our New Testament, is of quite recent origin. It lies upon the very face of this whole matter, moreover, that all the chapters, titles, and verses, of more ancient or later times, are of no authority; confer no obligation on the interpreter, nor on the critic; and can be looked on in no other light, than merely that of convenience. What a pity it was, however, that those who thus made divisions of the Scriptures which have now become permanent, did not better understand how to make them everywhere with nice propriety! Not unfrequently have they separated what God hath joined together, and joined together what he has separated. The common reader is of course sometimes misled by all this; the critical one need not be.

Only one thing more demands notice at present. After the example of the Jews, who, during each year, read through the Pentateuch and much of the Prophets, in the synagogue and on the

Sabbath, dividing them into large sections called *Parashoth* and *Haphtaroth*, Christians also divided the New Testament (the Apocalypse excepted) so as to read it through in their churches. These divisions for mere ecclesiastical purposes were at first fifty-seven in number, corresponding to the Sabbaths and special Feasts; in later times they were increased, so as to correspond with the numerous saint-days kept by the Romish church. Euthalius marked them merely by placing A (ἀρχή) at the head of them, and T (τέλος) at the end. The Greeks called them περικοπαί sections, ἀναγνώσεις readings, or ἀναγνώσματα portions to be read.

On looking back, in order to make out some general, critical, and simple result from the view which has now been taken, we find it to be briefly and plainly this, viz. that *nothing but the mere simple letters of the Greek Testament are genuine and original.* All the diacritical apparatus, accents, interpunction, breathings, Iota subscript, chapters, verses, lections or lessons, or whatever other marks of the like kind were added to the original text,—all this is of no critical authority, and is to be regarded only in the light of a convenience.

Such is the diplomatic history of the New Testament in respect to its leading traits, and such the results that flow from a knowledge of this history.

Let us now return to our dividing point, from which we started, viz. the first printed edition of the New Testament in 1514, in the Complutensian Polyglott. My object is not to give a minute history of all succeeding printed editions, but only of such as belong to the *genetic* history of the edition before us, which we have sat down to review.

Although the Complutensian copy was the first *printed* one; it was not *published* until 1522. In the mean time Erasmus, with his characteristic literary activity, had set about printing an edition of the New Testament, and actually published one at Bâsle in 1516. He used several later manuscripts found at Bâsle, and the writings of several of the Greek Fathers, viz. their quotations of the Greek text, in order to accomplish his purpose. In 1519 he published a second edition, having acquired some additional manuscript aid, and made further comparison of the Fathers. In the third edition, 1522, he first inserted the text in 1 John 5, 7 (the hea-

venly witnesses), taken from the Codex Montfortianus. In the fourth edition, 1527, he made many changes of his text, especially from comparison with the Complutensian copy. His last edition was in 1535.

From the two original printed sources already named, flowed all the subsequent editions that have been printed; with occasional variations, however, in some of them, rusulting from a comparison of codices not previously employed. Only such will be here mentioned as belong to our present object.

The famous Robert Stephens printed his first edition of the New Testament in 1546. This is usually called the *Mirifica*, because the preface begins with: "O mirificam regis nostri . . liberalitatem!" This and the second edition (1549) follow closely the Complutensian text, admitting but very few variations. The third edition (1550) named *Regia*, in folio, is Stephens' great work, in which he had, as he avers, the aid of fifteen manuscripts; and is founded upon the fifth edition of Erasmus, who, it will be remembered, had conformed in his two last editions very much to the Complutensian text. In his fourth edition (1551) Stephens first introduced the division of the text into verses. In 1569, his son Robert printed another edition without the distinction of verses. Schott mistakes this for an edition of the father.[1] The father died in 1559.

We have now seen that thus far the matter of history pertaining to our present *Textus receptus* stands in the following position: Erasmus, in his fourth and fifth editions, conformed mainly to the Complutensian text; probably for ecclesiastical reasons. Stephens, in his principal (third) edition, conformed to Erasmus, but added a notation of various readings from some fifteen manuscripts. The Complutensian itself, the earliest edition of all, was published from a few manuscripts; most, if not all, of which are now generally supposed not to be of an early date.

The next link in our chain are the editions of the celebrated Beza, the friend and successor of Calvin, at Geneva. His was indeed the first serious critical attempt to *amend* the text of the New Testament. His first edition, in 1565, was printed at Geneva by Henry Stephens, the son of Robert, who collated the fifteen manuscripts that had been owned by his father, and gave Beza the

[1] Isag. p. 634.

results. With these, and by the aid of the texts of the Complutensian, of Erasmus, and of Stephens, Beza made out a corrected text, which soon obtained great credit. In Beza's first edition, the preface states, that he had corrected the text by the aid of twenty-five manuscripts; but the second edition (1582) makes mention of only seventeen; and the third and fourth (1589, 1598), of nineteen. It is now supposed by many, that the number twenty-five of the first edition is a mistake of the press, fifteen being the real number of manuscripts possessed and compared by Henry Stephens, who inherited them from his father. Some small accessions were made to the readings of these fifteen codices, in the three subsequent editions, by the acquisition of the Codex Claromont. and then of the Codex Cantab. These editions were accompanied by critical and exegetical notes from the hand of Beza, and also by a new Latin version of his own, as well as by the Latin Vulgate. Besides these large-paper editions, he published six small ones, between 1566 and 1591.

The basis of Beza's text was the *third* edition of Robert Stephens. But from this he departed, whenever he discovered what he deemed good reason for departure. Hence his text may in fact be regarded as a kind of independent one; and it is, moreover, the real and substantial basis of the *Textus receptus*, as we shall soon see. The high reputation of Beza as a Greek scholar, and the influence which he had among nearly all of the Protestant churches, soon caused his editions to be diffused far and wide. Of this the Elzevirs afterwards took advantage, and published what was erelong acknowledged as a *Textus receptus*.

The first edition of these famous printers bears date A. D. 1624, and was in 16mo. It professes, in the title-page, to be printed "from the *Regia* and other most excellent editions, with great care." Now the *Regia* is, as we have seen, Robert Stephens' *third* edition in folio, in which are exhibited the various readings of fifteen manuscripts. Beza made this his basis; but Beza, in consequence of a new comparison of manuscripts, here and there altered the text of Stephens. But how did the Elzevirs manage in these cases? Did they follow the text of the *Regia*, or Beza's? Hug has shown (§ 58) that they followed Beza in all cases where he differed from Stephens. Of course the "aliis optimis editionibus," which on

the title-page they profess to follow, means principally, if not exclusively, the editions of Beza. His name was industriously concealed, because it would be obnoxious to the Romanists, and prejudice them against the edition.

Besides the edition of 1624, the Elzevirs published others in 1633, '41, '56, '62. In the second edition, the preface announces the success of the work: *Textum ergo habes ab omnibus receptum.* What was boastingly or for pecuniary purposes thus announced, soon became in reality matter of fact; and the same is the received text of the present day.

Let us now see, once more, on what ground we stand. Erasmus conformed his fourth and fifth editions mainly to the Complutensian text. R. Stephens followed the fifth of Erasmus in his *Regia* or third edition. Beza adopted the *Regia* as his general basis, but made corrections from his seventeen or eighteen manuscripts. Finally, the Elzevirs did in fact reprint Beza; which reprint became the model for all succeeding editions.

De Wette speaks slightly of these last editions, and of Beza's.[1] Hug has given a tolerable account of both, with a little of Romish colouring thrown into the picture. Griesbach, *more suo*, speaks somewhat contemptuously of both; and others have joined abundantly in this outcry. But after all, to what does the whole amount? All the investigations that have been set on foot, and all the labour, immense as it is, which has been performed in discovering and comparing codices, has brought to light nothing which affects a single fact or doctrine of the New Testament. Professor Norton, in his recent work on the genuineness of the Gospels, has placed this subject in its true light; and to his account of this matter the reader may be referred, with the assurance that he will find reason enough to believe what has now been stated.

The various readings of the New Testament manuscripts, after all the zeal which has been exhibited and noise that has been made in relation to this subject, respect only some minutiæ of grammar, or the use of some of the particles, or of the subjunctive mode, or other things of the like nature. Were not the subject too grave, one might be almost tempted to apply the *parturient montes* of

[1] Einleitung, § 44.

Horace. Yet after all, nothing is unimportant that respects the purity of the text in such a book as the New Testament. The writer of these remarks is among the last who would discourage any proper efforts to restore the original text. But he would confidently exhort the tyro, who is yet but a novice in these matters, not to stand in fear that diplomatic criticism will yet deprive him of his New Testament, or of any one of its doctrines or facts.

It remains now, in order to complete our genetic history, that some later critical editions of the New Testament should be briefly noticed.

Walton published the New Testament in the fifth volume of his great Polyglott, (1657,) with the various readings of the Codex Alexandrinus; and in the sixth volume he has given a large collection of various readings, some of which are from manuscripts not before compared. John Fell increased these by still further comparison of manuscripts, in his edition of the New Testament, Oxford, 1675.

The first really substantial critical work, however, was that of John Mill, 1707. His text is that of Stephens in his *Regia* or third edition. Many new readings, the fruit of new collections of manuscripts and comparison of Greek and Latin Fathers, are supplied in the margin, and their value examined and adjudged. Besides this, the preface contains the canons of text-criticism, and the history of the text down to that period. This edition was repeated by Küster, Amsterdam, 1710, with additional readings from twelve codices. The edition of Mill was the principal means of calling forth the efforts of subsequent critics, on the text of the New Testament.

The excellent J. A. Bengel soon followed in the footsteps of Mill. In 1734 he published a New Testament, in which he gives as his text, "the marrow of approved editions," and furnishes the reader not only with the various readings of Mill, but also with others from twenty-two additional manuscripts compared by himself. It was Bengel, who by a long and attentive study of manuscripts had become very familiar with them, that first suggested the idea of classifying manuscripts into *families*. He was led to do this from the similarities which he observed in them as to many peculiar readings. He divided them into two great families, the African and the Asiatic. The importance of testimony in any individual manuscript was

thus diminished, inasmuch as all which belonged to one and the same family, and gave the same testimony, could hardly be regarded as independent witnesses. How much this idea of *classification* has been abused by Griesbach, and some other subsequent critics, seems now to be generally conceded; at least it is so in Germany, and, as it would seem, in England. The late Dr. Laurence has discussed this matter in a manner that will long be remembered, by those who have read his essays on the subject. But to return to Bengel; his candour, discrimination, coolness of judgment, and sound understanding, are acknowledged, even down to the present day, by all sober critics.

J. J. Wetstein followed in 1751, in a large work of two volumes folio. His text is the *Regia* of Stephens. He compared many manuscripts not before collated, in France, England, Holland, and Germany. The result of his labour, as well as the various readings before collected, he gives in his margin. He describes in his Prolegomena, the codices and their places of deposit. To all this he has added a copious commentary, principally by parallels or illustrations, drawn from the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew classics. This is a work of profound labour, and it remains even now an excellent storehouse of criticism. He had a leaning to the party of the Remonstrants in Holland, and has been accused of partiality, particularly in his commentary, on this account. But his accuracy in general, as to the statement of facts respecting the manuscripts and their readings, there is no good reason to call in question.

The coryphaeus of more recent times was J. J. Griesbach, in his New Testament, Vol. I. 1774. Vol. II. 1775. But a second edition appeared, (Vol. I. Hal. Sax. et Lond. 1796, reprinted by D. Schulz, 1827, with many valuable additions; Vol. II. 1806,) in which Griesbach introduced all the additional apparatus that had been furnished by the intervening editions of Harwood, 1776; Matthaei, 1788; Alter, 1796; and Birch, 1788. All these were critical editions of the New Testament, or parts of it, with additional various readings of value. Griesbach incorporated their results in his new edition; which, of course, gave it the preference over all others.

With Griesbach begins what is called by critics, the *Recension-system*, in respect to the manuscripts of the New Testament. We have

already seen, that Bengel gave the hint respecting *families* of manuscripts, which he divided into the African and Asiatic. Griesbach carried out his idea to a great length. He made three recensions, viz. the Occidental, the Alexandrine, and the Oriental. To each of these he assigns peculiar characteristics; and in estimating the value of their testimony as to any reading, he conforms to the principles which he thus lays down. After all he confesses that there is, properly speaking, only *one* recension, viz. the Alexandrine. Of course he prefers the authority of this, and gives its readings a predominance. But later discussions have shown most abundantly, that there is no good and stable foundation for such a strict separation of manuscripts into definite classes; for it has shown, that there is no good evidence of a formal and proper recension, in any case, at so remote a period; that all the manuscripts of every class do more or less partake of each other's peculiarities, e. g. the Peshito or old Syriac Version exhibits many of the traits of the so-called occidental recension; and that an estimation of the value of readings simply on the ground of *class* or recension, is altogether injudicious and impracticable.

Hug, following partly in the steps of Griesbach, has laboured to show, that, in the third century, Hesychius in Egypt, Lucian at Antioch, and Origen at Tyre, made out respectively different and careful recensions of the New Testament text. But in this he has failed; or, at all events, admitting that such labour was performed by these individuals, the result does not appear to have had any considerable and permanent influence on the state of the New Testament manuscripts.

Eichhorn protested loudly, in his reviews and in his Introduction, against all strict conformity of criticism to mere problematic recensions, and attacked many of the positions of Griesbach with much force. Respectable followers of the system of the latter, among well informed critics, it would now be difficult to find. No wonder, then, that other text-books than Griesbach's have been making their appearance in quite recent times. The talents and industry of Griesbach, all are ready to admit. The correctness of his critical views throughout, few would in fact now venture to advocate.

A most strenuous and able opponent of his plan appeared soon

after the publication of his first edition. This was C. F. Matthaei of Moscow. In 1782–8 he published the New Testament in twelve volumes, 8vo. in which he has given various readings from more than one hundred manuscripts principally at Moscow, some of which are very ancient and valuable. With indefatigable and almost incredible labour, he himself compared all these manuscripts throughout. Matthaei totally denies the existence of any ancient recensions, and prefers the authority of the oriental codices at Moscow to all others. His work is in reality a great and estimable one; and if he had been less severe on other critics, and on other manuscripts than those which he compared, he would doubtless have enjoyed much more of the public favour. The valuable readings of Matthaei, it will be remembered, were incorporated by Griesbach in the second edition of his New Testament, Hal. et Lond. 1796, 1806.

More recent than Griesbach, is another critical edition of the New Testament by A. M. Scholz, Vol. I. II. Heidelb. 1820, 1836. Scholz travelled extensively in order to search out manuscripts, and he has, without any doubt, added to the stores of criticism. Schott calls him *eruditus ac diligens;* and De Wette speaks of him, as having "merited new rewards in respect to criticism." But his work, after all, seems to have given but little public satisfaction. No sooner was it completed than the call was loudly repeated, from all quarters, upon Lachmann, a philological antiquarian at Berlin, to complete the new recension of the text which he had undertaken. Scholz, like Griesbach, advocates the division by recensions; but he makes only two, viz. the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan. In his estimation of the value of readings, he gives a most decided and even undue preference to the latter. Of course he and Griesbach are at direct variance, as to the principles of estimating the proper value of a reading.

We have now done with the recent recensions of the New Testament text, which have been made on a large scale. But we must take some notice of a few subordinate editions of this nature, to which the New Testament before us has made reference, and which have obtained, through their cheapness and value, very wide circulation.

In 1797, the late Dr. Knapp of Halle published a minor octavo edition of the New Testament, with select various readings.

Knapp in the main follows the text of Griesbach, in his latest editions; but occasionally he differs from him, in cases where he judges the evidence to preponderate against his readings. This edition of Knapp has been five times repeated in Germany, last in 1840; and has obtained a large measure of the public approbation.

Professor H. A. Schott, late of Jena, also published a New Testament, with a new Latin version. The first edition (1805) adopts the revised text of Griesbach; but the second, and especially the third, differs from him in many places. Schott depends (and very justly) on internal as well as external evidence, in order to establish the validity of any reading.

In 1820, J. A. H. Tittmann, Professor in Leipsic, published a New Testament, with a text conformed to his best critical judgment. The work of Hahn, now before us, is a renewal of this valuable publication, in a somewhat different form, and with a much better apparatus. Tittmann was a man of eminently sound and sober judgment.

In 1824, J. S. Vater, at Halle, published an edition, in which much pains was bestowed on the readings, and various exegetical and other helps were added; a useful book, in many respects, to beginners in the study of the New Testament.

In the Romish church, Gratz and Van Ess have published minor editions, founded upon the Complutensian text, but exhibiting other readings.

In 1831, Lachmann published a New Testament of the minor form, professing mainly to exhibit the text as contained in the oriental manuscripts; to which occasionally he furnishes means of correction by various readings from the western sources. To this much deference has been paid in Germany, among critics. There is room to doubt, however, whether the judgment of Lachmann, as exhibited in this edition, will finally stand. The first volume of a larger edition by Lachmann, apparently with the same or nearly the same text, has quite recently been published, (1842,) in which the critical authorities for the various readings have been appended by the younger Buttmann.[1]

[1] In the small edition (1831) of Lachmann's New Testament, p. 461, he expressly states his design in accordance with the view here given of it. His object, therefore, is merely *diplomatic*, if he has execu-

It is time to give some account, at length, of the edition of Hahn, a reprint of which now lies before me. Tauchnitz of Leipsic, some time since, expressed a wish to this indefatigable labourer in the department of diplomatic criticism, to renew the edition of Tittmann, with such improvements as he might make.

In addressing himself to this formidable labour, Prof. Hahn first of all reviewed with care the text of Tittmann. In this he found many errors of the press; specimens of which he has given us in his Preface. The interpunction, moreover, he found to be faulty; as also the use, in some cases, of capital letters. He found some readings admitted, as he thought, without due authority of manuscripts. The accentuation was faulty in many places; as well as the mode of writing words with the *coronis*, e. g. κἀγώ for κἀγώ, etc. The Iota subscript in such words as εἰχῇ, omitted by Tittmann, Hahn judges to be wrongly omitted, and has restored it. The circumflex removed by Tittmann, in such words as θλῖψις, λαῖλαψ, and the like, Hahn restores. Many other smaller faults, which he specifies, he has laboured to correct; as well as the defects already enumerated above.

Thus much, as to correctness in the printing of the new edition. Next, as to the choice of readings.

Hahn has exhibited, in the margin of the work, the various readings of Griesbach's two later editions, those of the first volume of the third edition by Schulz, and also the readings of Knapp, of Scholz, and of Lachmann. The abbreviations which are used in referring to these authorities, are all sufficiently explained in the preface. The variations from the *Textus receptus* are also noted in the margin. The modes of designating suspected clauses, and of marking the beginning of verses, are all explained in the pre-

ted his work in accordance with the views which he gives, and not a *recension* of the text. Yet Rinck, in a review of Tischendorf's New Testament of 1841, (Stud. and Krit. 1842, pp. 537, 556,) in stating the principles of criticism which this editor has adopted, says, that Tischendorf admits of no reading, unless it is sanctioned by the *African* testimonies; and he adds, that Lachmann had prepared the way for this, by giving nearly a diplomatic reprint of the African manuscripts.—The title of the new edition by Lachmann, mentioned in the text, is: Novum Testamentum *Graece et Latine.* Car. Lachmann recensuit, Phil. Buttmannus Phil. F. Graecae Lectionis auctoritates apposuit. Tom. I. Berol. 1842.

face, and appear to be generally easy and judicious. The capitals at the beginning of verses not commencing a sentence, Prof. Robinson has very properly dropped, and substituted the mark (') in their room.

The received text, the editor says, is never abandoned without the most weighty reasons. When there is a disagreement among critical editors, whether it should be admitted or rejected, Hahn has taken care to note who are for it and who are against it. Where he has differed in judgment from other critics, the nature of his appeal to them advertises the reader, who are with the editor, and who are against him. In some cases he differs from all of them; and then, although he does not state his reasons in the margin, because the nature of his plan forbids him thus to enlarge, yet he assures his readers that he never ventures to dissent from all the other critical editions, unless he has what he deems to be good and forcible reasons for so doing. The critical reader, in such a case, must resort to Wetstein, or Griesbach's second critical edition in two volumes, or to Scholz, where he will find most, if not all of the authorities on which the judgment of Hahn rests; or in case he does not find satisfaction there, he must resort to the context, and to the comparison of parallel passages.

It will be seen, at once, that there is no proper ground of complaint against the editor, in this case, because he has not detailed his reasons; for to do this would be to swell the work into a form so large, as to frustrate the object of making a manual.

It will be seen, also, by a little examination of Hahn's preface, that he has in effect given the results of three editions of Griesbach. G* means the critical edition of Halle, 1796, Vol. I. II. G° means the minor edition of Leipsic, in 1805, consisting of only one volume, with merely the select various readings. G simply means both editions in common. Sch. in connexion with Griesbach's readings, means the third edition of Vol. I. of Griesbach, published at Berlin in 1827, by D. Schulz of Breslau, in which many valuable additions to Griesbach are made. All of these will be found occasionally to differ. In the last edition of Griesbach himself, his New Testament with select readings (1805), he not unfrequently re-admits readings excluded in the preceding edition, and *vice versâ*. Schulz, moreover, sometimes expresses dissent from the readings in

either edition, or in both. All such cases are marked by Hahn, in an appropriate way which is easily understood.

Thus, it will be perceived, Hahn has given the reader a *syllabus* of all that is contained in the various recensions of the New Testament text, which is of any importance. Griesbach's last edition (1796, 1806), contains embodied all the critical results which had preceded that time; and Scholz, Schulz, Knapp, and Lachmann, have given nearly all that has been developed since that period. Almost every month some new readings are coming to light, and the way is thus preparing for a critical recension at a future period, which will place all preceding editions merely on the shelf of the historian of criticism.

In addition to this important syllabus of the critical recensions, which Hahn has presented in his margin, his edition possesses some other advantages over the preceding manuals of this nature, which deserve a passing notice.

In a Prolegomenon of some length he has given a brief, but quite intelligible and appropriate, description of all the important *uncial* manuscripts. These, critics have generally deemed to be the most ancient and of the best authority. Their names, distinctive qualities, probable age, extent of contents, and the symbol used by critics to designate them, are all to be found in Hahn's description.

The manuscripts in the *cursive* or small-text Greek he has not undertaken to describe; because, as he thinks, the great mass of them originated in the tenth century, and only a few in the ninth. Of course, if such be the fact, the weight of authority belonging to them must be small.

The *uncial* manuscripts are divided into four classes, viz. I. Manuscripts of the Gospels. II. Of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. III. Of the Epistles of Paul. IV. Of the Apocalypse.—All the important ones, under each head, are specified and briefly described.

Next to this syllabus of uncial manuscripts comes a brief account of the ancient *Versions* made directly from the Greek. These are the Itala and other Latin versions before the time of Jerome; the Vulgate by Jerome; the Peshito or Old Syriac, and also the Philoxenian Syriac Version; the Egyptian Versions; the Ethiopic, Arabic, Gothic, and Slavonic Versions.

Last of all is a reference to the citations of the Fathers, and the nature of the appeal to them is briefly stated.

Inasmuch as the Versions and the Fathers are cited in Griesbach and Scholz, as witnesses for or against any particular reading, and may be there found, Hahn does not produce them in his margin. He would no more do this, in consistency with his plan, than he would cite all the manuscript authorities.

The results of all the recensions is what Hahn has undertaken to give, not the process by which those results were made out. The larger editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, and Lachmann must be consulted for the process.

Every thing about this edition of Hahn wears the air of great neatness. The type is excellent; the paper good; the printing unusually correct; and the pointing judicious. It is truly a work of *multum in parvo*. The reader has before him the decisions of all the distinguished recent text-critics, as well as that of Hahn himself, and he is therefore at liberty, and is furnished with means, to examine and judge for himself. Hahn does not bind him by his own judgment. When he differs from others, he gives notice of it, and tells the reader how others have decided. For aught that we can see, this is all that the nature of the undertaking permitted to be done.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to pass any critical judgment on the preferences which Hahn gives to this or that text. A sober judgment, any one who knows his labours and his success in diplomatic matters would naturally expect of him; and that this trait may be found in his critical editions of the New Testament, there is no good room for doubt.

It cannot be expected, that all critics will agree in their judgment about the value of readings, so long as their maxims of criticism are so unsettled as at present. The old recension-system of Griesbach has taken such a deep root, that time and patience are both necessary, in order to eradicate it. It was born, as we believe, with the seeds of consumption in its component elements, and although it may die but a lingering death, not all the skill of doctors, learned and unlearned, can save it from ἀφανισμός much longer. Listen to Tischendorf, the latest editor of a critical New Testament in Germany, (Leipsic, 1841,) a young man full of zeal

and hope as to the future, and withal, as it would appear, of some distinguished talent. After the publication of his New Testament, (a small volume,) he went to Paris in order to examine the manuscripts in the Royal Library, with a view to further critical effort. In a communication to the Editors of the *Studien and Kritiken* (1842, p. 497), he says: "A Parisian Hellenist of great celebrity said to me in the way of inquiry: Has Griesbach then left nothing more to do? In Germany I could not have restrained myself from replying to such question by a laugh. I do by no means overlook Griesbach's undying merit. But the results of his criticism fall far short of a text, which can in any measure satisfy a scrupulous critic."

Words like these are but the true signs of the times. In the same number of the Journal above referred to, is a *critique* by Rinck on this same Tischendorf's edition of the New Testament, in which he has gone all lengths in justifying this declaration of Tischendorf; and has shown an utter disregard, if not contempt, of all the supposititious methods of classifying manuscripts, and making them into recensions of opposite and adverse authority. But of this more in the sequel.

With a diligence and patience unsurpassed even in Germany itself by any modern editor, Hahn has now gone through the publication of the Hebrew Scriptures and also of the New Testament. He has acquired a high and just reputation in this department, and the consciousness of labour useful in the highest degree, performed with no other ambition than that of doing good, must afford him more satisfaction, than to be the author of any scheme of philosophy, however splendid and attractive it might be for a time.

We must not dismiss the subject, without adverting more particularly to the American reprint of Hahn's work. The type is of the same form and size, and the book appears in all respects equally well with the German edition; except that there are two things which perhaps in some eyes may diminish in a slight degree its external attractiveness. The ink is not so dark, nor the impression quite so bold as the German; and the page is larger, while the margin of course is less. This last measure of widening the printed page, was deemed necessary on account of the thickness of the American paper. Hahn's edition has about 700

pages; the American, 563; and yet the American is the most bulky book. This is an evil which the editor and publishers were not able to surmount; and they could do no less than enlarge their printed page to save an unwieldy bulk of the book. Yet it is a beautiful volume, and well worthy of the most extensive public patronage and approbation. May all who are concerned with its publication find an abundant reward.

Those who are acquainted with the literary labours of Professor Robinson, will need no assurance that *accuracy* in the reprint has been well secured. In this respect we fear not to match him with Hahn, or with any other editor which Germany can present. The truth is, no edition can be immaculate. *Humanum est errare.* Yet we have not found a single error of any kind in the American edition, so far as we have read; but we still venture to say, *a priori*, that there must be some. Where will be found the edition, or the manuscript, in which there are not some errors? The *Mirifica* and the *Regia* of Stephens himself, or the famous Elzevir editions, afford no exemption from this charge. On the score of accuracy in the edition before us, the public may rest assured they have as little to fear as they ever will have; with the exception, that in some future impressions of this same work, any errors that may be detected will be corrected in the stereotype plates. The editor and the publishers will ever be thankful for any corrections suggested to them, that may be found needful.

There can scarcely be a doubt, that this edition of the New Testament will, from its cheapness and excellence, soon occupy the whole of our market. On many accounts it is preferable to Knapp; and on all accounts far superior to our common editions. The references to the Old Testament are here all thrown into the margin; and also the various readings. This generally facilitates the proper use of the book. The price is as low as any one can, with a show of reason, expect or demand. It cannot be imported bound, from Germany, at so cheap a rate; and it is to be hoped, that our countrymen will all feel some satisfaction in patronizing our own editions, when they are brought out in a style so excellent.

It may not be improper, nor unacceptable to the reader, to add a few words respecting the progress of New Testament text-criticism, since this edition of Hahn was printed in Germany.

Hahn's edition bears the date of 1840. In 1841, as stated above, Tischendorf issued a manual edition of the New Testament, at Leipsic, professing to give the text "*ad fidem antiquorum testium.*" A review of this edition by Rinck, to whom reference has been made on p. 278, gives us the *fides* of the editor at that time. He has given the Alexandrine or African codices the predominance in a marked manner throughout; in which he has followed in the steps of Griesbach. Rinck has taken hold of this subject in good earnest; and laboured to show, that the only ground on which the Alexandrine codices can claim any preference, is that of *antiquity*. This ground of superiority the same critic believes to be too slippery and unstable to rest upon. In fact, the marked distinction between eastern and western codices seems to be far from being well established. For example; Euthalius in Egypt, (A. D. 462,) compared his codices with the exemplars of Pamphilus, found in the library at Caesarea. Who knows how much he conformed to them? Then as to the unhesitating preference of the *uncial* manuscripts, over all those in cursive-letters, it seems not to be altogether well grounded. We have the text of Chrysostom, who commented on a good portion of the New Testament, as exhibited in his works. This is acknowleged to accord well with the greater portion of the *minusculi*, i. e. the cursive or small-text manuscripts. And is not Chrysostom earlier than any of the uncial manuscripts?

Rinck calls in question the great age of the celebrated manuscript B, or the Codex Vaticanus, which has been often, perhaps generally, assigned to the fourth century. He says that this codex, set far above all others by Lachmann and Tischendorf, has evidently a common source with D, on the Codex Bezae, which is of the seventh century. Finally, he goes into a comparison between the so called western and eastern manuscripts, as to several places, viz. Matt. c. 26, Acts c. 1. 2; and Rom. c. 1. The result is, that the western manuscripts are palpably in the wrong *three* times, where the eastern ones are *once;* and especially the famous Codex B exhibits more abundantly errors that must be rejected. Rinck next compared the Codex B with E or Codex Basiliensis, of the seventh or eighth century. He finds the resemblance so striking, that he does not hesitate to say, that no satisfactory evidence of an age beyond the

period just named, can be alleged; and therefore we cannot put so much confidence in the various readings of B, as it has been customary to do.

The result of his remarks is, that the common indices of antiquity, which have been assumed in many cases, are wanting in soundness and validity. Above all, does the preference given to the occidental classes of manuscripts deserve to be given up, and a new ratio of comparison and estimation to be instituted.

In short, the strict line assumed even by Hahn between uncial and other manuscripts, becomes quite indistinct in view of certain other facts. It seems, after all that has been said about the lateness of the cursive-text, (which is assigned to the ninth and tenth centuries,) that there exists an undoubted document exhibiting this same cursive writing, and dating back more than a century before the Christian era.[1] Who can tell with certainty, then, the age of some of the *minusculi*, which are without date, and hold fast to the text of Chrysostom?

That there remains "much land to be possessed," in this region, none can well doubt. In fact, it would seem now to have come to this, in Germany, that the age of text-criticism is only beginning. The religious public there show signs of deep interest and of active energy. A short time since, Rettig published a fac-simile of the *Codex San-Gallensis*, containing the four Gospels, never before compared. Tischendorf, in an annunciation contained in the *Studien and Kritiken* of 1842, has proposed the plan of re-examining all the uncial codices, and publishing all, even the most minute, discrepancies and various readings. With these all the *minusculi* are to be compared, and likewise all the old versions, and all the quotations of the New Testament by the early Christian Fathers. A Herculean labour indeed; but nothing discourages a German of the true stamp. The more he has to do, the better; and the more difficult the work, the greater pleasure in the ardour with which he engages in it. Tischendorf expects coadjutors; he has partially engaged many of them. May his expectations be abundantly fulfilled!

This text-critic, moreover, has already shown, that errors abound

[1] Kühner's Gramm. I. p. 16.

in nearly all of the old collections, and that scarcely any of them are to be fully trusted. Let us have something better then. Tischendorf, as has been intimated, has engaged critics in Germany, France, Holland, and England, in his enterprise; and B. Tauchnitz, at Leipsic, is to begin by giving us the text of the famous *Codex Ephraemi*, in the year 1843. But a small portion of this *Codex rescriptus* has hitherto been read, or even considered as readable, by reason of age and the rescript-text. But Tischendorf has succeeded, by chemical means, in rendering legible all but one page. It is a most precious relic of antiquity; for it contains the whole of the Septuagint and of the New Testament, and is probably older than even the Codex Alexandrinus. This will be a noble undertaking of this branch of the name of Tauchnitz. We bid him God speed; as we also do the high-souled enterprise of the youthful Tischendorf.

By and by, then, we shall have the materials, out of which a genuine critical recension of the New Testament can be made. Besides the proposal of Tischendorf, Rinck, no ordinary critic in these matters, has encouraged us to hope, that he will speedily issue a critical edition of the New Testament, in which the Codices Basilienses will be a basis, and the text will be conformed to what the principles of text-criticism, after all the discussion and corrections which they have undergone, do at the present time demand. Success to every such noble enterprise, embarked in with a design to give us God's Holy Word in the most correct form that we can possibly fix upon, after the lapse of so many ages!

The day of eastern and western recensions, then, has evidently past its meridian, and its sun is fast going down. The time is near, when the great question will be, not *where* a codex was written, but, by what sort of copyist, in what age, and under what influences? The context and genius of each writer will moreover come in for their share, in settling the question with regard to the authority of any reading; and when all this is done, we shall arrive at such a probability as will approach very near to the point of certainty.

Until then, we cannot do better in this country, than to make diligent use of the excellent edition of the Greek Testament before us.

III.

MARRIAGE OF A WIFE'S SISTER.

THE BIBLICAL ARGUMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

The substance of the following article appeared in the numbers of the New-York Observer for August 6th 1842, and January 21st 1843, under the signature of Omicron. As the views which it contains are understood to have been favourably received by a large portion of the Christian public, it has been thought advisable to present it here, revised and somewhat enlarged, in a more permanent form.

The occasion which gave rise to the discussion, was the action of the last (Old School) General Assembly, convened at Philadelphia in May 1842, on the subject of marrying the sister of a deceased wife. The case came up on the appeal of the Rev. Mr. McQueen from the decision of the Presbytery of Fayetteville in North Carolina; that Presbytery having adjudged him in the premises to be guilty of incest. There were in the case no peculiar circumstances either of aggravation or of palliation. It was the simple question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of such a marriage according to the word of God. The Assembly sustained the action of the Presbytery; and by a large majority again laid the crime of incest to the charge of the appellant. Yet, with an inconsistency for which it is difficult to account, the same Assembly, at the same session, appointed to the responsible office of Director in one of their own public Boards, a clergyman enjoying a far wider reputation and influence, who was well known by every one to be living in marriage with the sister of his former wife.

The decision of the Assembly naturally occasioned not a little discussion throughout the community. It is indeed one of those questions, as to which, while one portion of the church adhere strictly to what they suppose to be the word of God, another portion and also most modern lawgivers have departed from that strict

interpretation which would prohibit such marriages; so that in many, if not most countries, the civil law and frequent practice stand in contradiction to what is alleged to be the divine law. No wonder, therefore, that the topic should excite deep interest in every pious mind.

The exposition which is understood to have justly had the most weight in guiding the General Assembly to their decision, was the argument of the Rev. Dr. Hodge, Biblical Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, reported in the New-York Observer of June 11th 1842, and also substantially in the Princeton Review for July in the same year, p. 513 sq. This argument was very properly founded on the prohibitory passage Levit. 18, 6–18; for although the same topics are partially alluded to in a few other places in Scripture, yet these latter only serve to explain or confirm the general laws in this chapter of Leviticus.

In the discussions before the Assembly, a large space was occupied with the consideration of two points which were regarded as preliminary, viz. Whether the prohibitions of the passage in Lev. c. 18, do in fact relate to marriage; and, if so, Whether they are still binding upon Christendom. Now it is certainly true, that if the Mosaic law did prohibit a Hebrew from marrying the sister of his deceased wife, then the further question arises to us, Whether that prohibition is still in force as to the Christian world; and it becomes essential for the advocates of the former position, to sustain the latter also. But it is likewise no less true, that if, on the contrary, the Hebrew law itself contained no such prohibition, then any discussion as to the present binding force of the Mosaic laws, is in this case wholly irrelevant, and a mere matter of supererogation. In any event, therefore, this point presents itself only as a subordinate and subsequent question, rather than as a preliminary topic.

So too in regard to the other question, Whether these prohibitions do in fact relate to marriage. For if, even admitting that they do, it can yet be shown that to the Hebrew the marriage of his former wife's sister was not forbidden, then the necessity for discussing this topic likewise no longer exists. While therefore my own private view coincides in general with that of Dr. Hodge, viz. that marriage is at least included in these prohibitions, and

apparently is alone referred to in Levit. 18, 18; yet I do not here feel called upon either to present the grounds of my own opinion, or to canvass the reasons of those who maintain the contrary.

In this way, as it seems to me, the main question becomes greatly simplified; and is relieved of a burden of extraneous matter, which served to cover up and embarrass the more prominent points, rather than to elucidate them.

On the other hand, it will probably be conceded by all, that the course of argument before the General Assembly, and especially that of Dr. Hodge, hinged mainly, first upon the position, "that affinity, as well as consanguinity, is included in the general prohibition;" and then upon the interpretation given to Levit. 18, 18, making the phrase "a wife to her sister" mean nothing more than the idiomatic expression "one to another." These two points I propose briefly and dispassionately to examine, with a sincere desire to arrive only at the true exposition of the word of God.

Before proceeding with the inquiry, a few introductory remarks may here be in their place.

Some minds are doubtless led to look at the subject in a wrong light, by making no distinction between the relative position of man and woman, husband and wife, in our day, and their relative position under the Hebrew commonwealth. Because with us the two sexes stand on an equal footing in the eye of the law and in general usage, it is natural, though not correct, to regard them as having stood on the same ground in respect to Hebrew law and custom. The following, at least, are important points of difference.

1. The Hebrew man or his friends could alone contract a marriage; and that not with the woman herself, but with her friends. The wife was commonly bought with a price, or by presents made to her relatives; and she usually had no voice in the matter, either of consent or refusal.

2. The Hebrew husband, whether lawfully or not, might and did often have more than one wife; both before and after the Mosaic law. But we nowhere read of a wife's having more than one husband at the same time.

3. The Hebrew husband, besides his wife or wives, might and did have concubines. The father also (it would seem) might give to his son a concubine before marriage. See Exodus 20, 7–11.

4. The Hebrew husband might divorce his wife at any time, on slight grounds, by merely giving her a bill of divorcement and sending her away. See Deut. 24, 1 sq. But the Hebrew wife could never in like manner divorce her husband, nor lawfully separate herself from him.

It would hence seem, that the Hebrew wife was, in fact, comparatively little more than the husband's slave, whom he might dismiss at pleasure. And the main pre-eminence of a wife over a concubine, appears to have been the circumstance, that her children were the husband's legal heirs; which the children of concubines were not.

A similar inference may be drawn from the language employed in regard to sexual intercourse. Wherever the expressions "to go in unto" any one, or "to uncover the nakedness" of any one, are used, they are applied only to the man. A woman is never said to go in unto a man, nor to uncover his nakedness.

It follows from these considerations, that the Mosaic laws relative to marriage and the sexes, such as those in Levit. 18, 6–18, (however *we* might understand them, if now first given to us in the present state of society,) were addressed only to the Hebrew men. They could not indeed have been intelligible, as addressed to Hebrew women; because the latter had no voice nor lot in carrying them into execution; but were themselves merely passive in the arrangements between one family and another.

It may be remarked further, that as the facility and frequency of divorce rendered the tenure of marriage on the part of the Hebrew wife exceedingly uncertain and without permanency; so the great number of divorced females among the Hebrews, who might marry again, gave far more frequent occasion for the application of laws respecting forbidden degrees of kin, that can possibly arise where marriage is a permanent relation ceasing only at death.

The same uncertain tenure of the Hebrew marriage, likewise, could not but have had an important bearing upon the nature and permanency of the *affinity* arising from marriage. What then is affinity, as compared with consanguinity? This latter, the bond of blood, begins with one's birth and ends only with death. It binds the man to his family and kin, by ties which he did not of himself assume, and which he can never cast off. Affinity, on the other hand,

may be of two kinds; as arising either through the marriage of my blood-relatives, or through my own marriage. The former, coming through my blood, partakes in part of the nature and permanency of relationship by blood. That with which my own blood has cohabited, is to me sacred, and may not be contaminated by my cohabitation. The latter, or that affinity which comes to me through my own marriage, is a creation of my own. As a Hebrew, I might take a wife to-day, and divorce her to-morrow. I might take a second and a third, yea even a twentieth wife, and divorce them all. Am I to understand, that the affinity arising from these precarious and transient connexions, was a bond as close and valid and permanent as the ties of blood? and that the Hebrew was as strongly bound to all the various relatives of his twenty wives, as he was to his own blood-kindred of the like degree? The Hebrew, at least, would hardly have thought so; judging from the customs of his country and from the provisions of the Mosaic law in respect to inheritance and other like matters. With us, indeed, this question assumes a somewhat different shape, in consequence of our Saviour's prohibition of divorce, Matt. 5, 31. 19, 6. But this, it must be remembered, was unknown to the ancient Hebrews.

Let us turn now to the general prohibition in Lev. 18, 6, which in the original reads thus: "No man shall approach to any flesh of his flesh, to uncover nakedness."[1] The English margin gives it, "remainder of his flesh," equivalent to "his other flesh;" which amounts nearly to the same thing. Now there can be no question, that the phrase "flesh of his flesh," means blood-kin; but does it also include affinity, or relationship by marriage?

The Hebrew word שְׁאֵר *she-êr*, here translated *flesh* and implying *kin*, as also in verses 12 and 13, is elsewhere likewise employed in the same sense to individuals, *but only of blood-kindred*. This is evident from the particular specification in each case; see Lev. 20, 19. 21, 2. 25, 49. Num. 27, 11. This last passage in Numbers is especially decisive; for it directs that the inheritance of land, in default of a son and other near heirs to any person, shall go to

[1] Lev. 18, 6 Heb. אִישׁ אִישׁ אֶל־כָּל־שְׁאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ לֹא תִקְרְבוּ לְגַלּוֹת עֶרְוָה. —Sept. *Ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος πρὸς πάντα οἰκεῖα σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ οὐ προσελεύσεται ἀποκαλύψαι ἀσχημοσύνην.*

the next of his *kin*, שְׁאֵר *she-êr*, in his clan or division of the tribe. (Not in his *family*, as in the English version.) But inheritance went only by blood, never by affinity; and in this very instance it passed over all the nearest relatives by affinity to go to a blood-kinsman however remote. For a like reason, the daughters of Zelophehad first, and afterwards every heiress, was required to marry within her own clan or division of the same tribe; Num. 36, 1–10. This Hebrew word, therefore, did not of itself include even the nearest degree of affinity. The Seventy also understood it in the same restricted sense; and have always rendered it by some form of *οἶκος*, *οἰκεῖος*, and the like, implying a relationship in one's own house or family, that is, by blood; and not contracted from abroad by marriage. Further, the addition here of the other Hebrew word בְּשָׂרוֹ *be-sa-ro*, "of his flesh," renders the expression still more specific, and ranks it as equivalent to "flesh of his own flesh."

But, it is said, this expression is not only used of those who are truly connected by ties of blood; but is likewise sometimes applied to the relationship of those who are merely of the same tribe; and further also to the relationship in which any one man stands to any other man. 2 Sam. 19, 12. Is. 58, 7. It is hence inferred, that "a word thus comprehensive cannot be tied down to indicate exclusively the near connexion between blood-relations. To say the least, it may include any relationship in which one man can stand to another. What it does mean in any particular case must be decided by the context."

To this last position all must assent. But in the objection which precedes, so far as it has any application to the point in question, there seems to be a fallacy. That a word is sometimes figuratively used in a wider and more general sense, surely does not imply that the same word may not have its own fixed and definite meaning, which is not to be departed from unless the context requires it. Thus the term *brother*, than which no word in any language is in itself more definite and limited, is yet employed in the Old Testament to express the relationship of any blood-kindred, and also one of the same tribe, a fellow-countryman, an ally, a friend, and even a fellow-man. See the Lexicons. Yet, probably, no one will contend that for this reason the word "brother," in Lev. 18,

16, ought to be taken in any other than its primitive and most limited sense; and the very same principle must hold true in respect to the phrase "flesh of his flesh," in v. 6, unless there is something in the context to the contrary.

Philology, then, confines the prohibition in v. 6, in itself considered, to *blood*-kindred. But how is this borne out by the subsequent verses? I agree with Dr. Hodge, that "all that follows is only the amplification and application of this general rule, showing what degrees of nearness of kin constitute a bar to marriage." These verses are obviously not a *definition* of what is meant by "flesh of his flesh;" but rather contain specifications intended to cover the chief ground, and to remove doubt in cases where doubt could possibly exist. Hence, where there could be no possible doubt as to the meaning of "flesh of his flesh," no specification is given; as in the case of one's own daughter. In this way this otherwise inexplicable omission is readily accounted for. But in cases where doubt could arise, or where there could be any possible evasion, a specific prohibition is subjoined. Hence the wife's daughter is expressly prohibited in verse 17; because, although no one can doubt, that my own daughter is "flesh of my flesh," yet it might be a possible question, whether my step-daughter is to be so regarded.

In the subsequent verses, from v. 7 to 17 inclusive, which comprise all the specifications except the one mainly in dispute, we shall (I think) find the distinction above pointed out, between affinity through blood and affinity by my own marriage.

Verse 7.—The Hebrew reads thus: "The nakedness of thy father, and (i. e. even) the nakedness of thy mother, thou shalt not uncover."[1] That this is the true rendering is obvious from the reason assigned, "she is thy mother;" showing that only the mother is meant. Compare also v. 8. This of course is blood-kindred; and the parallel by affinity would be the wife's mother. But is she also included in this prohibition? If so, why then the specific prohibition in verse 17?

Verse 8.—Step-mother; affinity through blood. Compare Lev. 20, 11. Parallel, by affinity through marriage, is the wife's step-mother.

[1] Lev. 18, 7 Heb. עֶרְוַת אָבִיךָ וְעֶרְוַת אִמְּךָ לֹא תְגַלֵּה אִמְּךָ הִוא וגו׳.

Verse 9.—Sister; blood. Parallel, by affinity, is the wife's sister; the very point in dispute.

Verse 10.—Grand-daughter; blood. Parallel by affinity, the wife's grand-daughter, specially prohibited in verse 17.

Verse 11.—Half-sister; blood. See under verse 9.

Verse 12.—Father's sister; blood. Compare Lev. 20, 19. Parallel, wife's father's sister.

Verse 13.—Mother's sister; blood. Compare Lev. 20, 19. Parallel, wife's mother's sister.

Verse 14.—Paternal uncle's wife; affinity through blood. Compare Lev. 20, 20. Parallel, wife's paternal uncle's wife.

Verse 15.—Son's wife; affinity through blood. Parallel, wife's son's wife.

Verse 16.—Brother's wife; affinity through blood. Compare Lev. 20, 21. Parallel, not the wife's sister, as is often assumed; but the wife's brother's wife. That is, if affinity be the same with consanguinity, my wife's sister is as my own sister; my wife's brother as my own brother; and therefore, my wife's brother's wife, as my own brother's wife. But is this a forbidden degree? Had the Rev. Mr. McQueen, instead of marrying his wife's sister, married her brother's widow, would it have been thought necessary to prefer charges against him?

Thus far the lawgiver has reference specifically to degrees of kindred by blood, and to those resulting from the marriage of my blood-relatives. He now turns to those arising out of my own marriage.

Verse 17.—Wife's mother, daughter, and grand-daughter; that is, the blood-kin of my wife's own body. Compare Lev. 20, 14.

We have then *six* degrees of blood-relationship specifically prohibited, viz. mother, sister, half-sister, grand-daughter, father's sister, mother's sister. The omission here of the daughter is striking; but is to be accounted for as above. We have also *four* forbidden degrees of affinity through blood; that is, the wives of four near blood-relatives, viz. father's wife (step-mother), paternal uncle's wife, brother's wife, son's wife. The ground of the prohibition is here expressly given, viz. that they belong to my blood, and their nakedness is the nakedness of my blood-relatives, father, uncle, brother, son. There are also *three* degrees of the wife's

kindred forbidden, (omitting verse 18 for the present,) viz. her mother, daughter, and grand-daughter; and the reason assigned is, that they are her "flesh," the *blood* or fruit of her own body, with whom I have cohabited. There is here no allusion to her *collateral* blood-kin of any degree; but only to that blood ascending and descending, of which her own body is the centre,—that of which her body is the fruit, and that which is the fruit of her body.

Now in all these specifications, we may trace one general principle, forming the rule of prohibition on the ground of blood, under three aspects. Thus, I may not cohabit:

1. With my own female blood-kin in the *six* nearest degrees, besides my own daughter.

2. With that with which my own male blood-kin of the *four* nearest degrees has cohabited; because it is the nakedness of my own blood.

3. With the *three* nearest of the blood of my wife's own body, with whom I myself have cohabited; because it is through her my own nakedness, as in the case of my own grand-daughter, v. 10.

In these last two series of prohibitions, I find just the *amplification* of the general rule spoken of above; and nothing more. I may not only not uncover the nakedness of my nearest female blood-kin, but also not that of my nearest male blood-kin, nor that of the blood and fruit of my wife's own body. Through her union with me in marriage, her body has become to me as my own body; *and the fruit of it, whether arising from my cohabitation or otherwise, is to me as my own blood.*

Of the preceding prohibitions, the first two categories all bear, in their full force, upon the man who has never yet been married; and therefore they can have had primarily and *per se* no reference to the question concerning a wife's sister.

But the man has married; his wife has died, or he has divorced her; and he desires to marry again. The former prohibitions as to blood and blood-affinity all remain; but his marriage has brought him into a new affinity with the female relations of his late wife. Do the same prohibitions pass over now upon and include all these new relatives? He consults the law, and finds himself forbidden to marry either his late wife's mother, or her daughter, or her grand-daughter. Is there any other prohibition speci-

fied? None, unless it be, that he might not marry the sister of his wife during the life-time of the latter. What then is there, to cause him to look further? What is there in the law itself, or in the nature of the case, to compel him to apply all the former prohibitions to the like degrees of his wife's kindred? None of them are comprised in the letter of the law; and if any of them were meant to be included in the spirit of those prohibitions, then certainly her *mother*, *daughter*, *and grand-daughter*, must have been so. As to just these three, there could have been the least possible doubt of all. Why then are these thus separately and distinctly prohibited; while those more distant, and of course more doubtful, are left without the slightest specification? This is certainly not in accordance with the usual distinctness and explicitness of laws, whether divine or human.

We have then *ten* degrees of blood and blood-affinity prohibited, by laws which were binding on all Hebrew men, whether once married or not. On the other hand we have but *three* or at most *four* prohibitions referring at all to the kindred of a former wife, or affinity by marriage. And when now we regard the uncertain and depressed condition of the Hebrew wife, and the high account made of blood kindred in all the civil and social relations of the Hebrew people, these considerations and this inequality seem sufficient to render the position at least doubtful, "that affinity as well as consanguinity, is included in the general prohibition."

We arrive at the same conclusion from another point of view. If, as is often asserted, affinity by marriage be the same with blood in the eye of the divine law, where is the limit to be drawn? Must we stop short at the express specifications, from which alone the principle is inferred? If we go beyond them in one instance, must we not also in another? or if we feel ourselves restricted by them in one case, may we lawfully step over them in another? Thus, if it be argued, that because a brother's wife is forbidden, therefore also a wife's sister is forbidden; why must we not likewise apply the same principle of inference throughout? If my wife's sister be to me in this respect as my own sister by blood, then why does she not also stand in just the same relation to my own brother? Yet I am not aware, that a charge of wrong is ever brought, where two brothers intermarry with two sisters.

Let us look now at the bearing of verse 18 upon the question. It reads as follows in the original:

Verse 18.—"And a wife to her sister thou shalt not take, to vex, to uncover her nakedness, besides her, in her life-time."[1]

Now, taking this verse in its obvious sense, as it here stands, nothing could be more appropriate, either to the usage of the words or to the logical connexion. The words here translated *wife* and *sister*, are the same which are so used and so translated in the preceding verses, viz. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. And when the lawgiver had turned, in verse 17, to speak of the wife's relatives, her mother, daughter, and grand-daughter, with whom marriage was to be forbidden, it certainly would be exceedingly natural for him to proceed, in verse 18, to speak of the wife's sister, with whom the probability of a marriage *could not but be tenfold greater*. So strong indeed is here the fitness of the obvious sense, both in respect to the words and the connexion, that leading modern commentators on the original text, (Grotius, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and others,) do not hesitate to adopt it even on these grounds alone.

If this view be admitted, this verse, as most agree, would seem to settle the question. It does not prohibit, but merely regulates, the marriage of a wife's sister; forbidding only that it should take place during the life-time of the former. It precludes the occurrence of cases like that of Jacob with Leah and Rachel.

But, it is said, this phrase, "a wife to her sister," as also the similar one, "a man to his brother," is a Hebrew idiom, meaning simply "one to another;" and therefore verse 18 ought to be thus rendered: "And one [wife] to another thou shalt not take." Thus this verse, it is affirmed, has no bearing on the question, and is merely a prohibition of polygamy.

Against the adoption of this view, there would seem to be two difficulties; one historical, the other philological.

The historical difficulty may be thus stated. If the real meaning of this verse be to forbid generally the taking of one wife to another; then here is a distinct and specific prohibition of polygamy. We should expect, therefore, to find the cus-

[1] Lev. 18, 18 Heb. וְאִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ לֹא תִקַּח לִצְרֹר לְגַלּוֹת עֶרְוָתָהּ עָלֶיהָ בְּחַיֶּיהָ.—Sept. *Γυναῖκα ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς οὐ λήψῃ ἀντίζηλον ἀποκαλύψαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔτι ζώσης αὐτῆς.*

tom of polygamy, which obtained among the patriarchs and before the Mosaic law, afterwards at an end, and no more admissible in practice than marriage with one's own mother or sister; like which, and with equal positiveness, according to this view, it was here forbidden. But history informs us, that polygamy continued to exist, not only in the case of David and Solomon and other Jewish kings, but likewise among more private individuals. See 1 Sam. 1, 2. 2 Sam. 3, 2–5. 12, 8. Judg. 8, 30. 10, 4. 12, 9. 14. 1 Chron. 3, 1–3. 8, 8. In 2 Chron. 24, 3 also, Jehoida the high-priest, a man of God, and the authoritative interpreter of the laws of Moses, is said to have taken two wives for the young king Joash, whom he himself had placed on the throne of his fathers. From all this it follows, that the Hebrews either did not understand Levit. 18, 18, as forbidding polygamy; or else some of their most pious men lived in open and known violation of the precept. This last we have no right to assume; for although single instances of transgression are often related, yet it is nowhere said of any good man, that he lived in the habitual disregard of any known law.

But further, the Mosaic laws, if they did not sanction polygamy, did at least in some instances regulate it, as being a former custom; just as in other cases of old customs, which the lawgiver did not see fit expressly to prohibit. Thus in Deut. 21, 15–17, it is provided, that "if a man have two wives, one beloved and one hated, and they have borne him children, and the first-born be hers that was hated," then he shall in no case be postponed to the son of the beloved. See too Exod. 21, 10. It would thus appear that polygamy, like the ancient custom of blood-revenge, was not intended to be directly forbidden by Moses; but was hedged in by so many indirect restrictions, as ultimately to die out of itself.

But, it has been said, that "the laws of Moses were in other cases often disregarded;" and the case of marriage and divorce is brought forward as an instance. This, however, is by no means in point; for although the spirit of the command in Gen. 2, 24 is opposed to the dissolution of the marriage covenant, yet the direct injunction: "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder," was first given by our Lord under the new dispensation; Matt. 19, 6. Nor does Moses, even as expounded by our Saviour, say any thing of the kind; his only positive institution on the subject is the law

of divorce, Deut. 24, 1; nor does he anywhere give a hint that divorce is unlawful. Just so, I must think, is it in respect to polygamy. If not, and if this 18th verse be truly a prohibition of polygamy, then Moses here directly forbids that which he elsewhere regulates, and by so doing tolerates. Have we in Moses any other instance of a like kind? Does he say, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and then regulate adultery? Does he say, "Thou shalt not steal," and then turn about and prescribe, that if thou dost steal, thou shalt do it in such and such a way? Yet this is the principle involved in the reasoning on this point.

The philological difficulty above alluded to, is perhaps not less real. The phrase, "a woman to her sister," does indeed occur no less than eight times elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, in the general meaning "one to another;" but only of inanimate objects in the feminine gender, viz. of the curtains, loops, and tenons of the tabernacle, Exod. 26, 3 bis. 5. 6. 17; and of the wings of the living creatures, Ezek. 1, 9. 23. 3, 13. The like phrase in the masculine, "a man to his brother," occurs in all about twenty times; mostly of men, but also in a few instances of inanimate objects or insects, as Exod. 25, 20. Joel 2, 8. But it is to be remarked, that in every such instance this phrase, whether masculine or feminine, has a reciprocal distributive power; that is, a number of persons or things are said to do or be so and so *one to another*. A plural nominative invariably precedes, connected with a plural verb; and then the action or relation of this verb is by this phrase marked as reciprocal and mutual among the individuals comprised in the plural nominative. Thus, "the children of Israel said one to another," Exod. 14, 15, and often. So Abraham and Lot "separated themselves one from the other," Gen. 13, 11. Neh. 4, 19. Isa. 9, 19 in the Heb. "they shall not spare one another." Hagg. 2, 22 "And the horses and their riders shall come down, each by the sword of the other," i. e. they shall destroy one another. So of the other examples. The only apparent exception as to form, is Ezek. 38, 21, "every man's sword shall be against his brother;" but here too the idea of multitude and of reciprocal and mutual action among the individuals, is fully preserved.—This, then, is the idiom; and to this idiom the passage in Levit. 18, 18 has no relation. There is nothing distributive nor reciprocal implied in it·

The phrase here refers only to the object of the verb; upon which object no trace of mutual or reciprocal action passes over. To bring it in any degree under the idiom, it should at least read thus: "Wives (נָשִׁים *na-shîm*) one to another thou shalt not take;" and even then it would be unlike any other instance. But further, the suffixes attached in the singular to the subsequent words, (*her* nakedness, besides *her*, in *her* life-time,) show decisively, that even such a solution is inadmissible; and these of themselves limit the words to two specific individuals, (who have here no mutual action one upon the other,) in the same literal sense as in the preceding verses, viz. *a wife to her sister.*

It may also be remarked, as a fact of no little importance in this connexion, that all the ancient versions adhere likewise to this literal and obvious interpretation; as the Chaldee Targum of Onkelos, made about the time of our Saviour, and the Samaritan and Syriac versions made not long afterwards. As to these, it might indeed be replied, that they merely follow the cognate Hebrew idiom, and therefore decide nothing. But the oldest version of all, made two or three centuries before Christ, and into a language not cognate, I mean the Septuagint, is certainly not liable to any such reply, and is nevertheless the most decisive of all. This version, in all the other eight instances of the feminine phrase, renders it "one to another," by means of some form of the Greek words ἕτερος *another*, or ἀλληλῶν *one another*; but here in Levit. 18, 18, it gives to the same phrase the literal sense, "A wife to her sister thou shalt not take," γυναῖκα ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς οὐ λήψῃ. It would be vain in this case to say, either that the Seventy had before them a different text; or that they did not understand their own language and its idioms; or that they were unacquainted with the manner in which their fathers interpreted the Mosaic law.

It appears to me, therefore, that we are compelled, by all sound laws of interpretation, to understand this 18th verse of a wife's sister, and of her alone.

There are however some, who, admitting that this verse can relate only to the wife's sister, yet give to the latter clause of it a different interpretation, and suppose that "it forbids taking one sister to another to vex her *all her life*, or as long as she lives. In other words, the clause 'her life-time' is referred to the nearer, and not to

the more remote verb. It is then not a prohibition, but a restriction, of polygamy. And in this view," it is said, "the passage does not contain the slightest intimation, that one sister may be married after the death of the other." This interpretation was apparently first proposed by Calvin in his Commentary on this portion of Leviticus; and has been followed by Patrick, Gill, and a few other commentators. It proposes a different grammatical construction, viz. to refer the clause *her life-time* "to the nearer and not to the more remote verb." But, if this principle be correct, then there is a still nearer verb, and the clause should be referred rather to that, so that it would read: "to uncover her nakedness all her life long,"—a meaning which the supporters of this view would hardly admit, but which necessarily follows from the principle. Besides, when there are here three verbs in immediate succession, by what law of grammar or syntax can this clause be made to refer to the *middle* one alone, rather than to either of the other two? The truth is, the meaning of the Hebrew is here perfectly simple and obvious; as is also the literal English version: "And a wife to her sister thou shalt not take, to vex, to uncover her nakedness, besides her, in her life-time." Here the first verb prohibits; the second assigns a reason; the third defines; and the words *in her life-time* limit the prohibition: A wife to her sister thou shalt not take, *to be a source* of rivalry and jealousy, *so as* to do to her the duty of marriage, besides the wife, in the wife's life-time.

In maintaining that this is the true sense and application of the clause in question, we have again the unquestionable authority of the same ancient version. The Chaldee and Syriac versions retain the very words and construction of the Hebrew, and therefore decide nothing; but the Septuagint translates the Hebrew בְּחַיֶּיהָ by the genitive absolute with a particle, *ἔτι ζώσης αὐτῆς she* [the wife] *being yet alive.* This is a testimony that can neither be gainsayed nor evaded.

But admitting for the moment the proposed reading to be correct, how does the matter stand? It is averred, that "in this view the passage does not contain the slightest intimation, that the one sister may be married after the death of the other." But does it "contain the slighest intimation" that she may *not* thus be married? The prohibition, as is acknowledged, is founded on the

fact, that the marriage of two sisters together would be a source of rivalry and jealousy. But does this reason exist where the one sister is married only after the death of the other? In such a case, the very ground of the prohibition falls away; and the old law-maxim applies in its full force: *Cessante ratione cessat lex.* The prohibition in the law was made to counteract a particular evil; but where that evil does not and cannot exist, the law can have no application.

In either case, therefore, whether we deny or admit the interpretation in question, this 18th verse appears to have no bearing to prohibit the marriage of a wife's sister after the wife's decease.

If the positions of the preceding discussion have been correctly taken, and if I have succeeded in bringing them out clearly to view, the following would seem to be the main points of the Biblical argument.

1. That the tenure of marriage among the Hebrews was uncertain and precarious; and the Hebrew wife was little more than the servant of her husband.

2. That hence there was among the Hebrews a strong distinction between consanguinity and affinity by marriage; the former being permanent and sacred, the latter comparatively temporary and vague.

3. That therefore laws prohibiting marriage with a female relative by blood, did not necessarily and *per se* prohibit marriage with the wife's relatives of the like degree.

4. That consequently, in respect to affinity by marriage, the Hebrew was bound only so far as there were specific prohibitions, viz. in the case of the mother, daughter, and grand-daughter of his wife.

5. That there was no such prohibition in the case of a wife's sister; except during the life-time of the wife.

These positions being sustained, it would follow that the decision of the General Assembly was not required by the word of God.

With these considerations, as it seems to me, the Biblical argument may be regarded as completed. Minor collateral questions may indeed be raised; but all the great points which can well be brought into discussion, lie within the limits here drawn. The

view above taken obviates the necessity of here pursuing, as is sometimes done, the inquiries: Whether the prohibitions of this passage in Leviticus do or do not relate to marriage; Whether the term wife can here mean also widow; and further, Whether the Mosaic law is still binding upon Christians.

But there are some, who, while they hold that the Scriptures laid no prohibition upon the *Hebrew* in respect to the marriage of a wife's sister after the death of the wife, suppose nevertheless that the ground and spirit of the Mosaic prohibitions, impose upon *Christians* the obligation to abstain from such marriages.[1] It is assumed that the Jewish family constitution was the foundation and rule of all the Mosaic prohibitions in respect to marriage; according to which constitution the father was the patriarch or head of a large family, consisting of the sons with their wives and children, the unmarried daughters, and the necessary domestics and slaves. It is argued, that because in such a family the intercourse of a nephew with the wife of his paternal uncle, and that of a brother with the wife of his brother, was far more frequent and intimate, than that of the nephew with the wife of his maternal uncle, or that of the husband with the sister of his wife; therefore, a paternal uncle's wife and a brother's wife are specified in the prohibition; while a maternal uncle's wife and a wife's sister are not thus specified. From this arrangement is drawn the conclusion, "that it is the law of God that a man should not marry any of his οἰκεῖαι, that is, the members of his own family, those who are accustomed to associate with him on the terms of domestic intimacy." And on the strength of this principle the ground is taken, that even did the Scriptures "assert that the marriage of a man with the sister of his deceased wife was lawful for the Jews, it would not be the less unlawful for us."

This would seem to be, at least, an abandonment of the whole ground of Biblical argument urged before the General Assembly, and on which in a great degree that Assembly founded its decision. But is this principle in itself more tenable? Or, if admitted in this case, would it not necessarily become of wider application, and so refute itself? The argument is, that although this rule might

[1] The substance of the following remarks appeared in the New-York Observer of February 4th 1843.

not include and so prohibit the wife's sister under the form of the Jewish household; yet it does include and so prohibit her under the forms of social and family life to which we are now accustomed; because, although the wife's sister did not naturally and usually form a part of a Jewish family, yet she is often in our day a member of her sister's household, associating on terms of domestic intimacy with the sister's husband and others of his kindred. The family constitution is changed; but the principle of the law remaining, its application, it is said, should now be extended more widely than under the Jewish dispensation.

Granting for the moment this position to be true, and sufficient to sustain the prohibition of marriage with a wife's sister; it may be worth inquiry, whether the same principle is not applicable to other cases of kindred. For example, it is not at all unfrequent, that a husband's brother becomes a member of his household; and then he stands on a footing of family intercourse and domestic intimacy with the wife and with her sister; especially if the latter, as is not seldom the case, is also an inmate of the same family. He calls her *sister*, and she calls him *brother;* and their intercourse would naturally give rise to brotherly and sisterly affection.

Again, how often does the father of a family take home a nephew or a niece to bring up in his own house and with his own children? They grow up together from childhood to manhood or womanhood; and although they may not call each other brother and sister, because that is not the precise degree of blood existing between them, yet they stand towards each other in the relation of brother and sister; and in this case, too, their intercourse naturally gives rise to brotherly and sisterly affection.

The instances also are not rare, in which parents in like manner adopt children who are not of their kindred, and bring them up as members of their own family. Here they stand in the same relation as before; and there is often little, if any, distinction between the affection and conduct of those who are brothers and sisters by blood, and of those who are not.

Nor is it less frequent, perhaps, that a female acquaintance of the wife becomes a member of the household, and continues for years to be the cherished inmate and friend of the family. Now should the wife die, how could it be lawful for the husband, ac-

cording to the principle in question, to marry the person so situated, although perhaps standing in no degree of kindred or affinity with his former wife?

Indeed, in all these instances, the persons are *οἰκεῖοι*, members of the same family, and accustomed to associate together on the terms of domestic intercourse. If then the proposed principle be good to shut out marriage with a wife's sister, it is difficult to see how marriage can ever be lawful between any of the classes of persons thus situated.

The sum of the matter seems then to be, that those who adopt this view, rest the whole main question, not upon any direct command or language of the word of God, but upon a principle supposed to be deduced from the general character of the divine law; a principle, which by their own admission was not applicable to the people to whom that law was given; and which too, if now admitted, cannot be restricted to the case of a wife's sister, but must include and prohibit also many marriages, as to the lawfulness of which no Christian, not even one of themselves, has ever entertained a doubt.

IV.

THE DOCTRINE OF EXPEDIENCY.

By Francis Wayland, D.D. President of Brown University.

Among the consequences which flow from the rapid development of the democratic principle, no one has failed to observe the increased energy which it has conferred upon public opinion. Great and increasing power is always an object of apprehension, especially so, when we can scarcely divine the direction in which it will be exerted. Every man is conscious that he can accomplish little, and may suffer much, by resisting, single-handed, the *Leviathan* of Hobbes. Hence, he too frequently hastens to make his peace with a despot, which will be pacified by nothing but submission; and, having surrendered up opinion, belief, nay, common sense itself,

at the feet of this mysterious divinity, he becomes, in the language of one of our philosophers, absorbed into its essence, and immediately unites in hunting down to the death, the most distant living thing that refuses obedience to the universal will.

Foreigners have frequently remarked, that this blind devotion to the popular voice, this sad want of mental and moral independence, is more prevalent in this country than in any other. It is natural that it should be so. In no country that ever existed, has the whole power of society been so directly in the hands of the whole population. In no other country, probably, has property been so equally divided; never has so large a portion fallen to the lot of every individual; never was the ability to read and write so universally diffused; and nowhere are the means of rapidly communicating knowledge to every portion of the community, so universally enjoyed. In other countries of great extent, an agitation at the centre has commonly died away before its wave has reached the circumference. But here, the whole surface, from centre to circumference, is in motion at once. The whole power, legislative and executive, and frequently judicial, is in the gift of the people. Public opinion is speedily aroused, either for good or for evil; and it requires but little skill in a professed agitator, to direct the whole storm of its violence upon the head of any unfortunate wight, who will not add to its clamour and do homage to its infallibility. It is thus liable to become a terrific engine in the hands of unprincipled and ambitious men. What was intended by our constitution to be the terror of vice, may be the persecutor of virtue. What was designed for the purpose of abasing falsehood and annihilating folly, may become the direct enemy of truth, and the chosen instrument of thoughtless, daring presumption.

In these remarks, however, we intend to utter no denunciation against the democratic principle; nor would we bewail the energy which recent events have conferred upon public opinion. We believe, fully, in the government of the people; but we believe also, that the people, like any other sovereign, must be restricted in the exercise of its prerogative within the limits of constitutional law. Without such restriction, there can be no government but that of brute force; and soon there will be no society. We duly estimate

the value of our energetic public opinion; but we believe that public opinion is neither omniscient, infallible, nor all holy. The opinions of mankind, when they are expressed after due deliberation and a full view of the merits of the case, are rarely erroneous. When they are expressed in the haste of popular excitement, on the motion of interested and headlong leaders, they are almost never correct. When men at home, in the solitude of the closet, or amidst the bland influences of the fireside, come, unbiassed by external influences, to the same conclusion, their conclusions deserve, and they generally receive, universal respect. But when men assemble to decide all questions on the instant, by a show of hands; when they lend their ear to addresses to the passions, instead of appeals to the reason and the conscience; when they merge the character of citizen, of father and husband, in that of partisan, political, or religious; their decisions are commonly as valueless as the breath that utters them.

This form of public opinion is always in the market, and it may be had in any quantity at the most reasonable rate. The cost of the "opinions of the press," as they are denominated by book agents, is well understood by every enterprising publisher; and he has no difficulty in securing them to any amount that may be desired. The public opinion by which political movements are affected, costs more time, and labour, and money; but if these are not wanting, the article can be manufactured in any quantity that the occasion may demand. A veteran politician, lately deceased, used to designate with accuracy the sum which was necessary to carry an election in one of our largest cities; and we believe he was rarely at fault in his estimates. At the present moment, you have only to collect a mass of men at a barbecue, or an ox roasting, or a general feast; harangue them or not, as you may find convenient; sing a few political melodies; and they will decide in any manner you wish, on any question of state policy, or any point of constitutional law. In a year's time, call the same assembly together by the same means, and they will reverse their decision as readily as they pronounced it, caring as little about the matter in the one case as in the other. Their leaders, however, tell them that they are infallible; and who ever took the trouble to prove himself in the wrong? All this every one sees, and every one knows. Yet such is the ten-

dency of men to be influenced by the present, and awed by the arrogant, that it is peculiarly this sort of public opinion which withholds a multitude of well-meaning men from expressing, and acting upon, the decisions of their own deliberate judgment; and, not unfrequently, involves them deeply in courses of conduct which both reason and conscience emphatically condemn.

It could scarcely be expected that the Christian church should escape the effects of this wide spread and ceaseless agitation. Religion is a social principle. It is one of the strongest and most universal ligaments by which men can be bound together. This is clearly exemplified in the firmness with which the members of a Christian sect, in prosperity or adversity, in honour and dishonour, cling to each other. Politicians, in all governments, have had special reference to this obvious fact. They frequently find it desirable to allure to their particular party the members of a sect. To accomplish this object, they commonly, by means of sectarian leaders, endeavour to associate their particular views with the interest, the feelings, the passions, or the doctrines of that body of Christians, whom they desire to use in the particular emergency. If this can be done, and the impulse be once given, the whole power of factitious public opinion is set at work in the church, and thus the mass is moved to the right hand or the left, as the will of the manager shall direct.

A similar course has been generally pursued, for the purpose of impelling forward the great agitations which have of late moved over the face of society. Very few men are willing, even when labouring to promote a good cause, to allow it to stand or fall on its own merits. They lack patient perseverance. They suppose that what cannot be done immediately, cannot be done at all. They forget that what is founded in truth, and righteousness, and benevolence, if attempted wisely, must inevitably succeed. In their ardour to accomplish one form of good, they do not perceive that there are other forms of good which must also be accomplished; and that each one has its own unchangeable and inviolable claims. Hence, they determine that every mode of civil and social organization, the constitutions of government, the Christian church itself, must become an instrument for the accomplishment of their purposes. Their designs must be perfected, whatever may

be the cost to every other interest, civil, social, or religious. And if they can only excite sufficient popular opinion to give weight to their decision, they will cheerfully undermine the temple of God itself, in order to procure the materials for the erection of the edifice, of which they have laid the foundations. Were it necessary to specify, it would be easy to allude to a multitude of cases in which all this has been, over and over again, attempted; and to not a few, in which the attempt has been well nigh successful.

It is by no means uncommon for the fanatic and the politician to unite their forces in an attack upon the Christian church. The former agitates, until he has combined under his banner a small, but energetic and well compacted, party. As soon as their number is sufficiently large to be of any importance at the ballot box, he forms a union with the politician. The accession which he thus makes, is, however, too powerful and too well skilled in diplomacy, to be under his control. His success is, therefore, in the end, fatal to himself; and the fanatic and his party are liable to be lost in the political association in which they have been merged. They must soon be reduced to nothing, unless they can be useful as tools; and thus they most commonly become the very instruments which the politician employs, for the purpose of ensnaring the church. Hence, unless the church be true to herself, she is, at the present moment, both in England and America, in danger of becoming the mouthpiece of unprincipled and infidel demagogues; and thus, out of the perfect bond of charity itself, will be forged the chains, by which she will be manacled to the car of a ruthless and infuriated popular despotism.

Now, whilst these and a thousand other agencies are at work to stifle individual opinion, drown the voice of deliberate judgment, and place in jeopardy the purity, the peace, nay, the very existence of the Christian church, what line of conduct does it become an honest and true man to pursue? It would, certainly, seem at first blush, that the wider the prevalence of error, the more imperative is the obligation imposed upon him to hold forth the truth; that the more menacing the attacks upon the purity and the peace of the church, the more clearly defined becomes his duty to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. In confirmation of such a course, many suggestions will naturally arise. It is

obvious that truth must ultimately triumph, whether to-day one hand, or one thousand, be lifted in her defence; and that he who is now riding on the topmost wave of popular opinion, may very soon be cast a useless fragment on the shore, ashamed of nothing so much as his present elevation. It is evident that this all-powerful public opinion, when not founded in truth and justice, is by no means so terrible a thing as might at first be supposed. Men who make the most noise in a universal clamour, are not half so much in earnest as they profess to be. They have merely espoused a popular cause, for the purpose of wielding the political influence which it may embody, and they mean to abandon it, as soon as it shall have ministered sufficiently to their schemes of selfish aggrandizement. Again, truth is in itself lovely, and it is to be loved for its own sake; and he must be but half acquainted with its worth, who is not willing to undergo whatever inconveniences may arise from honestly and kindly uttering it. Moreover, the opinions of a multitude can never change the nature of right; nor can the goodness of an end sanctify the unholy means which are adopted to promote it. And finally, it will be difficult for a man to find any better friend than truth and uprightness. It is very frequently predicted that a man *will be* ruined, unless he yields to the reckless opinion of the moment. But when do we find that he *has been* ruined, if wisely, and in simplicity of heart, he has, in the fear of God, honestly discharged his duty! Though men are slow to learn it, yet it is strictly true, that "corruption wins not more than honesty." The God above us, is a "God of truth and without iniquity." "He stilleth the noise of the waves and the tumult of the people." He will, in the end, cause truth and the defender of truth to triumph; and hence, relying on his word, we may in the darkest midnight confidently wait for the dawning of the day. That such are the principles of his government, the whole history of man has borne testimony. And in confirmation of it, let any man look around him. Point us to one man who has suffered in person, character, or estate, by adherence to truth and duty, and we will point to thousands who have made shipwreck of all things by basely doing homage to error and wickedness, though backed by the applauding voice of a whole community.

There are others, however, and good men too, who seem to

themselves at liberty to pursue another line of conduct; and who believe, that in so doing, they are interpreting the principles of duty by a broader and clearer light. They suppose that when a question of conduct is to be decided, a much greater variety of circumstances is, in all instances, to be taken into consideration. If, for instance, a doctrine is becoming popular, the question whether I shall aid in giving it currency, is not to be settled simply by the fact that I do or do not believe it. If a course of measures for the accomplishment of a particular end be in vogue, the question whether I shall or shall not pursue it, is not to be settled by my conviction of its innocence or its sin. I am at liberty to determine whether it will certainly prevail, and then, what effect will its prevalence have upon my own condition, my prospects and my influence. I may then regulate my line of conduct by the probable result. If by opposition to the popular voice, I shall lose my influence, (which I am bound to retain for the purpose of doing good,) I am at liberty to save myself, by becoming a party to what I know to be *somewhat* wrong. If the movement be commenced, and I see that I cannot arrest it, why should I not put myself at the head of it, and prevent as much harm, and do as much good, as the circumstances of the case will allow? Somebody will head it, and reap from it advantage, if I do not. Why should not *I* reap this advantage, who wish to use the influence which I may gain, for good, while others might use it for evil? Influence (power) is a sacred trust committed to me by God, and I have no right to peril it in a hopeless case, when by a modification of principle for a holy purpose, I may preserve it, unharmed, for some yet more trying emergency. Such do we believe to be the principles which not a few good men have, at times, adopted; and which they believe to be the dictates of a refined and far-reaching sagacity.

Now, we grant that a man may sometimes lawfully decline to denounce a particular error, or oppose a popular course of measures. Many erroneous opinions may, without dereliction of duty, be left to correct themselves. Many a course of conduct, though at present popular, will soon be frowned into contempt by the returning good sense of an intelligent community. All this may be safely allowed. We are willing to concede a wide latitude to private judgment, in deciding upon the line of conduct which such a case

demands. Here a man simply stands aside, and without committing himself in any way, suffers folly and error to make themselves apparent. It, however, becomes a very different affair, when a man assists in the promulgation of error, or becomes a party to transactions which his conscience decides to be wrong. The question, then, is, Whether any combination of circumstances, any consideration of results, any argument from expediency, will justify a deviation from rectitude, or will warrant me in saying what I do not believe, or doing what I know to have been forbidden.

When the question is placed in this simple light, natural conscience and Christian revelation can return to it but one answer. The former affirms that the moral law is the supreme arbiter of human conduct, and that to it every precept of expediency must bow down in homage; the latter declares that if we 'do evil that good may come, our damnation is just.' Every one must be aware, that to allow men to modify the rules of moral conduct, so as to suit their own views of expediency, is to abolish moral distinctions altogether; that every crime, at the moment of its commission, seems to the perpetrator expedient; and that, hence, if this rule be once adopted, we must allow, that whatever a man believes to be for his present interest, is right. And hence, it must appear universally true, that no calculation of consequences, either to ourselves or to others, can justify us in propagating what is false, or doing what is wrong. A pastor has no more right to give currency to a lie, for the purpose of increasing his church, or even of converting a world, than a merchant, for the sake of selling a cargo. The one has no more right to pursue measures, whether new or old, which his conscience condemns, for the sake of holding fast to his living, than the other would have to do the same wickedness on the exchange, for the sake of raising the price of stocks. We have no more right to slander good men, or to uphold bad men, in order to advance a revival of religion, than a revival of infidelity. God requires that they be clean, who bear the vessels of the Lord. He hateth robbery for burnt sacrifice. The truth of God can never abound through my lie unto his glory. And his providence and his word abundantly testify that they, who, in any case, use the weapons of unrighteousness, pierce themselves through with many sorrows, and bring down upon themselves a most direful retribution.

While every one sees that all this is so, if it be presented in the abstract, yet when the pressure of immediate interest becomes sorely urgent, then every man is strongly tempted to swerve a little, from the plain rule of uprightness. The deviation appears but small, while the good to be accomplished is great. It is surely unpleasant to stand aside, dissociated from the multitude, and be made the target for every shaft of public opinion. Abdiel, walking forth alone from the ranks of the rebel angels, is a noble conception in poetry:

> "So spake the seraph Abdiel, faithful found
> Among the faithless, faithful only he;
> Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
> Unshaken, unseduc'd, unterrified,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
> Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
> To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
> Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
> Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
> Superior;"—

but when we are called to follow his example, there are, too frequently, great misgivings. We are apt to think that a *slight* concession can do but *little* harm, and thus become a party, almost unwittingly, to what we disapprove. This first concession is, however, fatal. We must then submit to absolute dictation, or be branded with the disgrace of treachery. We only meant to put on the yoke; but we find that we must also draw in the harness, submit quietly to the lash, and bear without flinching the prickings of the goad. Thus all self-respect is lost, and a good man is, too often, seen the contemptible instrument of faction and disorder, if not of positive wickedness.

But this is not the only form of temptation. We are much mistaken if we have not discovered among men, who seem, perhaps, unusually devout, a disposition to modify the law of God, in order to accomplish their own purposes. They will lay down the precept very distinctly for others; but when they apply it to themselves, they seem to have discovered a principle of conduct which allows them to keep it *spiritually*, while they pay little regard to it in practice. They think that they have ascertained the *object* of the law, and if they suppose that they can accomplish this object, by doing a different thing from that which the law enacts, they may—if it seem good unto themselves—do what the law has positively

forbidden. To take a familiar instance. The New Testament, it will be allowed on all hands, has revealed to us a way of salvation, contained in a system of facts, and doctrines, called the Gospel; and it also makes it the duty of every believer, to urge precisely these facts and these doctrines upon the reason and conscience of men, that, so by repentance and faith, they may be saved. But, suppose I assume that the great object of all this, is the salvation of men; and, hence, infer that I may modify my representation of these doctrines in any manner, provided only I accomplish this result. I find that an exaggerated view of one doctrine startles men, the masking of another encourages them, the pressing upon their conscience a new test of sincerity excites them. The narration of a story of doubtful authenticity adds to the popular impulse; the telling of droll anecdotes collects them together; and the insolent abuse of every one who will not cöoperate with me, arouses indignation, which is easily mistaken for persecution for righteousness' sake; and thus, I may the more readily enlist the sympathies of the thoughtless, and "break through" every thing that does not unite in the work in which I am engaged. Provided, then, I can believe that in this way men can be converted, or if I desire to make an experiment of this kind on the souls of my hearers, all this is right; all is the work of the Lord; and this is really neither more nor less than the preaching of Christ and him crucified. Now, all this has been done in the Christian church; and done on the very ground that is here set forth. But if such be the principles by which we are to be governed, the Bible is really any thing else than a sure word of prophecy. If any one may modify it as he pleases, to accomplish what he believes to be its purposes, where is this modifying process to cease? Why may not I modify the idea of conversion, and say that this also is merely a means to a more general end, which could be accomplished in some better way than by conversion itself; hence, I have no need of any system of revelation, and become a Deist, or a Pantheist, or any thing else. I might easily furnish a multitude of illustrations of the danger of this principle. But I must not delay. Suffice it to say, that if we take the Bible to be a revelation from Heaven, we must treat it as such. We must not impose it as such on others, and then disregard it ourselves. We must take its doctrines, its facts, its precepts, just as they are, and

enforce them upon men just as they have been delivered to us. Acting thus, we are not responsible for the result, for it is in the hands of the Spirit of truth and righteousness. And whether we can improve upon the wisdom or the love of the Holy Ghost, let every one judge for himself.

But against all this it is frequently urged,—and this is the stronghold to which men who feel themselves thus at liberty to interpret the principles of duty, commonly resort,—that their conduct finds its prototype in the conduct of the Apostle Paul. He became "all things to all men," and, thus, he is made the champion of the doctrine of expediency. This is certainly an important consideration. Paul, undoubtedly, understood the genius of that Gospel, of which he was a most intrepid and successful preacher. We are willing, then, here to join issue. We will embrace the doctrine of expediency as taught by the Apostle to the Gentiles. We wish every man would follow so glorious an example. Did the Apostle Paul, then, in any case, either conceal or exaggerate the truth? Did he ever advance error? Does he, in any case, pursue a line of conduct at variance, to use his own language, with "simplicity and godly sincerity," for the sake of his own advantage or the advantage of any cause whatever?

We can return a proper answer to these questions, only by referring to the teachings and conduct of the Apostle. It so happens that he has treated on this subject so frequently, and under so considerable a variety of circumstances, that we can be in no reasonable doubt concerning his opinions. We shall briefly refer to all the most important passages in which St. Paul dwells upon the doctrine of expediency; and then endeavour to infer from them the general principles of conduct, which his writings seem plainly to establish. We would be glad to quote the passages at length, but our limits enforce the necessity of merely giving the scope of his argument.

Let us, then, commence with Romans c. 14. It would seem from this chapter, that the Christians at Rome had been troubled with dissensions, naturally arising out of the opinions which they held previously to their conversion to Christianity. A part having been educated as pagans, had been taught to hold in no respect the precepts of the Mosaic law. Others, by birth Hebrews, had, from infancy, been trained to obey implicitly every one of its ceremonial

observances as a matter of religious duty. The former looked at Christianity by itself, and held themselves bound to obey nothing but the law of Christ; the latter, still holding fast to their accustomed rites, dared not to eat meat at all, lest, by chance, it might have been defiled; and deemed it obligatory on all to observe the sacred days of the Jewish ritual. Hence arose differences of theoretical opinion, and diversity of ecclesiastical practice. When members were to be admitted to the church, these differences were pressed severely upon the candidate; and each party required that the convert, in order to be received, should conform to its own view of this seemingly important question. Let us attend to the decision of the Apostle to the Gentiles, in this matter.

He, first of all, decides, authoritatively, that a difference of this kind is no bar to Christian fellowship. "Receive him whose conviction of duty on these points does not correspond with your own, without a critical inquisition into his conscientious doubts. Suppose there be a difference of opinion in respect to the use of animal and vegetable food. You have no right to make inquiry into this matter, for it bars not his reception with God. God has not established any rule upon this subject; by what right do you establish it? The same is true of the observance of the sacred days of the Mosaic law. If a man choose to keep a day sacred to God, what concern is this of yours? If he see not fit to keep it, God having given no precept on the subject, and he believing that he can otherwise better please God, who shall call him to account? We are all the servants of Christ. We are all obliged to do every thing which *he* has commanded. He, alone, is Lord of the dead and the living, and no one else has a right to impose a law upon his servants. On every question, therefore, which Christ has not decided, we must leave every one to the dictates of his own judgment. And all that can be required is, that every one act according to his own personal convictions of duty."

Having thus settled the principles of Christian liberty, the Apostle, in the latter part of the chapter, v. 13—23, proceeds to enforce the principles of Christian charity. Repeating, what he had said before, that there is now no reason for the distinction between things clean and unclean, since God has made no such distinction, he adds, that this is not, however, the whole of the matter. "Although, so

far as the act itself is concerned, I may lawfully eat one kind of food as innocently as another; yet, if by eating one particular kind of food, I give pain to a brother, or lead him into sin, or render his conscience less susceptible, I offend against the laws of charity. His spiritual welfare is of more consequence than the indulgence of my appetite, and the latter should always be sacrificed to the former. The *eating* of meat cannot recommend me to God, but the *abstaining* from it for the good of a brother, will be a sacrifice acceptable to him. Happy shall we be, if we do not commit sin, in things themselves innocent. Every man, however, must be justified to his own conscience, either in acting or refraining; for, whatsoever we do in violation of our conscience, *whatever is not of faith*, is sin."

Such are the principles laid down by the Apostle, on this subject. They are, as every one must see, eminently wise and pure. In no case does he shun to declare the whole truth. In no case does he mingle truth with error. Called upon to arbitrate between the advocates of these widely different opinions, he explicitly sets forth the law of Christ, without either ambiguity, tergiversation, or obscurity. When the question arises, What is the law of Christ concerning clean and unclean food, he declares, "I *know*, and am *persuaded* of the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself." When again the question arises, how far may I use this liberty, his answer is, "If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died." Here is no withholding of his simple, honest opinion; no bringing in of a decision adapted to this peculiar meridian, intended to offend neither, and leaving both in as great darkness as they were before; but an honest exposition of the law of Christ, on the merits of the case; and therefore suited, not merely to this instance, but to every similar one that may occur, to the end of time.

The next passage that bears upon this subject, is found in 1 Cor. c. 8. 9. 10. Let us proceed to examine these chapters, and endeavour to ascertain whether they throw any light upon our inquiries.

The eighth chapter commences with the inquiry concerning the innocence of eating things offered to idols. The decision here, is the same as in Romans c. 14. The Apostle affirms that, the gods of the heathen mythology being wholly fabulous, we cannot really offer any thing in sacrifice to them. A man, therefore,

fully persuaded of this, might, so far as he himself is concerned, as well eat of meat which had been so offered as any other. But, inasmuch as many men had not this full persuasion, and could not partake of such meat without seeming to themselves to pay homage to impure divinities, here, again, was occasion for the exercise of charity. Although by eating meat offered to idols we contract no guilt ourselves, yet if by so doing we lead others, weak in the faith, to violate their own convictions of duty, we sin against the law of Christian love. Thus by our knowledge our weak brother perishes, for whom Christ died. We thus sin against Christ. "Wherefore," says the Apostle, "if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth." The teaching of this chapter, then, may be summed up in a few words. If, by doing an act which to me is innocent, I am liable to lead a weak brother into sin, I am bound to deny myself, and make the sacrifice of my own convenience to my brethren and to Christ.

In order to enforce this principle of Christian charity, the Apostle proceeds, in chap. 9, to illustrate the extent to which he himself was governed by it, in his own practice. Having alluded to his apostolical character, and hence to the fact that he was of right less under law to his brethren than any other man, he refers to several instances in his own conduct. He had a right to eat such food as he pleased, v. 4; to marry, v. 5; to be supported by the churches among whom he laboured, vs. 6—14. But he declares, "*I* have used none of these things. I have waived my right, in all these respects, and for several reasons.

"First, because I am constrained by necessity to preach the Gospel, and I desire to show my love to Christ by making voluntary sacrifices for the good of others; nay, so far do I carry this principle, that, though free from all men,—being under law only to Christ,—yet I have chosen to put myself under subjection to them all. I have denied myself every indulgence which could create in any mind a prejudice against the truth. I forbear to do what I might lawfully do; I do many things which no one could lawfully require of me. I become all things to all men, that by all means I may save some. I conform to the Jewish law, or I omit it; I submit to any austerities which the weak consciences of my brethren may impose, being, however, always under law to Christ, that is, provided

in nothing I disobey him, that by all means I may minister to their spiritual welfare."

The second reason, vs. 24—27, is of a somewhat different character. The Christian life is here compared to a race. "The prize is of infinite importance. It can only be won by the universal subjection of our desires to the will of Christ. I am therefore determined to allow nothing to stand in the way of my entire consecration to him. This yielding up of my appetites to the cause of Christ is a valuable moral discipline, and therefore I willingly embrace it. Thus I keep my body under, and bring it into subjection, lest, having preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."

The sum of the argument of the Apostle in this chapter, is then briefly this. A Christian is bound to sacrifice his *own personal comforts, enjoyments, and preferences*, to the good of the cause of Christ, to the conversion of souls, and the spiritual prosperity of those who are not as well informed as himself. In so doing, he gives the strongest evidence of his love to Christ, and subjects himself to the most valuable and searching moral discipline.

In chapter 9, the Apostle returns to the subject of idolatry. He seems to fear that in chap. 8, he had not sufficiently borne in mind the danger to which the disciples were exposed, from the fascinations with which the social allurements of Corinth surrounded the worship of idols. He therefore proceeds to guard his brethren against this danger. Granting that an idol was nothing, and that meat was not rendered polluted by being offered in sacrifice to idols, yet a Christian might be exposed to great temptations by intercourse with idolators. He therefore commences by reference to the Israelites. "They bound themselves to obey Moses; and those who proved false to their vows, by disobeying his laws and yielding themselves up to the seductions of idolatry or licentiousness, were punished with a fearful destruction. How much sorer punishment must fall upon us, if we are false to our vows to Christ." But, it might be asked, Can we not be disciples of Christ, and yet indulge in many of the idolatrous practices of our countrymen? The Apostle answers, "By no means. If we partake of the cup of the Lord, we bind ourselves to his service wholly and exclusively. If we offer sacrifice to pagan idols, we consecrate ourselves to them. The two things are utterly incompatible with each other. Ye *cannot* drink

the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils: ye *cannot* be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils. Though, therefore, the taking of a particular kind of food be in itself lawful, yet, if by taking it you are understood by others to deny Christ, or if you thus lead them to believe that these two services are compatible with each other, you commit sin."

What then is the rule which the Apostle lays down? Simply this. "Because you are Christians, you are not called to separate yourselves from all intercourse with your fellow men; nor, because the food offered for sale in the public market is frequently a part of the same animal which has been sacrificed to an idol, are you to starve. You are, however, in no manner to compromise your fidelity to Christ, nor seek to escape persecution by any connexion or participation with idolatry. When therefore you go to market, you may lawfully buy whatever is set before you, without any conscientious scruples. If, again, you are invited to a feast, and your social connexions require you to go, go and eat what is set before you. But if it be said to you, 'This is offered in sacrifice to an idol,' eat not, lest you mislead the other, and cause him to believe that your Christian principles allow you to pay homage to those, whose attributes you know to be those of devils. Bear manfully the reproach of Christ. Testify publicly that you are his disciples, and that you can no longer live as you have lived, following dumb idols and participating in their obscene worship. Be therefore a cause of offence or stumbling to neither Jew nor Gentile, nor to the church of God. Even as I please all men in all things, *not for my own profit*, but the profit of many, that they may be saved."

The principle established here is, I suppose, simply this. There are many practices, innocent in themselves, which those around us may construe into a denial of Christ; from every such practice a Christian is bound to abstain. By adopting any other rule, he will lay a snare for his own soul, and be liable to lead to perdition the souls of others. If any course of conduct be, by common consent, considered a badge of worldliness, or a practical denial of Christ, how lawful soever it may be in itself, a Christian is bound to eschew it. It is, for instance, a harmless matter in itself, to see two or twenty horses running together in a pasture or on a road. But a race-course is an assemblage of gamblers, of profane and licentious men, and

no one can mingle with them without, in some sort, denying his Master, and saying by his conduct, that Christ neither disapproves of this amusement nor of its attendant consequences. A Christian, therefore, cannot be a partaker in such an amusement; and if he be, it is at the peril of his soul and the souls of others.

We see, then, how strongly the Apostle insists upon the duty of sacrificing our own *personal ease* and our own *individual liberty*, for the sake of the weak conscience and the imperfect knowledge of our brethren. We must remember, however, that in every case, he is careful to state the ground of this concession. It is, that either course is in itself innocent; that he who has a proper knowledge of the laws of Christ is so instructed; and that therefore he is at liberty, so far as the act itself is concerned, either to act or refrain from acting; but that, if his brethren are liable to be led astray, he is bound by his love to Christ, (not because of their requiring it,) to pursue such a course as will be without injury to them.

But this concession, itself, was liable to be misunderstood, and thus to lead to an opposite error. This error, Paul was as prompt to correct as the other. His course of conduct, under these circumstances, is clearly set forth in the Epistle to the Galatians, ch. 2 and 4.

It would seem, from this Epistle, that many of the Christian Jews, imperfectly acquainted with the spirit of the Gospel, and specially desirous of escaping the persecution of their brethren, insisted upon obedience to the Mosaic ritual as a matter of moral *obligation*, and enforced their tenets both upon Jews and Gentiles. The result of this measure would clearly be, as the Apostle foresaw, the subversion of Christianity itself; for, if the law is still obligatory, Christ has not fulfilled it; the great part of Christianity is a fable, and Christ has died in vain. As soon as the subject was presented in this light, Paul withdrew his concession; and, with a stern and lofty independence, planted himself upon the ground of simple and unchangeable right. Though he had circumcised Timothy as a matter of concession, Acts 16, 3, yet when such an act would have been considered the acknowledgment of an obligation to obey the Jewish law, "by brethren who desired to bring us into bondage," he promptly refused to circumcise Titus. Innocent concession, at the cost of personal sacrifice, he made without

a murmur. But when that concession would have been the means of introducing error, he voluntarily underwent every form of persecution, rather than to make it.

The same principle governs him in Gal. c. 4 and 5. We have seen that he counselled the Romans to "observe days," that is, the days set apart by the Mosaic ritual for special religious observances, if, by so doing, they might avoid giving offence to their brethren. But now, when this concession would have been perverted into an argument against the Gospel, he severely reproves them for making it. "Ye observe days and months and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." We have referred to the fact that he circumcised Timothy, and that he did not afterwards circumcise Titus. But now, Gal. 5, 2, he adds, "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Under these circumstances, not only does he forbid the concession which he had before recommended, but goes so far as to declare, that if it be thus made, it is made at the peril of the soul.

That he carried out these principles with the most undeviating fidelity, is manifest from his interview with Peter, as we find it related in Gal. 2, 11–21. It seems that the latter Apostle, when in company with the Gentiles, abjured the Mosaic law, and ate with the uncircumcised. But when the Jews arrived amongst them, influenced by personal motives, he relapsed back again into Judaism, and withdrew from his Gentile brethren, thus acknowledging as paramount the claims of the Mosaic law. Neither his fraternal regard for his apostolic brother, nor any regard for his personal feelings, for a moment allowed the Apostle of the Gentiles to pass by such tergiversation without rebuke. He fearlessly confronted him, and set before him, publicly, the consequences of his conduct. "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. When I saw that they *walked not uprightly*, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter, *before them all*, If thou being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We, who are Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ,

we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law. But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves are found sinners, (that is, guilty in not obeying the Mosaic ritual,) is therefore Christ the minister of sin?" Such was the reproof which an Apostle administered to one who "seemed to be a pillar," when the latter, from fear of personal inconvenience, made a concession to the Jews, by which a fundamental doctrine of the Gospel was in danger of being impugned.

The only case which remains to be considered, is that recorded in Acts 21, 20–26. It may be said, that, in this instance at least, the Apostle swerved from his principles, and for the sake of gaining proselytes, violated the rule which in other places he had prescribed; that, in order to conciliate the Jews, he professed an obedience to that Mosaic ritual which, in other places, he declared to have been done away. We think that a fair consideration of the passage, will show that his conduct here also is without reproach.

What was the question at issue? It had been said that he taught the Jews which were among the Gentiles, not to circumcise their children nor to walk after their customs. Now, what were the facts? Did he really teach thus? Plainly not. He himself, among the Jews, kept the law and advised others to keep it, in every case, where the keeping of it did not imply an apostasy from Christianity. In order, therefore, to avoid grieving the feelings of his weaker brethren, and to testify, publicly, that he treated that law with respect, and taught others to do the same, he purified himself and yielded obedience to the temple service. Was that which was meant to be asserted by this act true? Clearly so; and it was so understood by all the brethren who advised him to perform it. Did his appearance at the temple, properly and fairly interpreted, do any thing more than testify to the Jews who were at Jerusalem, that on all proper occasions, he treated the Mosaic ritual with becoming respect? This is what he was asked to do, and this he did. It was understood by both parties at Jerusalem, and was doubtless received by both of them, as it was intended. Can any one believe, after what Paul had publicly written to the Galatians, after having suffered persecution to the uttermost, for

preaching the doctrine of justification by faith without the deeds of the law, while bearing about in his body the scars which he had received for the Lord Jesus, that he would now go up to the temple and acknowledge the moral obligatoriness of the Jewish ritual, and in this way, in the face of the assembled nation, commit the very sin for which, in the presence of probably many of these very brethren, he had rebuked Peter, and thus crucify the Lord afresh and put him to an open shame? The supposition is manifestly as absurd, as to affirm that Alexander and Cæsar were cowards, or that Napoleon was defeated at the battle of Austerlitz.

If we have correctly interpreted the foregoing doctrines and facts, we think that the instruction which they convey, may be summed up in the following statements:

1. There is not a word in the writings of the Apostle Paul, not a word in the whole system of revealed or of natural religion, which confers a license upon any man, clergyman or layman, to teach what is false, to exaggerate, or distort, or attenuate what is true; or, by his influence, to aid the efforts of others in so doing; or to do what he believes to be wrong, or to become accessory to the doing of it, for the love of personal convenience or the fear of personal inconvenience, or for the sake of converting a soul, or a parish, or a world, or for the sake of accomplishing any other possible good whatsoever.

2. While, however, this is asserted, it is readily granted, that from doctrines which are revealed in the Scriptures, other doctrines may be inferred, with evidence more or less satisfactory; so that what may seem proved to one candid man, may seem not to be proved to another man equally candid; and, also, that from the duties imposed by the Gospel, other duties may seem by one man to be implied, which do not seem to be implied by another. Such were the rules of diet, of observing days, and the like, as we have seen in the Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians.

3. In the belief of such doctrines and the observance of such practices, every man must be left to the decision of his own reason and conscience. The practice has, in truth, been neither commanded nor forbidden, and is, therefore, in itself, innocent. He, who so esteems it, may innocently act in either way. But if, on the other hand, he comes to the conclusion, that it is a duty im-

posed by Christ, he must obey his conscience; "for whatever is not of faith, is sin."

4. But, on the other hand, no man has a right to insist that his inferences shall control another man's reason; or his conscience direct another man's practice. His conscience was given him for his own guidance, and not for the guidance of another. He has no right to set it up in the place of Christ, who is the sole lawgiver to his church. In matters which Christ has not commanded, every man must leave his brother to stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made him free. "To his own master he standeth or falleth. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" What is here said of individuals, is equally true of churches. They have a right to enforce the laws of Christ, but they have authority to enforce no other law. It would be well for them, if they were more strongly inclined to do the one and leave the other undone.

5. Yet, although I am not bound by the conscience of my brethren, although they have no right to impose upon me a law which Christ has not imposed, my obligation is not of necessity exhausted. I may be under the law of Christian charity, though I am not under law to my brethren. If in doing that which is in itself innocent, I am in danger of leading a person, less familiar with the laws of moral obligation, into sin, the law of Christ obliges me to abstain. That weak brother is a member of Christ's body, and if I injure him, I sin against Christ. I can, so far as my own conscience is concerned, innocently pursue either course. But, by the one course, I may lead a soul into sin; by the other, I may save him from perdition. Can a Christian man entertain a doubt respecting the course which he should pursue? By the doing of neither, in itself considered, can I recommend myself to God; but, by obeying the law of charity, and sacrificing my own convenience for the good of my brother, I can make my act an acceptable offering to Christ. Can any man ask which course the love of Christ indicates?

6. And, on the other hand, the law of Christian charity has its limits.

In the first place, so far as the Scriptures teach, this concession is made to *weakness* of conscience, and not to wickedness of heart. These precepts bind us, simply, where our act would lead

a person, not so well-informed as ourselves, into error, or involve him in guilt. If a man choose to make a malicious use of our innocent action, there is nothing in this discussion which presents any rules for the case. It *may* be, even then, our duty to abstain; but the rule must be sought for elsewhere.

And, secondly, if my concession would be so misunderstood as to involve my consent to what is false in doctrine or injurious in conduct, then the obligation to concession ceases. I have no right, even for the sake of a brother's weak conscience, to bear witness to a lie, or to do what Christ has forbidden. I must do what is right, and leave to God the care of the consequences. If either the one or the other must be injured by my conduct, I have no right to decide the case and choose which it shall be. I must act forth the principles of truth and honesty, and let the result fall where the providence of God shall direct.

Were these rules obeyed, how delightfully would they terminate the controversies of Christians and of churches! How strongly do they assert the claims of personal independence, while they call into the loveliest exercise the principle of Christian forbearance and self-sacrifice. They exemplify the practical direction of our Saviour, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." While they enforce the strictest regard to whatever is pure, and true, and upright, and warrant us in assuming the high ground of personal independence, they teach us also how, at the same time, we may be gentle, and yielding, and courteous, pleasing every man his brother for his own good, to edification. A more beautiful exemplification of the practical wisdom of the morality of the Gospel, can nowhere be found.

In a word, then, the Scriptural question of expediency is simply this: In how far may I sacrifice my own personal convenience and my own personal preferences, for the spiritual good of my brethren? And the answer is, You may do it, and, from love to Christ, (not from obligation to your brethren,) you are bound to do it, in every innocent thing; but you are forbidden to do it where, by so doing, you would by implication teach what is false, or become a party to what is wrong.

We cannot, then, fail to observe, how widely the expediency of the Apostle Paul differs from that with which it is too frequently

confounded. The latter allows us to modify, exaggerate, or attenuate the truth of God, for such purposes as we may deem advantageous to ourselves or to others. The former concedes no such liberty; but declares that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, we are to have our conversation in the world. The one allows us, for the sake of results which we anticipate, to encourage practices which, but for those results, our consciences would disapprove; the other allows us a choice of actions only in cases where both courses, in themselves, are alike innocent. The one teaches us to sacrifice truth, and righteousness, and the best interests of the cause of Christ, for our own convenience; the other commands us to sacrifice ease, convenience, nay life itself, for the cause of truth and for the good of souls who are perishing. The object of the one is, to determine in how far I may become a party to what I believe to be wrong, for my own benefit; that of the other, to determine what self-denials I may undergo, in order to render the simple truth of God more acceptable to weak and prejudiced men. In short, the one is a system whose essential element is selfishness; while, of the other, the only element is self-sacrifice. The one is intended to instruct us in the most adroit means of escaping the cross; and the other to teach us where we may most readily find it, and how we may most manfully bear it. Surely, systems so diametrically opposite in every possible respect, need not be, of necessity, mistaken for each other.

If, now, we might be allowed to apply these principles to the present state of opinion on this subject, we would say that they are calculated to minister instruction to many classes of good men. For instance, we not unfrequently meet with men of great purity of character and exemplary blamelessness of life, who seem fated to be forever at variance with the world. They have a firm persuasion of the truth of what they believe, and of the whole of it, together with a deep conviction of the obligatoriness of all that they practise. This is well. But it would be still better, if they made a distinction between what is a matter of demonstrated truth and universal obligation, and what is merely a matter of probable truth and individual obligation. They should learn from the Apostle a lesson of Christian forbearance. They believe a doctrine because they see it clearly; but this is surely no reason why a

brother should believe it who does not see it clearly. They can, consistently with their views of moral obligation, pursue only one line of conduct; but is this a certain evidence that no other brother can, consistently, with as pure views of moral obligation, pursue another line of conduct? If I cannot conscientiously walk in the same path of duty with my brother, I must leave him; and, in so far as this matter is concerned, we must walk separately; but this furnishes no reason why I should treat him unkindly, and endeavour to undermine his influence or asperse his character. It is, surely, well that we remember, that the wisdom which is from above, is *first* pure, *then peaceable.*

How sternly does the example of the Apostle rebuke much of the reforming intolerance of the age! Worthy men, in their overwrought anxiety to accomplish a particular good design, have too frequently proceeded upon the principle that they have a right, by means of manufactured public opinion, to crush every man who will not, or cannot, pronounce the Shibboleth of their association. I ask, by what rule of natural reason or revealed truth, is such a tyranny to be justified? Has it ever been proved that a miscellaneous assemblage, or any other assemblage, of men, has a right to bind my conscience and trample on the decisions of my judgment? We pity the Catholic who submits his conscience to the decisions of a council of bishops; and shall we surrender reason and conscience, manacled and blindfolded, to the will of a convention, or the resolutions of a mass-meeting? Or, again I ask, does a man become inspired because he has been appointed the lecturer or the agent of a voluntary association? Has he been endowed with apostolic authority because he earns his living by agitating, or because he receives a large commission on all that he can collect by his labours? If, then, for none of these reasons he has a claim to inspiration, why should he lord it over my conscience and denounce me as a hypocrite, a thief, or a drunkard, because I do not view, in the same light as he, the subject that he is paid for advocating? Thus did not Paul. "One man," said he, "esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike." He did not set either of these upon devouring the other; "but," said he, "let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind." Nay more; he remained unmarried, and he preferred that, on account of the pre-

sent distress, his brethren should follow his example; "but," he concludes, "every man hath his own proper gift of God; one after this manner, and another after that." He did not choose to receive any salary or stated remuneration for his labours; but did he go through the churches denouncing those ministers who received their support in this manner, as hirelings, dumb dogs, icebergs, or doctors of divinity, while he himself was secretly receiving twice as much as any of his brethren? Far from it; he received nothing in the form of payment for himself, but yet he clearly shows, that both he and his fellow-teachers are entitled to support like any other labourers. While, then, we are all under solemn obligation to do whatever seems revealed to us to be the will of God, and also to communicate to others whatever of truth may seem to have been revealed to us, let us allow to others the same liberty which we claim for ourselves; and, if our brethren cannot be convinced by our arguments, patiently and in Christian charity wait till the Lord shall have revealed even this unto them.

But there is another class of persons to whom these truths may be profitably commended. In the present excitable state of the public mind, every one, as in Athens, is going about to tell or to hear some new thing. We have error presented in every form. Truth is caricatured by every mode of exaggeration, and every variety of deformity. Designs, in themselves good and praiseworthy, are carried into effect by means the most unworthy, not to say contemptible. Now it so happens, that almost any folly can engage the public attention, and, for a moment, enlist the public opinion, if it be advanced by a strenuous, zealous, and noisy, especially a rudely eloquent, advocate. Suppose now that a current of this popular opinion has spread through a particular region, and it may be that it claims to be allied to religion. The question at once presents itself to a pastor, What is to be done? When this question presents itself, many a minister of Christ pleads that Paul was all things to all men, and hence he waits till he sees that the cause has taken hold of the public mind and must rule its little hour, and then joins in with the current, becomes a party to what he disapproves, and an actor in what his conscience condemns. And he does this on the ground of what he considers to be Christian expediency. He publicly, it may be, declares, and it may be with some

truth, that he hopes that souls will thus be converted; he privately, and with probably more truth, alleges, that unless he yield to the storm, he shall lose his parish.

But in such a cause as this, what course does the precept and example of the Apostle teach a pastor, or any other Christian man, to pursue? Suppose that a false doctrine has become popular, and I am threatened with the loss of my parish, if I do not give it my sanction. Suppose that an agitator makes his appearance in my neighbourhood, and it becomes probable that if I do not yield up the church as the instrument of his designs, I shall become decidedly unpopular, and be branded with all the epithets that foul-mouthed fanaticism can utter. Or, let an evangelist come among the flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made me an overseer, claiming authority to preach when he pleases; to use for the promotion of his own views, what means may seem good unto himself; to receive members into the church at his own discretion, and denounce as the servants of Satan, every one who will not co-operate in his "measures." When such a case as this occurs, what is a pastor, or any other Christian brother, to do? Does the example of Paul authorize me to promote the dissemination of what I believe to be false, or unite in the doing of what I know to be wrong, for the sake of personal advantage? Am I permitted, by any of his precepts, to encourage the violation of every principle of religious liberty, to tolerate and foster slander and abuse, to open the door of the church to those of whose Christian character I cannot possibly have any evidence, for the sake of averting any consequences that might happen to myself? How did Paul act in similar circumstances? The brethren that came from James, had created so strong a sensation in the church in Antioch, that both Peter and Barnabas "were carried away with their dissimulation." None of these things, however, moved Paul. He withstood Peter to the face in the presence of them all, and thus brought back the church to the simplicity of the faith. In no case whatever did he, either by precept or example, give countenance to the opinion that we may, for the sake of escaping persecution, corrupt the doctrine of Christ, or peril the purity of the church.

But it may be said, May we not adopt measures which we deem of doubtful authority, or preach doctrines which we do not believe

to be wholly true, provided that we believe that souls will be thereby converted? I reply, Who has committed such a power into the hands of men? Who has taught us any better means for the conversion of men, than preaching the truth as it is in Christ Jesus? Who has ever revealed that God requires me to do wrong for the sake of converting souls? Surely, if men might have been thus converted, Christ is dead in vain. Who has authorized me to make experiments with various doctrines, and ascertain the truth of each by the number of souls that it will convert or destroy? Suppose that some souls are converted by the mingled exhibition of truth and error, are we to believe that at least as many would not be converted by the simple exhibition of truth? But suppose that by the error which we have mingled with the truth, and by the trickery and tergiversation with which we have enforced it, we bring the Gospel itself into contempt, and give intelligent men but too good reason to believe that we use it to accomplish our own purposes; that we have no confidence ourselves in its divine authority, but are at liberty to modify it as we please; and that, in this manner, souls by hundreds are led into perdition; who is responsible for this result? If in the delivery of our message, in the spirit of Christ, "we are a savour of death unto death," God will hold us guiltless; but if, by adulterating the word of God, or by delivering it in a manner at variance with his commandments, souls are lost, we must answer for it to Him who judges righteously.

There is, however, a more insidious form in which this temptation is presented. It is frequently the case that a minister of the Gospel is called to preach in the midst of a refined and intelligent people, who respect religion as an abstraction, and are not inattentive to its observances, but who have no love for the self-denying doctrines of the cross, and who prefer conceptions addressed to their taste, to appeals urged upon their conscience and motives addressed to their will. They may, perhaps, go further, and even reject many of the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation, and be thoroughly averse to every exhibition of truth, in which all who profess Christianity cannot readily agree. A minister is here liable to be strongly impressed with the duty of being "all things to all men." He would not so preach as to give offence, nor is he willing, on the other

hand, to promulgate error. He therefore selects from the instructions of the Gospel, such portions as will be acceptable to his hearers; or else, discourses learnedly and tastefully on what he considers the philosophy of religion. He is an intellectual preacher. As his message has no practical bearing, and will apply as well to one system as to another, his hearers will receive it without offence, and assent to it without reflection. He thus succeeds in pleasing men; but does he please God who trieth the heart? He is sent to preach the Gospel, that men's souls may be saved; he preaches what he calls the Gospel, so that their souls are lost. He is set as a watchman, and he does not warn the people, and his blood shall be upon his head. Thus did not Paul. He was sent to preach Christ's Gospel at Corinth, one of the most refined and intellectual cities of Greece. He was a learned man, an adept in the wisdom of his time, an acute logician, and no contemptible orator. He might have easily generalized the principles of the New Testament, and expatiated upon the philosophy of revealed religion, so that the Platonists would have adopted him almost as a brother. But what did he do? "And I, brethren, when I came among you, came not with excellency of speech or wisdom, declaring to you the testimony of God; for I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified. We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." Paul thought it expedient, in just these circumstances, to preach Christ crucified. His maxim there, as everywhere, was: "*Speaking the truth in love.*" If any man has found a better way of converting men, whether learned or ignorant, polished or rude, let him declare it.

And this manœuvre, like all other profound wisdom in matters of simple right, very commonly overreaches itself. It usually has one of two terminations. Sometimes it goes on very well for a time; but being, as to moral quality, totally inert, and leading to no possible result, the people tire of it, and their interest in it ceases. The minister then resorts to various extraneous aids to keep his congregation together. A new choir, another organ, repairing the church, delivering scientific and historical lectures, or any thing of

this sort, will answer for a time; and when all these fail, he either seeks a new parish, or, it may be, ascertains that he has mistaken his profession, and quits the ministry in disgust.

This is one mode in which the preaching of expediency terminates. It is not, however, the only one. It may be, that the man becomes, ere long, convinced of his error. He sees that he is labouring to no purpose, and begins to preach Christ crucified. In a moment a tumult is raised. The parish declare, and with more than the semblance of truth, that they have been imposed upon; that they have employed a pastor professing to believe one thing, and they find that he believes another. He, in turn, pleads his right to preach the truth. They rejoin, True, but if a man can preach for one year what he does not believe to be the truth, why shall he not do so for two years; and as he did not preach what he believed to be the truth at first, how do we know that he believes what he preaches now? The result is, that there is a mutual cry of sectarianism; one party is accused of trickery, and the other of intolerance; and, either the parish is divided, or the minister goes away in disgrace.

There is yet another form, in which this same doctrine of expediency exhibits itself. We have known clergymen of really good intentions, imbibe a notion, that because their motive was good, they might be allowed to treat with disregard the rule, whether moral or ecclesiastical, which they impose upon others. We have known ministers, who would have been struck with horror to hear a deacon from the pulpit address a congregation on a Sunday, thrust an unlicensed student into the sacred desk, if they wanted "help," licensing him themselves, as they say, for this particular occasion. We have known of others, who, when at home, preach very strenuously against theatrical amusements; but who, when abroad, attend the theatre themselves, because they mean to do good with the knowledge which they may thus acquire. How can a man who does not obey his own rules, expect that they will be obeyed by others? If I cannot accomplish a particular good design, without violating a rule of conduct which I, as the messenger of Christ, enforce upon others, I may very safely conclude it to be the will of God, that I should leave this particular good design unaccomplished.

But enough of these illustrations. We have been severely

pained at the necessity of recording so many of them. We could easily add to their number; but we forbear. We have at least made it clear that the doctrine, that the end justifies the means, is not peculiar to the Jesuits. It springs up unbidden in the heart unwilling to endure the cross, and too eager to accomplish its own purposes to feel the restraints of moral principle. Every one must see, that the causes to which we have alluded, in part, spring from no desire to do the will of God, but are the genuine offspring of servile timidity, or of mercenary selfishness; of love of applause, or dread of censure; of conformity to the world, and, not unfrequently, of a natural appetency for vulgar trickery and mousing intrigue. They are as thoroughly opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, as darkness to light, or as sin to holiness. If it be in the power of Omniscient Purity to construct a system of religion which shall demand of those who embrace it, transparent simplicity of character, undeviating attachment to truth and righteousness, an unsullied honour that shall feel a stain like a wound, an enthusiastic integrity that looks with loathing scorn on every form of deceit, and which covets death in preference to moral contamination; that system of religion has been revealed to us in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To make this Gospel the minister of sin; to plead that God is to be glorified by my lie; to assert that the law of God itself allows, nay, commands me to violate the eternal principles of truth and justice; that the Holy One of Israel is to be acceptably served by an act which every honourable man would despise; this, surely, is audacity for which I do not know that our language has yet invented a name. It, doubtless, has a designation in the chancery of heaven. It is either selling the Lord for a few pieces of silver; or else arrogating to ourselves the authority of the Holy One, in order to give the better currency to a lie. In the one case, it nearly resembles the sin of Iscariot. In the other, it finds its parallel in the mendacity of him who said, "*God doth know*, that in the day ye eat of it, your eyes shall be opened."

Let us, then, leave this subject with solemnly urging upon our readers, both lay and clerical, to eschew this device of Romanism, and cleave, through evil report and good report, to the simplicity of the Gospel. These "instructions," how wise soever they may seem, are strangely apt "to return to plague the inventors." A pastor

who has swerved from truth and honesty for the sake of retaining his place, has surely no reason to complain, if his people, ere long, swerve from truth and honesty for the sake of turning him out of it. We have known more than one instance in which a minister, believing himself particularly shrewd, has set his people the example of trickery; and we have always observed, that they became very soon so apt scholars as to outwit their teacher. But this fact is mainly valuable, as it is one of those indications with which earth is filled, of the character of that tribunal at which we all must stand, and at which the minister of Christ must render up an official as well as a personal account. Where, then, will that man find a refuge, who shall stand convicted of having deliberately propagated a lie in the name of the God of unsullied veracity; who has prostituted the glorious Gospel to the purposes of his own selfishness; who, rather than suffer the reproach of man, has been willing to bring the whole system of revealed religion into contempt, and cause the enemies of God to blaspheme? Let us, then, count the cost, before we yield ourselves up to the suggestions of worldly expediency. It may not in the end be found expedient to have gained the whole world and lose our own souls. Let us remember that nothing on earth should be "so fixed as a believing soul," and that a special blessing is reserved for those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; who have surrendered every thing for the Son of man's sake. Let us, then, rise to the full conception of the dignity of our character as ambassadors of Christ; and, having endured hardness as good soldiers, say, with the Apostle, "Henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear about in my body the marks (scars) of the Lord Jesus."

V.

THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST IN THE APOCALYPSE.

By M. Stuart, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

The first question to be asked is: To which of the two beasts described in Rev. c. 13, does the number 666 in v. 18 refer? One beast John sees ascending from the *sea*, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon these horns ten diadems or crowns, and upon the heads names of blasphemy. To this beast Satan or the dragon gives his power and his throne, that is, employs him as it were his vicegerent. Divine honours and worship are challenged by this beast, and fierce and bloody persecution is carried on by him against Christians who refuse to pay the homage that he demands, Rev. 13, 2—9. A second beast, moreover, is seen by the author of the Apocalypse, rising out of the *land*, differing from the first in many important respects, yet animated with the like bitter hostility against the church. The nature of this second beast is graphically described by the appellation "false prophet," which is given him in Rev. 16, 13. 19, 20. 20, 10. Instead of seven horns, he is furnished with only two; and even these are said to be like the horns of a lamb. In other words, this symbol indicates, that the second beast is not possessed of the civil and military, or compulsive, power of empire; but only of a subordinate influence which is exerted in another way than that of force. The horns of a lamb present rather the show, than the reality, of weapons adapted for contest by force. But still, there are other influences not less mischievous than assault by violence. The second beast is represented as "speaking like a dragon," Rev. 13, 11. The meaning of this simile is not obscure. A dragon, according to the idiom of the New Testament, means a huge old serpent. The sly cunning and deceitfulness of the serpent have been proverbial, from the time when Satan, under the guise of a serpent, misled our first parents in paradise. The second beast, then, speaks as the dragon did on that occasion; that is, he speaks craftily, deceitfully, in a manner adapted to allure and ruin those whom he addresses.

The writer of the Apocalypse goes on to exhibit the various ways in which he deceives men, and leads them to do homage to the first beast. As it is not my object at present to pursue any inquiry respecting these, I shall advert merely to what immediately precedes the text, which is the particular subject of our present attention. It is worthy of remark, what skilful jugglery is practised by the second beast, or false prophet, and how graphically John describes it. "It was given to him [the second beast] to communicate breath (πνεῦμα) to the image of the first beast, so that this image might even speak, and might cause that those who did not worship the image of the beast, should be slain," Rev. 13, 15. Trickery of this sort has long been well known, and often practised. The statute of Memnon, on the banks of the Nile, as Strabo tells us, was accustomed to utter a melodious sound when the sun rose, and a moaning one when it went down. Memnon, king of Ethiopa and Upper Egypt, was the fabled son of Aurora and Tithonus, and grandson of a Trojan monarch. Becoming an auxiliary to the Trojans during the siege of Troy, he was, as the story goes, slain by Achilles in single combat, and his death was very significantly commemorated by his subjects, by erecting the statue in question. Of the fact that such a statue apparently uttered sounds as above described, there is no good reason to doubt; but the cause of this has been discovered only in recent times. It was apparently occasioned by the striking of a stone in the lap of the colossal image, which gave forth a ringing sound.*

How easily the like might be done in regard to other statues, and how often it has been done, it were useless to particularize here, inasmuch as no one is any longer ignorant of such devices. Even the lips of a statue may easily be made to move by machinery nicely adapted to this purpose. Easier still is it to give the statue the appearance of breathing or expiration. A tube connected with the mouth or nostrils, and managed by an adroit person behind the scenes, would make the delusion complete.

That John speaks of these things as being actually done by the image, namely the beast breathing and speaking, is in accordance with the usual idiom of the Scriptures on such occasions. Thus is

* Wilkinson's Thebes, etc. p. 35 sq.

it in respect to the magicians of Egypt, Ex. 7, 11. 12, 22. Thus also, as most suppose, respecting the witch of Endor, 1 Sam. 18, 11 sq. although in fact the raising of Samuel is not there attributed to the witch. It is thus that the Saviour speaks of the sons of the Pharisees as casting out demons, Matt. 12, 27. So John describes many Jews as *believing* on Christ, John 2, 23; although the context shows clearly that they only *professed* to believe on him; and the same thing occurs again in John 8, 31sq. and also in respect to Simon Magus, Acts 8, 13, comp. vs. 22, 23. It were easy to accumulate examples of the like character, which would serve to show, that when the sacred writers narrate things of such a nature as those which are now before us, they often speak in the language of common parlance, or in conformity with external appearances. This may suffice to exonerate John from the charge of believing and affirming, that the false prophet could really give breath to statues, and cause them to speak. There can be no doubt, as it seems to me, in the mind of any candid and intelligent reader, that the writer of the Apocalypse sets forth the whole doings of the second beast as matters of fraud, guile, and trickery; I mean every thing by which the false prophet contrives to make his idol resemble the true God, either in its appearance or in its achievements.

The manner in which the death of those who refuse to worship the image of the beast is brought about, may be explained in a few words. By causing the statue of the first beast to breathe, the most palpable evidence is seemingly given of a living and active spirit within. The populace, naturally convinced by such an apparently unequivocal sign of the living power and true divinity of the statue, readily obey its commands, and fall upon those who refuse to worship it with all the violence which superstition can inspire.

Nor is this all which the false prophet achieves. By his devices he occasions a decree, that all shall receive *the mark* of the beast, that is, of the first beast, upon their foreheads or their hands. The mark in question would openly proclaim, that all who should receive it were the worshippers of the beast, inasmuch as it was to be impressed on some part of the person which always remained uncovered. This mark was usually, among idolaters, some device or symbol expressive of something belonging to the idol-god or

his rites. When a mere symbol was employed, which was usually the case, there was something of mystery about it, which served to increase religious awe, and to show, at the same time, that the person who bore this symbol on any part of his body, was one who had been initiated into the secrets of the divinity whom he worshipped.

The second beast is as cruel as cunning. He brings it about by his artifices, that none should either buy or sell, who did not bear the mark of the first beast. In other words, those who decline to worship the first beast, are prohibited from all business-intercourse with their fellow men, and consequently from all the means of obtaining a livelihood, and are thus exposed to the miseries of starvation.

So much for the craftiness and cruelty of superstition and idolatry. But now to our main point: What is the mark or symbol, which is borne by the worshippers of the beast?

It seems to be of two kinds; two rather in appearance than in reality. No person could buy or sell unless he had the χάραγμα, i. e. the impression or stamp of the beast, either upon his forehead or his hand. But what is this χάραγμα or stamp? According to John (v. 17) it is either the *name* of the beast or the *number* of his name. The first of these seems to be the name of the beast or of his idol, written probably in letters somewhat peculiar or curious, but still readable in the common way of reading. But the second is altogether of a mysterious and symbolic character. The *number* of the name seems to mean, that certain letters, which are or may be expressive of some particular number, are at the same time expressive of such a name as would indicate the beast which is to be worshipped. Thus far, however, we are told only of the general nature of the second species of mark which the worshippers of the beast bore. It is quite probable, from the circumstances of the case, from the usual mysteriousness of the second kind of symbol, and from the manner in which John speaks of it, that the great mass of idol-worshippers received this second mark rather than the other. As both, however, come in the end to the same thing, both might be, and both seem to have been, allowed. But the number-symbol, it is easy to see, would naturally obtain a general preference, on account of the general mysteriousness of its character.

Having mentioned the number of his name, the writer pauses for explanation; for surely no conjecture could be formed as to what the name must be, unless some particular number should be specified. John therefore proceeds to say: Ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου· ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστί, καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ χξς. Here is a matter which demands the exercise of wisdom; let him who possesses understanding reckon the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man, and the number of it is 666.

Several phrases in this verse need some illustration. *Here is wisdom* conveys an idea somewhat different, according to Hebrew usage, from that which the words in English seem to suggest. The Jews, as appears by the Rabbinical dialect, were accustomed to call any thing חָכְמָה *wisdom*, which was said summarily, obscurely, or in the way of a mere hint. In allusion to this it is said in Prov. 1, 6, that the object of the book of Proverbs among other things is, to give understanding of "the words of the wise and their *dark sayings*." Proverbial sentences are often dark, from their pithy, sententious, and frequently enigmatical character. So in the case before us; when the writer exclaims: *Here is wisdom*, he evidently means to say, that here is a matter which is somewhat enigmatical or obscure, for the explanation of which wisdom is needed. The sequel shows plainly that such is the sentiment; for the writer immediately adds: ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου, that is, 'Let him who has the requisite *intelligence*, (*νοῦν* being an equivalent for the preceding *σοφία*,) reckon the number,' etc. In other words: Not every person can read and understand what follows; but let him who is skilled in matters of this nature, compute what name the letters which may designate 666 will make; for this is the name of the beast.

It is worthy of remark, that John employs this mode of expression, viz. *here is wisdom*, only in cases where he is going to say something which is more or less obscure or enigmatical. Thus in Rev. 17, 9, he exclaims, "Here is a meaning which comprises wisdom!" for so we may translate ὧδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν. Or if any one hesitates as to such a version, he may render the phrase still more literally thus: "Here the mind which possesses wisdom!" that is, here a wise mind is needed in order to explain

what follows. The sequel of this passage is the dark saying concerning the seven hills, and the seven kings, and the beast which is the eighth, and was one of the seven, etc. vs. 9—11.

Thus it is plain, that when John is about to utter any thing which he knows will be enigmatical to some of his readers, and for the explanation of which special care is needed, he gives them warning, by telling them that *σοφία*, i. e. special sagacity, is needed in order to make a right interpretation.

In the verse before us, Rev. 13, 18, the supposition is made, or it is tacitly implied, that sagacity may unfold the true meaning: "Let him who has understanding, reckon the number of the beast." Some hints to aid him, however, the author does not neglect to give. First of all he says, that the number of the beast is *the number of a man.* What is the meaning of this declaration?

One of two things it seems of necessity to mean; either, first, that it is such a number as men usually employ; or, secondly, that it is a number, the letters of which designate or name a man.

Examples of such a nature as would justify (so far as the mere form of expression is concerned) the first meaning, may be found; thus Rev. 21, 17, "And he [the angel] measured the wall thereof 144 cubits, *μέτρον ἀνθρώπου man's measure,*" that is, cubits as estimated by human measure, and not by angelic. It is evident that *μέτρον ἀνθρώπου* is here added by the writer, merely in order to be explicitly understood and to exclude all useless conjecture. In Is. 8, 1, we find a command to the prophet, that he should write certain words *with a man's pen,* as our version has it; but the original, בְּחֶרֶט אֱנוֹשׁ, seems plainly to indicate *the ordinary writing of men,* the usual characters which they employ. These were enjoined, in order that they might be legible to all. Corresponding with this in sentiment is Hab. 2, 2, "Write the vision, and engrave it upon tablets, that he who runneth may read." But if we should explain the phrase in Rev. 13, 18 by these examples, what sense could it make, when taken in connexion with the context? 'Let the intelligent man reckon the number of the beast, for it is such a number as men employ, and the number is 666.' But do not men employ other numbers besides 666? And if we understand the phrase in the manner just proposed, what else

would be asserted, even at the most, except that the number of the beast is a number, and nothing more? And what possible meaning could this have, which would accord in any measure with the context? The followers of the beast are marked on the forehead or in the hand. How? Either with the name of the beast written out, or with a symbolic designation of this name, made by letters, usually indicative of certain numbers. But the mode of exegesis now under discussion would exclude such a designation, and limit the mysterious letters to the mere ordinary significance of numbers. What need of 'wisdom' to unravel these? Or to what can 666 pertain, when considered merely in an arithmetical point of view? Does it relate to time, or descent, or possessions, or attributes, or to any of the like things? It is plainly impossible to make out any tolerable significancy of the passage in this way.

We must come then, as it seems to me, to the second meaning given above, viz. that the "number of a man" means a number, which, when expressed in letters (as was usual), designates the name of a man; and here, of course, the name of the man who is symbolized by the beast. It is the context which forces us upon such an interpretation; for the other exegesis would make no tolerable sense. The design of the writer plainly is, to give a hint, purposely somewhat obscure and enigmatical, by way of answer to the natural question: Who is meant or symbolized by the first beast? The reasons why he did not speak out plainly and unequivocally, were cogent ones. But of these more will be said in the sequel.

Bengel explains the phrase under examination in a singular way: "It is a number according to which all men are wont to compute, and not angels." But do not men employ other numbers also in their computations? Like to this is Hartwig's interpretation: "A number which a man may write or engrave without any great difficulty."[1] Bengel had his reasons for such an explanation as he has given; and these were, that it was necessary to understand 666 as a mere numeral adjective relating to time or years, in order to make out his periods. It is unnecessary to occupy a moment in refuting the view either of Bengel or Hart-

[1] Apol. der Apokalypse, II. p. 215.

wig. Both are inconsistent with the requisite significancy of the text.

What name, then, of a *man* symbolized by the beast, can be made out of letters which indicate 666, on the supposition that we employ the Greek alphabet in the computation?

It is evident from the nature of the case, that there is a great variety of combinations of numbers, indeed an almost endless variety, which being put together, will amount to 666. It is plain, therefore, that letters which designate numbers, or are the representatives of them, are capable of the like endless variety of combinations, which may amount to the number, or form the name in question. Of course there is room here for boundless play of the imagination and fancy, if any choose to indulge them; and seldom indeed does an opportunity of this nature present itself, which is not embraced by minds that are peculiarly prone to conjecture and fancy.

It is no part of my design to produce and refute at length all the extravagancies, which have been exhibited to the world in commenting on the text before us. But the reader may naturally expect that some account of this matter should be laid before him, and especially an account of the manner in which the early Christian fathers explained the text which is under consideration. My first object then will be, to give a brief historical view of what has been done; my second, to show, if it may be within my power, what our text most probably does mean.

Fortunately we have a passage in Irenæus, which gives us a somewhat graphic view of the state of feeling in his day, with respect to the matter before us, and of the opinion entertained as to the meaning of the number of the beast. Observe the cautious manner in which this good Father approaches the subject. His language is: "It is more sure and less dangerous to maintain the fulfilment of [John's] prophecy, than it is to conjecture and divine certain names; inasmuch as there is a multitude of names which will amount to the aforesaid number. The question now is, Which of all these shall he [the beast] bear, who is to come? We speak thus, not for want of names which would indicate the requisite number, but out of reverence to God, and zeal for the truth."[1]

[1] Contr. Hæres. V. 30. 3.

"*Ευανθας* has the requisite number; but we affirm nothing in respect to it. [The want of any appropriate significancy is good reason for rejecting it. It means nothing, and nobody; unless indeed there is some implied reference to Gessius *Florus* (*ἄνθος* i. q. *flos*), the procurator of Palestine.] *Λατεινος* also designates 666; and this is exceedingly probable, inasmuch as the last empire [the last of the four described in Daniel] has this appellation. For they are *Latini* who now reign; but in this we will not glory. *Τειταν*, the first syllable with ε and ι, is, of all the names current among us, the most worthy of credit." He then goes on to give some reasons for preferring this; which are, that the name has six letters (corresponding with the other sixes), that each syllable has three letters, that it is old, and unusual. By the last allegation he means to say, that neither the Roman kings nor gods have any of them such an appellation. He then alludes to the ancient Titan in the fable, who was one of the giants that made resistance to the gods, and thinks that this would tally well with the character of the beast. Finally, he says: "We, however, do not mean to run into any danger respecting the name of Antichrist, as pronouncing positively respecting it; for if his name was designed to be openly exhibited at the present time, it would have been manifested long ago, by him who saw the apocalyptic vision."

It is not necessary to examine the reasons of Irenæus for preferring *Τειταν*. They are merely factitious ones; and nothing is more evident, than that *Λατεινος* lay deeper in his convictions, —"valde verisimile est." Still, he dared not to urge it, on account of the hazard which would be incurred, by appearing as the advocate of an opinion so reproachful to the Roman government. To suppose the Hebrew John to be dealing here with the Greek mythological Titan, would be greatly aside from probability; not to mention the change in the proper spelling of the name which Irenæus has made. To *Λατεινος* we shall again advert, in the sequel.

Victorinus (flor. c. 300), in his skeleton Commentary which has come down to us, has a note on the verse before us, which bids defiance to all critics and commentators. It reads thus: "Since he [John] refers to Greek letters, the sequel will complete the requisite number: AI. N. L. T. CCC. F. M. L. X. L. O. L.

XX. CCC. I. II. EVN. LCC. N. V. III. P. CIX. K. XXOLXX. CC.[1] If the number of the beast is not to be known until this is explained, I apprehend we must wait a long time for the desired knowledge.

Andreas of Caesarea in Cappadocia, near the close of the fourth century, wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, which is still extant. Like Irenæus, he supposes that if John meant that the name of the beast should be known, he would have declared it himself. It was unworthy, he says, of being inserted in such a sacred book. Yet he goes on to give, from Hippolytus and others, several conjectural names; which, as they lay claim to no more than conjecture, I shall barely repeat. Thus the Greek name *Λαμπετης* will make the requisite number; so the Latin *Benedictus*, or the Persian *Sarmnaeus*. So the appellatives *κακὸς ὁδηγός bad leader*, *ἀληθὴς βλαβερός truly noxious*, *πάλαι βάσκανος envious of old*, and *ἀμνὸς ἄδικος wicked lamb*.

Arethas, the successor and epitomator of Andreas, has only repeated these in his Commentary. Primasius, bishop of Utica in Africa, a disciple of Augustin, has added, in his Commentary, the two appellatives, *αντεμος* (for *αντιμος*) *dishonourable*, and *αρνουμε* (for *αρνουμι*) *I deny*; the form and invention of which show that his knowledge of Greek and of exegesis were on a par. To these Rupert of Dents (ob. 1135) has added *Γενσηρικος* or Genseric, king of the Vandals.

It is proper to note, before we quit the ancient exegesis of Rev. 13, 18, that there were some who applied the name suggested by Irenæus, viz. *Τειταν*, to the Roman Titus, who commanded the army which sacked Jerusalem and destroyed the temple. They regarded the name *Τειταν*, (in their view i. q. *Titan* or *Titas*,) as designating a kind of *γένος θεομάχον*, like Titan of old. So Hesychius thought, in reference to the passage before us: "*Τειταν, τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ὄνομα*." Of course, he supposed the beast in c. 13, to be Antichrist. So the venerable Bede: "This number [666] is said to be found among the Greeks in the name *Titan*, giant." When the mild character of Titus Vespasian was urged as being utterly at variance with the character of the beast, as here

[1] Biblioth. Pat. III. p. 420.

depicted, the advocates of the word *Τειταν* found a refuge by resorting to Titus Flavius Domitian, the tyrant. Wetstein, however, has laboured to show, that both the father, Titus Flavius Vespasian, and the son, Titus Vespasian, are meant by John in his number 666. But in order to accomplish this, he changes χξς into χις or 616, and the name *Teitan* into *Teita*; and to all this he adds, that Titus had the feminine name *Teita* given him by John, on account of his soft and effeminate disposition! I have only to say: *Quodcunque mihi narras sic, incredulus odi.*

Enough of such guesses in days of yore. More recent times have added something to the number, and but little to the probability, of these surmises, most of which are all but ridiculous. Thus we have had *Αποστατης* or Julian the Apostate; *Μαομητις* Muhammed; *Βενεδικτος* Pope Benedict IX; and other names of the like tenor. It would seem that nearly all the combinations of Greek letters, which will designate 666, have been made at one time or another.

Not content, however, with the Greek language, some have resorted to the Latin. They aver as a reason for so doing, that inasmuch as the author had Roman personages in view, it is probable he would reckon after the Roman manner. It should be remembered here, that in the Roman alphabet only C. D. I. L. M. V. X. are used as numeral signs. Only these letters, then, as they occur in proper names, are to be selected as numerically significant.

Bossuet found 666 in *DIoCLes aVgVstVs*, that is Diocletian. Here, and elsewhere, as in the older books, the V is used for U. The Huguenots, in the time of the persecution by Louis XIV, found the number of the beast in *LVDoVICVs*; as some of the republicans in France, at a later period, also found it in the name of the last *LVDoVICVs*. In a work so recent as A. D. 1817, by Opitius or Gehrken (it is not known which), the writer maintains, that inasmuch as the beast in Rev. c. 13, is to resemble those in Daniel, it is quite probable that the names of Alexander (Dan 8, 5—8), and Antiochus Epiphanes (Dan. 8, 9—12), are transferred to the beast; and the more so, because *aLeXanDer* and *antIoChVs* make out 666.

I will not occupy much more of the reader's time, nor of my

own, in recounting such unseemly excrescences of the human mind. To show what minds, even very respectable, may excogitate in regard to the 666 of our text, I may mention that Bolten, in his version of the New Testament, (the original of which he held to have been Syriac,) supposes that the name Titus Flavius Vespasian, expressed in the Syriac, contains the number in question, and consequently, that this emperor is meant. Herdec, from whom we might expect better things, makes it out of רׄ שמעון that is, Rabbi Simeon or Simon of Giora, one of the atrocious leaders in the Jewish rebellion. Mere sport of imagination, or at least vapid conceit, is *Να Βονοναπαρτε*, נאׄ בונאפארתה, that is Napoleon Bonaparte, in Greek or Hebrew, each of which is equal to 666. So כערשכנוש, the Corsican. More adroit than these guesses was that of Feuardentius, a Catholic editor of Irenæus. In his notes on that passage of Irenæus, which is quoted above, he suggests, that the name by which Luther was first called, was *Martin Lauter*, the letters of which, having the Greek significancy given to them, amount to just 666. He goes on to say, that as all the attributes of the beast belonged to Luther, there is but little room for doubt that this is the true application.[1]

But enough. I pass to the second object before us, viz. to show *what* the number of a man, which is 666, probably was intended to designate.

We have seen that Irenæus pronounces *Λατεινος* to be *valde verisimile*. Moreover he says: "They are named *Latini*, who now reign." The letters are exact as to the numeral amount; viz. λ 30, 1, τ 300, ε 5, ι 10, ν 50, ο 70, ς 200; the sum of the whole is 666. Then as to this mode of writing in Greek the Roman word *Latinus*, examples enough are at hand to vindicate it; e. g. *Σαβεινος, Φαυστεινος, Παυλεινος, Αντωνεινος, Ατειλιος, Μετειλιος, Παπειριος, Ουειβιος* for Vibius, etc. Even the older Latin is full of such orthography; e. g. *solitei, Diveis, capteivei, preimus*, etc. as is evident from the relics of Ennius. The significancy, then, of *Λατεινος* is appropriate; and the form of the word is not liable to any valid objection. Heinrichs says, however, in his Ex-

[1] With this may be classed a recent *jeu d'esprit* in some of our periodicals, which makes 666 out of the name of *Captain Miller*, the leader of the newest race of prophets.

cursus on Rev. 13, 18, that John would have given *Romanus* the recent name, and not *Latinus* the old one, had he designed to mark the Roman empire. It seems to me quite differently. John undoubtedly designed to speak somewhat enigmatically. It was more consistent with this design, to use the old Roman word; which, however, could be understood without any serious difficulty.

But is there any thing to show that the Roman or Latin empire is meant to be symbolized by the first beast? I cannot hesitate as to the answer which should be given to this question. John has given us in Rev. c. 17, particularly in vs. 10 and 18, an explanation so definite and graphic, that I cannot persuade myself that there is any room for doubt. Whoever reads chapters 13–17 with scrutinizing criticism, will be led moreover to see, that John employs *τὸ θηρίον* as a symbol in two senses, differing somewhat from each other. Often he employs it as the representative of the Roman (heathen) empire *generically*, Rev. 13, 1. 2. al. In other cases it is used to denote the then reigning prince or emperor, e. g. 13, 12. 14. 17, 8. 11, and elsewhere. In the case before us there can hardly be a question, that the name designated, although the 'name of a man,' must be a name that was common to many men. Hence *ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου*, without any article, so that the sense would naturally be of a generic character.

In this view of the subject, the majority of recent commentators seem to be united. And if John designed to refer to the Greek alphabet as constituting the signs for the numbers designated, there can be no exegesis so probable, so far as I can see, as that which has now been given. The name is well chosen from the older idiom; it expresses the exact quantity specified by the text; it designates the empire with which in c. 12–19 of the Apoclaypse, the writer is altogether concerned. Why should we seek for any better solution? Here is all the significancy which the nature of the case demands.

But still, there may be some room for doubt, whether John meant to refer his readers to the Greek or the *Hebrew* alphabet, in the case under examination. The grounds of that doubt I will briefly lay before the reader.

Irenæus mentions that there were codices of the Apocalypse in

his time, which instead of χξς or 666, read χις or 616. He avows his preference for the former reading; and the principal reason seems to be, that 666 contains six hundreds, six decades, and six units. He does, indeed, aver, that 666 is the reading in all the more correct and ancient codices;[1] but his judgment about the claims of 666 seems to lean upon his cabbalistic reasoning about the triad of sixes, rather than upon the authority of manuscripts.

Are there not some weighty reasons in favour of the old reading χις or 616? This question may perhaps be best answered, by first making the inquiry: Whether John would most probably refer to the Greek, or to the Hebrew, method of computation! How is this matter in other parts of the Apocalypse, where the use of numbers is concerned?

There can be no doubt as to the answer which must be given to this last question. All the triads, the heptads, the tetrads, etc. numerous as they are in the Apocalypse, and all pervading as the two first classes of these are in the arrangement of the book,—all these are Hebraic and not Greek. All the periods of time, the 1260 days, the forty-two months, the three and a half years, the 1000 years, are all of Hebrew origin. Is it not probable then that the number 666 is to be made out rather from the Hebrew than from the Greek alphabet?

Other considerations are to be associated with these. It is clear that John meant to be somewhat enigmatical here; and for good reasons, as we shall see in the sequel. Such being his design, (for if it had not been, he would have spoken explicitly and plainly,) would it not be more easily accomplished by a reference to the Hebrew, than to the Greek, alphabet? Hebrew was understood by none, or almost none, excepting Jews. If John then originally wrote χις or 616, nothing intelligible could be made out of it, by reference to the Greek alphabet. A Roman and heathen magistrate, in case the author of the Apocalypse were accused of slandering the emperor, and Rev. c. 13, were appealed to as proof of the fact, could make nothing out of v. 18 which would satisfy his mind. He would be most likely to attribute it to some hallucination of the writer, and to dismiss him. But not so the Hebrew reader; and such there were in all the churches of Asia.

[1] Contr. Haer. V. 30. 1.

The number 616 is made out by the plain and significant words קֵיסַר רוֹם, *Cæsar of Rome*. *Cæsar* was, we well know, a common name of the first twelve emperors. The number desired is easily made out from the Hebrew name just mentioned; thus, ק 100, ר 10, ס 60, ר 200, ר 200, ו 6, ם 40; sum 616.

Thus, while mere Greek readers would be unable to make out any *crimen laesae majestatis* against John, on account of χις or 616, Hebrew Christian readers of any considerable acuteness might find a better, that is, a more appropriate, name for the dominion or ruler symbolized by the beast, than could be made from 666, or *Λατεινος*. The internal probability of the reading 616 seems, therefore, to be great; and to this must be added the fact, that not a few codices still exhibit this very ancient reading. The three continuous *sixes* in the other reading can be easily accounted for, from the cabbalism and the mystical form and power of numbers, which the early ages of Christianity so often exhibit.

I will merely add here, that Ewald leans decidedly to the opinion in favour of 616.[1] We cannot, indeed, acting as mere critics on the text, adopt this meaning with much confidence; but it appears to my mind, when all those things are well considered which have been suggested above, that 616 is on the whole a more probable reading, and at all events it is explicable in a more definite way, than 666.

It matters not, however, in regard to the main thing designed by the writer, which of these opinions one adopts. John means to say, but to say in an occult way, that the first beast is a *symbol of heathen persecuting Rome*. In c. 17 the writer seems to put this conclusion beyond all reasonable doubt.

This appears to be so plain, that I cannot but express my astonishment at a recent explanation, given by Züllig in his late Commentary on Revelation, of the meaning of 666. He says, that the Jews regarded Moses as a type of Christ; and inasmuch as Balaam was an adversary of the first Moses, so the Jews thought he would be of the second, i. e. of the Messiah. Instead therefore of giving credit to the declaration in Num. 31, 8 and Josh. 13, 22, viz. that the Israelites *slew* Balaam, he intimates that the Rabbins

[1] Comm. p. 237.

believed in the recovery of Balaam from his supposed deadly wound, and that he lived and would continue to live until the coming of the Messiah, when he would have seven heads instead of one, i. e. possess seven times the power which he formerly had. This, Züllig tells us, fully explains Rev. 13, 3, which says, that the beast received a deadly wound and recovered from it. "This reference to Balaam which is so plain," he goes on to say, "is reduced to certainty as clear as the sun, by Rev. 13, 18. This riddle, proclaimed throughout the whole world, but never before solved, has given occasion to the most ridiculous misinterpretations." "This riddle, however," says Gfrörer in his review of Züllig, "has at last found its Œdipus."[1]

What then, I would ask, is the *éclaircissement* of this new and wonderful Œdipus? It is this; Joshua (c. 13, 22), speaking of things which the children of Israel had done, declares that they had killed Balaam the son of Beor, the soothsayer. The Hebrew of this last clause, Züllig gives as running thus: בִּלְעָם בֶּן־בְּעֹר קֹסֵם; and these letters do in fact amount, with regard to numerical value, to 666. Thus, ב 2, ל 30, ע 70, ם 40, ב 2, נ 50, ב 2, ע 70, ר 200, ק 100, ס 60, ם 40; sum of the whole, 666. "Getroffen, er ist's!" exclaims the reviewer, 'he has hit the mark!' And in confirmation of this Gfrörer states, that he had long before come to the conclusion, that the Antichrist of the New Testament was Balaam in disguise.

Such then is the solution, pronounced to be "clearer than the noon-day sun," of this second Œdipus, who is come, not, like the second Daniel in Shylock, to judgment, but to give the hermeneutical art a new and unheard of *éclaircissement*. Yet no Sphynx need dash out its brains, as did that of Thebes, because of the solution.

To argue seriously against such an interpretation as this, would be to insult the understanding of my readers. More especially so, inasmuch as the Hebrew quoted from Josh. 13, 22, has been quite transformed by the new soothsayer who has appealed to it. The original stands thus: וְאֶת בִּלְעָם בֶּן־בְּעוֹר הַקּוֹסֵם. This settles the whole question. Züllig has merely garbled it. If he had not,

[1] Studien und Kritiken, 1842, p. 828 sq.

yet to suppose that John believed in and adopted that putid fable about Balaam, which, if indeed it grew at all, (for I know of no evidence that it did,) must have grown up out of the veriest swamps of Rabbinism,—to suppose not only that John introduced it into such a book as the Apocalypse, and took it for granted that his readers would understand the allusion, is really beyond all critical endurance. I can only express my surprise, that the editors of the "Studien und Kritiken" should admit such a *critique* as that of Gfrörer; at least, that they should do so without apologizing or making any explanation to their readers. The Rabbins have indeed said many strange things respecting Balaam; some of which are, that he learned sorcery from two demons, that he was one of Pharaoh's evil counsellors in Egypt, that he was born circumcised, that he practised bestiality with the ass on which he rode, that he had but one eye, and the like; but instead of making Balaam live down to the time of the Messiah, they speak of him as occasionally being conjured up from Gehenna, in order to render some assistance or information to sorcerers.[1] Something *new* under the sun, Züllig may perhaps have the credit of doing; but his entire exegesis of the matter before us is nothing short of ridiculous.

The result of our examination is, that if we suppose the text to read χξς or 666, as our common editions have it, and the numbers to be counted in accordance with the designations by the Greek alphabet, the only probable word that corresponds is *Λατεινος* which Irenæus (who follows this reading) pronounces to be *valde verisimile*. This of course denotes the *Roman power*, by the use of a word that was in part antiquated when John wrote, but which would for that very reason be probably chosen in such a case as this. On the other hand, if we prefer a reading found in many copies in the days of Irenæus, viz. χις or 616, and also still found in not a few codices, then we may resort to the Hebrew alphabet for explanation; in which case קֵיסַר רוֹם *Caesar of Rome* will be still more definite and graphic. Go which of these two ways we will, (and none other yet proposed is even slightly probable,) the result is the same for substance as to the meaning of Rev. 13, 18. The persecuting, the blood-thirsty, the impious, the

[1] See the Indices under *Bileam*, in Eisenmenger, Entd. Judenthum, I. II.

idolatrous, the blasphemous beast, is *the Roman power as wielded by Nero*, that incarnate fiend, who laid waste the church of God with unrelenting fury. I do not say that it is confined merely and entirely to Nero; but the description—the imagery of the whole—is drawn from him. He is the original of the picture. As I have before said, I do not see how c. 17 allows any good room to doubt, even if our conjecture be erroneous as to the name or names originally intended, that still the result would be the same from the explanation of any other name which John may have employed.

Having come then to some conclusion in regard to this matter, here is the proper place to assign some reasons, as I have engaged to do, for the mysterious or enigmatical manner of the communication which John here makes.

I must beg the reader here, if the Apocalypse is not fresh in his mind, and he has any doubt respecting what I am about to say, to read it from beginning to end. He will then be prepared to agree with me, that the book was written in the midst of a raging and relentless persecution of Christians by embittered enemies. In such circumstances, those who had professed the religion of Christ needed to be encouraged, comforted, guided, and assured as to the final event. The hearts of many were failing. Apostasy, under such circumstances, was to be feared. Hence the urgent exhortations of the writer of the Apocalypse, that Christians should persevere. To him that overcometh, in the mighty contest which was going on, the glorious rewards of victory are everywhere held out. Patient martyrdom, whenever this becomes necessary, is made an indispensable condition of enjoying the approbation of the great Head of the church; and a condition also, to the fulfilment of which not only a crown and a throne of glory are promised, but likewise a part in the *first* resurrection, when the Saviour shall make his cause triumphant over all opposition.

Such was the primary and immediate aim of the Apocalypse. That it was written under the bloody reign of Nero, or shortly after, is now a matter agreed upon by nearly all recent critics who have studied the literature of this book. I cannot turn aside here, in order formally to prove this. The exemption of Christian *Jews*, who are sealed in their foreheads as the servants of God, as related in chap. 7; the measurement of the inner sanctuary of the tem-

ple, to be preserved from impending destruction, c. 11, 1. 2; the express naming of the city to be destroyed, as "the place where our Lord was crucified," c. 11, 8; these and other concurrent circumstances put it beyond a reasonable doubt, that the Apocalypse was written *before* the destruction of Jerusalem. And if all this were not sufficient, the passage in c. 17, 10, which declares that *five* kings or emperors of Rome had already fallen, while the *sixth* is reigning when the writer is composing the book, marks the period of the composition too definitely to be called in question. It might easily be shown, moreover, that the tenor of the book renders it necessary for us to suppose, that the persecution was actually raging when it was written; and consequently, it must have been written during Nero's life, for persecution ceased immediately after his death. Indeed the threat implied in c. 13, 10, seems plainly to be directed against Nero, and to predict the violent death to which he speedily came.

But to return to our immediate object: What could John do, in circumstances such as those in which he wrote? Must he come out and denounce Nero by name, and incur the *crimen laesae majestatis?* This were certain death. This were to bring open reproach upon himself, and upon all Christians who read and approved of his book. Even still more; all such Christians would be involved in the like charge with himself, and of course a greater show of justice would be the consequence, in respect to persecuting the Christians. John, therefore, had a difficult and hazardous duty to perform. On the one hand, it was incumbent on him to warn, to encourage, and to console the persecuted; on the other, it was a hazardous thing for himself and his readers, to publish abroad that the Roman persecuting power was blaspheming God and murdering the innocent, and moreover that it would ere long be utterly destroyed. Sedition and misprision of treason would seem to be the charge, to which he would be exposed by such a course. What could he do then, in such a strait, except the very thing that he has done? His message must be delivered. It was from God. But as his message was to the suffering Christians, it was enough, in case the hazardous parts of it should be somewhat veiled or enigmatical, that it was still so composed, that men expert in the Scriptures, could easily unravel it. A mere heathen and

Roman reader, methinks, could make little or nothing out of Rev. 13, 18. One might apply to it what Daniel says respecting certain things that were to take place: "None of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand;" Dan. 12, 10. John did not wish to appear seditious, nor in reality to be so; but John must still be faithful to Christians, and open before them the glorious prospect of final and certain triumph. How then could he act otherwise than he has done? He has spoken enigmatically; but the enigma does not need a second Œdipus to explain it. Must we not excuse him, in such circumstances, for speaking thus? Or rather, must we not commend him for his skill, his caution, and his faithfulness? There may be readers, perhaps, who will doubt here; but if there be, I commend to them the reading and due consideration of 1 Sam. 16, 1—13; and trust that John will fairly stand acquitted of all double dealing or affected mystery, or even cabbalism, in respect to the passage before us.

In regard to this last charge, however, viz. that which respects *cabbalism*, I must say a few words. Most of the recent commentators, even those who put an estimate somewhat high upon the Apocalypse, have conceded that John here employs the cabbalistic art of managing numbers; or, in other words, that he gives to them a mystical meaning, in conformity with that practice of the cabbalists which has respect to numbers.

I cannot accede to this view of the subject. First of all I have strong doubts, whether any thing more than the mere germ of cabbalism existed in the days of John. Next, I cannot see, in the various kinds of cabbala, any near approach to John's use of 666. These may be comprised under three heads: 1. *Notarikon* (נוֹטַרִיקוֹן), in which the single letters of a particular word were each made the representatives of some whole word; e. g. in Gen. 1, 1, the word ברא may be considered as designating בֵּן, רוּחַ, אָב, Son, Spirit, Father, and consequently בָּרָא points us to the doctrine of a Trinity. 2. *Temura* (תְּמוּרָא concealment), which indicates an arbitrary transposition of the letters of any word, so as to constitute another and different word; e. g. Gen. 1, 1 בְּרֵאשִׁית transposed makes בְּתִישְׁרָא, i. e. in the month *Tisri* or September; which shows, say the cabbalists, that the world was created in that month. The only method which has the least resemblance to Rev.

13, 18 is: 3. *Gematria* (גִּמַטְרִיָא, *γεωμετρία*?) which means a computation of the numerical value of letters in one or more words, and then deducing the meaning from some other word which is of the same numerical value; e. g. Gen. 49, 10 יָבוֹא שִׁילֹה 'Shiloh will come,' amounts numerically to 358, which is the exact numerical amount of מָשִׁיחַ *Messiah*. Consequently the two Hebrew words in Gen. 49, 10 designate the Messiah!

Not the most distant resemblance can be found to John's use of 666, anywhere in the cabbala except here; and surely there is something here, which is quite remote from the manner in which he employs his mystical number. In *Gematria* the signification of a word is deemed equivalent to, or synonymous with, that of a another word whose *numerical* value is the same; that is, the letters both of יָבוֹא שִׁילֹה and of מָשִׁיחַ designate numerically 358; *ergo*, both must have the same meaning, or must refer to the same individual. But how has John shaped his enigma? The number 666, if expressed in appropriate letters, will constitute a name, which will lead the reader to know who is meant by the beast. No other word, designating the same number, comes at all into a comparison here. No conclusion is drawn by conceit or imagination from a mere accidental occurrence as to equivalency in numbers. The appropriate letters of a certain number are merely made the symbol, or rather constitute a name, of the persecuting power. There is room here, it must be acknowledged, for the exercise of skill and judgment, as to what the appropriate letters are. But as the circumstances of the case demanded indirect speech, or something in a measure enigmatical, none can justly complain of this. And even if the cabbala of the Rabbins had flourished at the time when John wrote, what reason is there to suppose him to have been acquainted with it? His Master was contemned by the Pharisees for not having any acquaintance with *γράμματα*, i. e. as they meant, Rabbinical learning, John 7, 15. Was the disciple who records this, better versed in these matters than his Master? Or if the presbyter John, at Ephesus, who is named by Papias as a disciple of Christ, and to whom some recent critics are inclined to ascribe the Apocalypse, was the author of Rev. 13, 18, is there any proof that he was versed in cabbalism? Had Paul written such a passage, there would have been more

probability of his being able to draw from Rabbinical store-houses; for he was brought up at the foot of Gamaliel, and was doubtless well versed in all the so-called learning of the day. In a word, it remains yet to be made out, that any part of the New Testament exhibits the peculiar features of cabbalism. I am aware that it has often been assumed, of late, by some of the German critics; but I have never met with any satisfactory proof that the assumption is well grounded.

Let me venture, then, to invite my readers to take a view of ground that has not yet been occupied, at least to my knowledge, in order to illustrate the enigmatical mode of expression which the writer of Rev. 13, 18 has adopted. I will be as brief as the nature of the case will permit; merely suggesting, that as the illustration is from sources not hitherto employed for this purpose, I must say so much as will render my meaning plain and easily intelligible.

It seems scarcely necessary here to enter upon any vindication of the obvious position, that every writer conforms more or less to the *usus loquendi* of his time. This is true not only in respect to the idiom or diction which he employs, but also true in general with respect to the great outlines of his style and manner of representation. For example, and one too which is directly in point, among the later prophets Ezekiel and Daniel stand pre-eminent. No one, however, who has read their works with attention, can call in question for a moment the fact, that they differ exceedingly in their manner of representation from the older prophets. Nor can it be doubted at all, whether the Apocalypse does not more nearly resemble the books of Ezekiel and Daniel, than any other books of the Old Testament or the New.

If the question should be urged, Why John chose these models? the obvious answer is, that he conformed to the taste of the times in which he lived. The numerous apocryphal works of an apocalyptic nature, which were composed nearly at the same time with the Apocalypse, such as the Book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, many of the Sibylline Oracles, the Fourth Book of Ezra, the Pastor of Hermas, and many others which are lost, all testify to the taste and feelings of the times, when, or near which, the Apocalypse was written. If

this method of writing was more grateful to the times in which John lived, it is a good reason for his preferring it.

As to the general style and manner of the Apocalypse, I may presume so much as I have now stated, will be conceded. But was there any thing in the usages of those times—any thing not connected with cabbalism—which showed a tendency to such a mode of representation as that adopted in Rev. 13, 18?

In reading the Sibylline Oracles, which are a singular compound of different writings in different ages, and by writers of different faith, but some parts of which were composed about the same time with the Apocalypse, I have found several passages, the manner and tenor of which are very nearly the same with those of Rev. 13, 18. I shall advert, first of all, to a passage which appears evidently to have been written about A. D. 120. The reader will call to mind that these Oracles, so named, are written in hexameter verse.

In the passage referred to, the writer undertakes to give a list of the Roman emperors down to Adrian, with now and then a trait of character, and a hint of their respective achievements. He begins with *Καῖσαρ*, meaning Julius Cæsar, whom he thus designates:[1]

Ἔσται ἄναξ πρώτιστος, ὅς τις δέκα δὶς κορυφώσει
Γράμματος ἀρχομένου· πολέμων δ' ἐπὶ πουλὺ κρατήσει.

"He will be the first king of all, whose [name] begins with a letter which amounts to twice ten; he will greatly prevail in war." The assumption on the part of the writer is, that what is here uttered was written before Cæsar was born. The *K* in *Καῖσαρ* represents twice ten. To this the writer adds a second designation, namely for the word Julius (*Ἰούλιος*), which he expresses thus: *Ἕξει δ' ἐκ δεκάδος πρῶτον τύπον*, "He shall have the primary form [designation] from the decade, or number ten;" in other and simple words, his first name shall begin with *ι*, which designates ten.

This may serve to give the reader a specimen of the original Greek. For other examples I may confine myself merely to translations. The writer proceeds: "He who next follows is designated by the letter which stands at the head of the alphabet," that

[1] Lib. V. v. 11 sq.

is, *Αὔγουστος* or Augustus. Of Tiberius he says: "He shall have the number 300 upon the first letter" [of his name], viz. *τ*, 300. Then follows "he who has the mark of the number 3," viz. *Γαῖος* or Caius Caligula. Then comes "a king whose name is *δὶς δέκα*, twice ten, viz. *Κλαύδιος* or Claudius, *κ* for 20. Next follows "the dire serpent whose name has the sign of 50," viz. *Νέρων* or Nero, *ν* for 50. The three kings that succeed him, viz. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, are not specified, because of the shortness of their reign. Vespasian, *Οὐεσπασίανος*, "who exhibits the manifest mark of seven times ten" or *ο* for 70; his son, Titus, "whose first letter shows the sign of 300," viz. *τ*, 300; then "the fatal empire of him whose sign is four," viz. Domitian, *δ* for 4; "then the man of 50," Nerva, with *ν* for 50; next, "the man whose name begins with the sign of 300," Trajan, with *τ* for 300; and lastly, "the man who has the silvery name of the sea," viz. Adrian, whose name is like that of the Adriatic sea;—all these follow in regular succession.

Thus has the writer gone through with the whole class of the emperors, down to the time in which he lived. The principle which reigns throughout this whole exhibition is, that of comparing the first letter of the leading popular name of each emperor with the number which it designates. No name is actually mentioned, but it is simply referred to by indicating the *number* which is designated by part of its elements. It is essentially of the same nature, therefore, as the method adopted in Rev. 13, 18. The only difference is, that in the latter case the writer has made the number so large as to take in all the letters of the name intended.

But there are some other instances of a like nature, which follow still more exactly in the steps of John. It must, however, be remarked, that they are of a somewhat uncertain age, but probably belong to a later period, and may possibly have originated from the mere imitation of the Apocalypse, although there is no palpable evidence of this.

The following is a specimen of this later period. The passage in question runs thus:[1]

[1] Lib. I. v. 141 sq.

Ἐννέα γράμματ' ἔχω, τετρασύλλαβός εἰμι, νόει με·
Αἱ τρεῖς αἱ πρῶται δύο γράμματ' ἔχουσιν ἑκάστη,
Ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ λοιπά, καὶ εἰσὶν ἄφωνα τὰ πέντε.
Τοῦ παντὸς δ' ἀριθμοῦ ἑκατοντάδες εἰσὶ δὶς ὀκτώ,
Καὶ τρεῖς τρὶς δεκάδες σὺν γ' ἑπτά.

"I have nine letters, and am of four syllables; consider me. [Q. d. reflect well what name corresponds with this.] The first three have each two letters; the remaining one, the rest [of the letters]. Five of them are consonants. Of the whole number, there are twice eight hundreds, and three times three decades, with seven."

The occasion of such a description, as given by the Sibyllist, is, that Jehovah is addressing Noah, and propounding to him a secret or mysterious name by which he is called. As in respect to Rev. 13, 18 a great variety of conjectures have been made, so here. I shall not occupy any time with the discussion of these; but merely observe, that the Greek word *ἀνέκφωνος* (unspeakable) answers well to the description. It has nine letters and four syllables; the first three syllables have each two letters, the remaining one, of course, the rest. Five of the letters are consonants. The numeral sum is 1696; which lacks *one* of the requisite number; but by the aid of a unit, (the restorative and helping number, as the Pythagoreans say,) it amounts to just the required number.

Whatever word, however, may constitute the true solution of this, the whole passage is manifestly of the like tenor with that in Rev. 13, 18. It is the designation of a name, by the use of numbers represented by letters.

Once more; in the same book there is another passage still more exactly like to the one under consideration. It runs thus:[1]

Τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρων, τάδ' ἄφωνα ἐν αὐτῷ
Δισσόντ' ἀγγέλλων, ἀριθμὸν δ' ὅλον ἐξονομήσω.
Ὀκτὼ γὰρ μονάδας, τόσσας δεκάδας ἐπὶ τούτοις,
Ἠδ' ἑκατοντάδας ὀκτώ, ἀπιστοκόροις ἀνθρώποις
Οὔνομα δηλώσει.

[1] Lib. I. v. 325 sq.

"Producing four vowels, and announcing doubly the consonants in it, I will recount the whole number. His name shall designate to unbelieving men eight monads [unities], as many decades added to these, and also 800."

There is much variety of reading, and perplexity among interpreters, in respect to the two first lines of this extract. I have given the text by selecting, from different readings, those which seem to make the only tolerable sense. The name to which the passage refers is plainly Ἰησοῦς *Jesus;* for so the preceding context manifestly declares. The writer is predicting the advent of the Messiah: "Then the son of the great God, clothed in flesh, shall come to men, made like to mortal men on earth;" after which follows the mystical passage above presented. The numbers of the name Ἰησοῦς agree with the numerical quantity expressed in the Greek verses; thus, ι 10, η 8, σ 200, ο 70, υ 400, ς 200; whole sum 888. Moreover, there are four vowels and two consonants. Here then is a kind of exact counterpart of Rev. 13, 18; the name of the personage about to make his appearance is represented by 888, for the letters which make up this composite number, four of them being vowels and two consonants, will constitute the name in question. This last particular, namely, that which respects the vowels and consonants, is a little more minute and specific than any thing in Rev. 13, 18; but in all other respects the parallel is perfect.

What may we conclude, now, from exhibitions of this kind, which we thus meet with in other ancient writings besides the Apocalypse? In respect to all the extracts from the Sibylline Oracles made above, I have not been able to discover any particular leaning upon the Apocalypse, or favouritism for it. Indeed, throughout the Sibylline Oracles, various as they are, derived also from many sources and composed at different periods, it is very seldom the case that they exhibit any particular dependence on, or connexion with, the Apocalypse. Of course, examples of the mystical use of numbers (if I may so express it), such as those exhibited above, and conditioned as they are, cast a strong light on the question: Whether John, in writing Rev. 13, 18, may well be supposed to have done nothing more than to conform to a *usus loquendi* of his day, which was by no means unfrequent? I cannot help thinking that this question should be emphatically answered in the

affirmative. A writer who expected to be understood *ὑπὸ τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸν νοῦν* (as he expresses himself), would not adopt modes of expression which would be regarded as altogether without precedent, and looked upon either as the product of mere caprice, fancy, or mysticism, or as being so dark and unintelligible that no reader could hope to attain to the true meaning. In fact we may well doubt, whether there appeared to John's readers, to be any thing particularly strange or *outré* in the declarations made by Rev. 13, 18.

It is time to hasten to a close. But I must beg the indulgence of making a few remarks here; for this may not be inapposite on an occasion like the present.

I am aware that illustrations and arguments of such a nature as I have now employed, can be thoroughly understood and appreciated only by the few, who devote themselves in some good measure to the critical study of the Scriptures. The number of these is evidently on the increase, in our country. The particular reason why I have chosen such a subject for discussion, is the present state of our religious community in regard to the book of Revelation. There is, indeed, scarcely any thing new in the opinions relative to this book, which are published and urged upon the community from week to week; but it is somewhat new to find our community so much agitated as they are on this subject, and many of them driven hither and thither by every wind of doctrine. It is time that some metes and bounds were set, if indeed they may be set, to the surging flood that is sweeping so many of the incautious and unwary before it.

I regard it as a principle of interpreting Scripture, from which there can be no appeal, and to which no valid objection can be made, that we must have reference always to the times in which a writer lived; to the *usus loquendi* of his age and country; to the style and taste of his contemporaries; to the historical circumstances in which his work was composed; and of course, and above all, to the main design which he had in view. Every expositor who neglects these things, or who is ignorant in any considerable degree respecting them, is certain to go wrong in many respects. How can those be trusted, then, to expound the more difficult and abstruse portions of the Scriptures, who are acquainted neither with

the original language, nor with any of the attendant circumstances, of a scriptural composition? Let them be ever so honest and well-meaning, they must of necessity err in many respects.

It is in vain to deny this, or to appeal to the promises of Scripture, that true Christians shall always be guided in all their opinions respecting matters of revelation. The promises of this nature are *practical* ones; and as such they are fulfilled. The *duty* of men lies upon the very face of the Bible, and all men may understand it, who can read the Scriptures, and who are possessed of common sense. But how can such promises be applied to all those parts of the Scriptures which refer to things, or persons, or occurrences, in distant countries and ages, of which the reader has little or no knowledge? And if such an application is to be made, how shall we account for it, that sincere Christians may and often do differ in their interpretation of particular texts?

If the Apocalypse is ever to be understood in these latter days, it must either be explained by some inspired interpreter, or else the meaning must be obtained by the same process as that which we employ in the study of all other ancient writings. There are but two things which we can trust here; the one is inspiration, the other is the laws of hermeneutics. If any one can show a valid title to the former, let us hear him; if not, we can give him our ear only when he follows the proper laws of interpretation.

What estimate then is to be put upon mere fancy, imagination, mysticism, or guessing, in respect to the meaning of John in the Apocalypse? And is it not passing strange, that those who launch into these, do not once look upon the rocky shore covered with the wrecks of those who have before set sail in the same direction? Warn them of this, and they will probably stop their ears, and turn away their eyes. The enthusiasm which leads them to take such a course, forbids them to attend to the voice of warning. And the worst feature of all is, that they look with indignation or scorn upon all who doubt or call in question the safety of their course. Ignorance and enthusiasm are always confident. A sober and judicious man, who has well examined, may also attain to confidence; but his ears will always be open to any new voice which instructs, and his eyes open to any new prospects which are disclosed.

Never was any book abused as the Apocalypse has been. En-

thusiasts on the one hand, and skeptics on the other, have, although unwittingly, united their efforts to obscure and degrade it. May some more auspicious light speedily dawn upon the darkness of the churches, in respect to the true design and meaning of this peculiar and sublime composition!

That the conclusion to which I have come, in the preceding pages, respecting the number of the beast, is well grounded, can be thoroughly understood and appreciated only by him, who so reads the whole book as to be able to decide with satisfaction, what are the great aims and ends of its author. To me, I confess it would seem strange, if, after having done this, he should entertain any considerable doubt, whether the *first* beast, in chap. 13, is the civil, heathen, persecuting power of Rome,—of Rome as engaged in laying waste the church of God. If there be any thing clear in all the prophetic parts of this book, I must believe that this is so. Indeed, such are my views of this matter, that I should utterly despair of ever attaining to the true interpretation of any prophecy in the Old Testament or the New, if this conclusion be not well founded; for in coming to it, I am conscious that it has been my only aim, to follow out the simple principles of exegesis, let them lead me where they might. But still, I claim no exemption from error. I may have made a wrong application of these principles; or possibly I may have even mistaken the right principles themselves. I am still open to conviction. But until I see reason to believe, that one or the other of these misfortunes has happened to me, my present convictions must remain.

In the mean time, if any reader can make known "a more excellent way," let him speak. Discussion is, or should be, for the sake of eliciting truth; and I am very willing that my opinions should be canvassed. But let us not have conjecture instead of argument, nor fanciful guesses in the place of illustrations from analogy and from ancient history.

VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF GESENIUS AND NORDHEIMER.

BY THE EDITOR.

The year 1842 was marked, in the providence of God, by the removal of two distinguished ornaments of Hebrew literature. The one, Gesenius, though not far advanced in years, was yet the Nestor and leader in all that pertains to the language and literature of the Old Testament in the old world. The other, Nordheimer, comparatively just entering upon his course of influence as a writer, might nevertheless be acknowledged as standing at the head of the scholars of the new world, in an exact and familiar acquaintance with the whole range of the Hebrew language and its philology. They died within a few days of each other. It was the privilege of the writer of these lines to sustain intimate relations with both these estimable men; and the present seems a fitting occasion to bring his tribute of respect and gratitude, and lay it upon their tomb.

I. Gesenius.

William Gesenius was born Feb. 3d, 1786, at Nordhausen, a town of Hanover south of the Harz mountains; and died Oct. 23d, 1842, as Professor of Theology in the University of Halle, aged 56 years 8½ months. His father was a practising physician in Nordhausen, and not unknown as a medical writer. The son received his early education in the Gymnasium of his native city; and then pursued his studies at the University of Helmstädt under Henke and Bredow[1]; and afterwards at Göttingen. In 1806, at the age of twenty, he became *Magister legens* and *Repetent* in the latter university, where he continued for three years. His studies had early been turned to the oriental languages; and the need which he soon perceived of a better mode of treating both the grammar

[1] The University of Helmstädt was disbanded in Dec. 1809, during the transient existence of the kingdom of Westphalia.

and lexicography of the Hebrew, led him to devote himself exclusively to the elucidation of the Old Testament. This determination took place during his residence at Göttingen, where he already made preparations for his Hebrew Lexicon. In 1809, at the instance of the celebrated historian Johannes von Müller, then a minister of the Westphalian government, he was appointed Professor of ancient Literature in the Gymnasium at Heiligenstadt, not far from Göttingen. Thence he was transferred in 1810, as Professor Extraordinary to the University of Halle, at that time belonging to the kingdom of Westphalia; where in 1811 he became ordinary Professor of Theology. The purpose of the Westphalian government to remove him in the same capacity to Göttingen, was frustrated by the dissolution of that kingdom in 1813. In the re-organization of the University of Halle under the Prussian government in 1814, Gesenius retained his place; and devoting himself to the pursuits of oriental philology and literature, his life was thenceforth chequered by few external changes. On the death of Eichhorn at Göttingen in 1827, Gesenius was invited by the government of Hanover to the vacant chair; and made a journey to Göttingen in reference to this matter. But being now the father of a family; and having made all his arrangements and collected his materials for study and labour in Halle, where too he had already won his chief laurels; he ultimately declined the appointment, with the fixed resolution never to be tempted away from the place of his growth. To this resolution he held firm; notwithstanding private intimations, that he might, if he pleased, be transferred to the more flourishing metropolitan university at Berlin. In the summer of 1820 he made a literary journey to England and France, examining manuscripts in the public libraries and collecting materials for his future labours in the Semitic languages. He again visited England early in 1836, in order to examine Phenician inscriptions, in reference to his great work on the remains of the language of that remarkable people.

The great literary objects to which the life of Gesenius was devoted, were first the lexicography and then the grammar of the Hebrew tongue. Whatever else he published was all intended to bear upon the illustration of that language and its philology. As a scholar, his literary career was unusually precocious. His earli-

est publication was a small treatise on the Maltese dialect in 1810;[1] this was followed in the same year, at the age of twenty-four, by the first volume of his Hebrew Lexicon; the second volume of which appeared two years later, in 1812.[2] This work exhibited that extensive and profound research, that command of materials and sagacity in the use of them, which have placed its author in the first rank of modern philologists. Many of the views and results, however, evolved in the ardour and freshness of youthful pursuit, did not stand the test of the author's own riper judgment and investigations; and in later years he was accustomed to look upon this as a juvenile work. Still it opened up a new and wide field in Hebrew literature; removed from that study its repulsive aspect; and rendered it accessible to all. So great was the success of this work, that the author was immediately applied to by the publishers, to construct a Lexicon of the New Testament on the like principles. But his determination had been already made, to confine himself to the illustration of the Hebrew Scriptures; and he therefore recommended for the proposed work on the New Testament his friend the younger Planck of Göttingen, who undertook it, but did not live to complete it.

The Lexicon was followed in 1813 by an elementary Hebrew Grammar; which, in its successive editions, has continued to be the current and almost the only Grammar of that tongue in common use in the schools of Germany until the present day.[3] In 1814 appeared a small Chrestomathy, which has also had an extensive circulation.[4] In the same year, in connexion with his new relations on the reorganization of the University by Prussia, he undertook the preparation of his Dissertation on the Samaritan Pentateuch,

[1] *Versuch über die Maltesische Sprache*, 8 vo. Leipz. 1810.

[2] *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. 8 vo. Leipz. 1810-12. Translated and published in England by C. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon* etc. 2 vols. 4to. Cambr. 1825.

[3] *Hebräische Grammatik*, 8vo. Halle, 1813. Translated from the eleventh edition (1834) and published in this country by Prof. Conant, in 1839; 3d edit. 1842. This Translation was reprinted in London, 8vo. 1840.—The thirteenth edition of the original, with improvements, appeared Halle, 1842. A copy was received by the writer from the author.

[4] *Hebräisches Lesebuch*, 8vo. Halle, 1814. Sixth edition, Halle, 1834.

which was published in 1815, and will ever remain a model for investigations of the like kind.[1]

By this time the first edition of the Lexicon was exhausted. Although Gesenius had already formed the plan of enlarging it to a *Thesaurus* of the Hebrew language; yet, as he was not so soon able to satisfy himself in the execution of such a work, he preferred to supply the present demand and prepare the way for future labour, by issuing a smaller volume. This took the form of a Manual, or Lexicon for Schools, which first appeared in 1815, and was reprinted with corrections in 1823, 1828, and 1834; each edition consisting of three thousand copies.[2] That of 1815 was translated and published in this country by Prof. Gibbs.[3] To the edition of 1823 was prefixed a valuable Essay on the sources of Hebrew Lexicography; which has also been translated.[4]

In 1815 appeared also the History of the Hebrew Language;[5] a small but valuable work, though somewhat hastily compiled. His own later researches, as well as those of other scholars, have in a great measure superseded this treatise, which for many years he had been wishing to rewrite.

The next two years appear to have been employed in the preparation of his *Lehrgebäude*, or systematic work on Hebrew Grammar, which was published in 1817.[6] This volume is very valuable as a vast collection and masterly arrangement of the *facts* of the Hebrew tongue, of which it is truly a storehouse; but the objection has been made, that it does not enter sufficiently into the *philosophy* of the language. A large number of copies was printed, much to the subsequent regret of the author; because, as the edition was not exhausted until after many years, he was unable to revise

[1] *De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine, Indole, et Auctoritate*, 4to. Halae, 1815.

[2] *Neues Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch, einer für Schulen umgearbeiteter Auszug* etc. Leipz. 1815. The later editions bear the title: *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das A. T.* Leipz. 1823, 1828, 1834.

[3] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Andover, 1824.

[4] Translated by the Editor, and inserted in the Biblical Repos. Vol. III. p. 1 sq.

[5] *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, 8vo. Leipz. 1815.

[6] *Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 8vo. Leipz. 1817.

the work and shape it to an accordance with his later views. Those views he could bring before the public only partially, in the successive editions of the smaller Grammar. He nevertheless, for several years before his death, cherished the plan of rewriting the *Lehrgebäude*, after his great lexicographical work should be completed.

The next great work of Gesenius was his Commentary on the Book of the prophet Isaiah; the first part of which, containing the translation, appeared in 1820, though the preface is dated in 1819; and the other parts, comprising the commentary, were published in 1821.[1] In the interval between the publication of the different parts, the author visited Oxford and Paris; and returned with a large collection of materials drawn from manuscripts relating to his department of study, from which he was able to enrich his commentary. While several of the positions taken by the author as to the origin and history of this book, and as to its prophetic character, cannot be sustained; yet no one can regard the deep philological and antiquarian research and learning, brought to bear upon the elucidation of this difficult and sublime portion of Scripture, without profound respect and admiration.

At this time the public reputation of Gesenius may be said to have reached its maturity. The works which he had already published embraced all the chief branches of Hebrew philology; he had put forth his strength in the departments of grammar, lexicography, and interpretation; and these efforts had been recognised all the world over as those of a master mind. His labours for the next six or seven years, were devoted mainly to the correction and republication of his former elementary works; especially the manual Lexicon, of which a new edition appeared in 1823; and to the collection and arrangement of the materials for his proposed *Thesaurus*. From the papers brought with him from England, he published in 1822 and 1824 two tracts relating to the theology and literature of the Samaritans.[2] These documents had laid for two centuries or more in the Bodleian Library, unused and unread;

[1] *Der Prophet Jesaia; übersetzt und mit einem Commentar begleitet.* 4 Theile, 8vo. Leipz. 1820-21. The first part containing the Translation was reprinted separately in 1829.

[2] *De Samaritanorum Theologia ex fontibus ineditis*, Hal. 1822. 4.—*Carmina Samaritana, interpretatione Lat. cum commentario illustrata*, Lips. 1824. 4.

until by a happy exercise of critical sagacity, Gesenius discovered that they contained alphabetical hymns; and he was thus enabled to arrange the leaves and make their contents known to the world. He also added important notes to the German translation of Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, published in 1823 under his name, but made by his friend Rienecke, one of the pastors in Halle.[1] The main occupation of these years, however, in addition to his public lectures, was the preparation of the Thesaurus. The first *fasciculus* of that great work was completed early in 1827; with some effort indeed, in order to be presented to Niemeyer, to whom it was dedicated, on the day of his *Jubilaeum* in April of that year; an occasion at which the writer of these lines was present. At that time it was not intended to publish any portion of the work, until the whole should be completed; but the plan was afterwards departed from, and this first part given to the world in 1829.

In 1828 appeared the third edition of his manual Lexicon; and in 1827 he had already commenced the preparation of a similar work in Latin; which at first was designed to be little more than a version of the edition of 1828, for the use of foreign students unacquainted with the German tongue. Circumstances, however, arose about this period, which mark the two or three following years as an epoch in the literary life of Gesenius; and these also gave to the work in question a different character, and deferred its publication for some years.[2]

To Gesenius unquestionably belonged at that time, and still belongs, the high merit of having given an impulse and interest to the cultivation of Hebrew literature, far beyond any thing which had been felt since the days of the Buxtorfs. At the commencement of his labours, Hebrew learning in Germany, as elsewhere, was at a very low ebb. In the autumn of 1829, the writer was present at the opening of his course of lectures on Genesis. He then stated, as illustrating the progress of this branch

[1] The writer is in possession of Gesenius' own copy of this work, with manuscript notes. It was put into his hands by Gesenius on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land, and was of great service during the journey.

[2] *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in V. T. Libros*, Lips. 1833.—Translated by the Editor: *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee*, etc. Boston 1836.

of literature, that he was about to lecture on that book for the tenth time in course; that when nineteen years before he had commenced his career in Halle with the same course, the number of his hearers was but fourteen; and that he had then felt gratified even with this number, because his colleague, the celebrated Vater, had lectured on the same book the preceding year to a class of only seven. This statement was made to a class of *five hundred* hearers. At that time, the University of Halle, which twenty years before had been well nigh disbanded, numbered in all 1330 pupils; of whom not less then 944 were students of theology, drawn thither for the most part by the celebrity of Gesenius. Among them were natives of every state of Germany, and also of England, Denmark, Poland, Holland, France, Hungary, Greece, and the United States of America.

Up to this time Gesenius had stood as the acknowledged head of this great movement; he was its leader and soul; he had marked out the path in which all, for at least seventeen years, had now followed in his footsteps. But among the thousands who had been his pupils, many of whom were now devoting their lives to Hebrew and oriental literature; and also among others, who had been led on by his example and instructed by his labours; it would have been strange indeed, had there arisen none to penetrate farther than he into some of the various departments and recesses of Hebrew philology. In the same interval, too, De Sacy and his numerous pupils had been culling the flowers of Arabic literature, and spreading them in profusion before the public eye. In comparative philology, likewise, and especially in respect to the Indo-European languages, the views developed by Bopp and Grimm in various works had made a strong impression upon the literary world. All these sources of improvement began now to be applied to the elucidation of the Hebrew and its kindred dialects. Hupfeld and Ewald—the former the pupil and friend of Gesenius, the latter his bitter opponent—had led the way in the application of these new sources and materials; and the Hebrew Grammar of the latter, which presented different views and a new philosophy of explanation, had been published in 1827, and was received with favour by many, on the ground of its philosophical developments. All these circumstances caused Gesenius to pause

for a time in his career, and they appear to have given a new direction, or rather a new impulse and enlargement to his studies. The preparation of the Thesaurus was suspended; and the character of the Latin Manual was greatly changed during its progress, so that it became at length a new work, drawn chiefly from the materials collected for the Thesaurus, under the influence of these more extended views.

It was perhaps a singular merit in Gesenius, that he was ever among the first to admit and adopt, with full acknowledgment, every valuable suggestion, from whatever quarter it might come; and also every result which would bear examination, however contrary it might be to his own previous views. The following sentence is doubtless a fair and candid exposition of his creed and practice in this respect: "Unwearied personal investigation, and an impartial examination of the researches of others; the grateful admission and adoption of every real advance and illustration of science; but also a manly foresight and caution, which does not with eager levity adopt every novelty thrown out in haste and from the love of innovation; all these must go hand in hand, wherever scientific truth is to be successfully promoted."[1] The sincerity of this language is evinced in all his subsequent works, by the references and acknowledgments made, not only to the labours of his pupils and personal friends, but also to those of Winer, Ewald, and others, who set themselves up as his opposers.

Some of the results of this new direction and impulse in the studies of Gesenius, were first made known in the tenth and eleventh editions of his elementary Grammar, published in 1831 and 1833; and then also in the Latin Manual, which appeared in 1833. These works, as compared with the previous labours of the author, exhibit evidence of a great advance; both in the wider range of scientific principles, and in the skill and tact of their practical application. By following out the researches of Hupfeld in respect to the elementary sounds, letters, particles, and pronouns of the Hebrew, in their power and use; by introducing a more careful investigation of the primary signification of the Hebrew roots, as well by means of their kindred analogies one with another and with

[1] Heb. Gr. ed. 11, p. vii.

the like roots of other Semitic dialects, as through the reference of whole families of triliteral roots to single biliteral ones, which are often onomatopoetic, and the illustration of these latter from the analogies of the Indo-European tongues, viz. the Sanscrit, Zend, Persian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, English, and others; and also by a more exact and logical arrangement of the various significations, as derived from the primary one, in which as well as in the treatment of the particles, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Winer;[1]—from all these sources he was able, not indeed to obtain a new basis for Hebrew grammar and lexicography, but certainly to enlarge and strengthen the old one by new courses of materials and a new and firmer cement. The great Semitic family was no longer left to occupy its former lone position, as a solitary cluster of dialects; but was brought into connexion and affinity with the other great families of tongues, and shown to be one among many kindred branches in the vast aggregate of human language, which now forms the object of comparative philology.

If therefore it be true, that others have in various respects made advances upon the earlier works of Gesenius, it may be said without hesitation, that these advances bear no proportion to those which he made upon himself, in the works above mentioned; and the same constant progress and enlargement of views continued to mark all his labours down to the close of life.

The fourth edition of the German Manual was published in 1834. The preparation of the Thesaurus had already been resumed, and the second *fasciculus*, after considerable delay, appeared in 1835. One source of this delay was the long and dangerous illness of his whole household; by which, in an interval of four months, he was called to mourn the death of three children, while himself, his wife, and four other children were all brought to the borders of the grave. To this event he touchingly alludes in the preface of the above volume. His own illness was connected with an alarming complaint of the breast, from which, however he was at length relieved. Another cause of the delay, was the attention he had been led to bestow upon the *palæography* of the Semitic languages. This had always been with him a favourite study; and traces of it appear

[1] Pref. to Lex. Man. 1833, p. viii.

more or less in all his writings. So early as in his notes on Burckhardt's Travels, he had ventured some unsatisfactory conjectures towards deciphering the celebrated inscriptions found on the rocks of the Sinaitic peninsula;[1] and he had published in 1825 a dissertation upon a Phenician-Greek inscription, which was then making some noise, said to have been found in the region of Cyrene, but which afterwards turned out to be an imposition.[2] But he now had taken up the subject more in earnest, especially in respect to the Phenician and Punic palæography; and the fruit of this new impulse was a treatise upon the subject, published also in 1835, which was the germ of his later noble work upon the Phenician language.[3]

It was not the habit of Gesenius to have more than one great object of pursuit at one and the same time; and having become thus interested in palæographic studies, the Thesaurus, although announced to be completed in two years more, was again laid aside, and he devoted himself with fresh ardour to the collection of materials for the illustration of the ancient Phenician. To this end he made a second journey to England early in 1836; where he received great assistance, not only from individual scholars, but also from the Asiatic Society, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Geographical Society. The first of these sent circulars to all the English agents residing in the countries where any remains of this language were likely to be found; and from these and other sources he was able to collect exact copies, mostly facsimiles, of all the known inscriptions and coins. Many of these were still to be deciphered; but from them all, he was able to make out the alphabet, and to complete his great work upon the Monuments of the Phenician language. This was published in 1837, and embraces all the known remains of the Phenician and Punic writing and language; as existing in monumental inscriptions, upon coins, and in Plautus and other ancient writers.[4] These sources are all minute-

[1] Burckhardt, Germ. p. 1071 sq. These have since been deciphered by Prof. Beer of Leipsic; see his *Studia Asiatica, Fasc.* III. *Inscriptiones Veteres ad Montem Sinai.* Lips. 1840. Also Biblical Researches in Palest. I. pp. 188, 552 sq.

[2] *De Inscriptione Phœnicio-Græca in Cyrenaica nuper reperta*, Hal. 1825. 4. See more in his *Monumenta Phœnic.* p. 247 sq.

[3] *Palæographische Studien über Phönizische und Punische Schrift.* Leipz. 1835. 4.

[4] *Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta quotquot supersunt.* Lips. 1837. 4.

ly described; and from the words and forms thence resulting, is deduced the grammatical character and structure of this lost tongue; which is thus found to have been closely kindred to the other Semitic dialects. As an exhibition of critical sagacity and logical development, based upon sound judgment, this work has rarely been surpassed.

Again the Thesaurus was resumed; the third *fasciculus* appeared in 1839; the fourth in 1840; and the fifth, extending to the article שָׁבַר, was completed in May, 1842. There remains yet a sixth part necessary to complete the work; intended to contain the residue of the text, a quadruple index, additions and corrections, especially to the first part, and the general preface. Whether the author, before his decease, was able fully to arrange the materials for this part, is not known to the public; but at any rate, they were all so nearly prepared, that it will not be difficult for any of his associates, to carry out and perfect this main labour of his life. Early in the same year also, 1842, was published the thirteenth edition of his elementary Hebrew Grammar, with important additions. This work, by the clearness and method of its principles and expositions, fully maintains its place over all rivals in the schools of Germany.

It is not known that Gesenius had definite plans for any new works, had his life been spared; but it was his often expressed purpose, so soon as the Thesaurus should be completed, to prepare new editions of his *Lehrgebäude* and the History of the Hebrew Language; which were now out of print, and also in his own estimation far below the present standard of Hebrew philology.

Such is a general review of the published labours of Gesenius; which serves at least to show, that his was not a life of indolence and ease. But besides all these separate works, he was a copious writer in the periodical literature of the day; chiefly in the *Literatur-Zeitung* of Halle, of which he was one of the editors. Many articles, also, on topics connected with Hebrew and oriental literature, were furnished by him for the great Encyclopedia of Ersch and Gruber.

The station of Gesenius in the University led him, for more than thirty years, regularly to deliver two lectures a day in public, besides occasional courses and more private classes. His circle of

lectures occupied two years or four semesters; one part, or the exegetical course, comprising the books of Genesis, Job, select Psalms, and Isaiah; and the other part embracing an Introduction to the Old Testament, Hebrew Antiquities, and Ecclesiastical History. This last topic he was led to take up at a time when there was at Halle no other lecturer upon it; and he afterwards continued it, as a matter of convenience. The historian Gieseler, now of Göttingen, was once his pupil; and when the first volume of his Church History appeared in 1827, the writer of these lines, who had just heard the lectures of Gesenius, was struck with the general accordance of the text of that volume with those lectures.

Gesenius was popular as a lecturer, and his lecture-room was always thronged. His manner was easy and natural, too often perhaps familiar, always animated, and without any effort for effect. So clear were his own conceptions, that he never uttered a sentence, nor scarcely ever wrote one, which even the dullest intellect did not at once comprehend. In this respect, he may be said to stand out almost alone among modern German scholars.

If we may be permitted to point out another distinguishing trait in the character and scholarship of Gesenius, it was good sense and sobriety of judgment. He was very rarely led away into the visionary pursuit of brilliant paradoxes or striking novelties. In all that fell within the proper sphere of his own researches, he never rested upon the authority of others, but investigated for himself, with all the minute accuracy and closeness of detail and unwearied industry for which German learning is celebrated. His one great object was philological truth. He had no preconceived theories, to the support of which he was at all hazards committed, and in connexion with which only he sought for truth. These traits, combined with his extensive learning, inspired a confidence in his researches and opinions on topics connected with Hebrew philology, such as has been bestowed on few scholars. Indeed the whole cast of his mind, in respect to practical good sense, was more of the English mould. It was English mind with German discipline and habits.

In person Gesenius was hardly of the middle size, with symmetrical features, a high forehead, and light eyes and complexion. In all his movements and deportment there was a degree of quick-

ness and vivacity, which, agreeing well with his features, preserved to him a youthful appearance until quite the latter years of his life, when his gray hairs removed the illusion. He was kind and social in his habits; and his manners had much more of the gentleman and man of the world, than is usual among German professors. A stranger meeting him in society, would never have suspected that he was a laborious and eminently distinguished philologist; much less the first Hebrew scholar of the age. His lectures and the extensive sale of his works brought him in a good income; and being economical in his habits, he is understood to have accumulated a handsome property, and to have provided well for his household. Indeed he was sometimes accused of being too economical; but the only circumstance usually specified as affording ground for such a remark, was the fact of his being less ready than others of his colleagues, to remit the fees of students attending his lectures. He was accustomed often to see his literary friends at his house in the evening; where in the manner of German social life a supper was a necessary accompaniment. Some of his pupils were usually invited on these occasions. In this way circles of great interest were sometimes met with around his table, embracing high literary names. The writer well remembers a more private occasion of this kind; when on his own return from Palestine in 1838, he passed an evening at the house of Gesenius, with only Gesenius himself, Tholuck, Roediger and Rienecke. Here the results of his journey were made known and discussed, and the proper mode of bringing them before the world canvassed.

One trait of character very creditable to Gesenius, was his desire and endeavour to be on good terms with all around him; even with those who, either voluntarily or by the force of circumstances, might have come to stand in opposition to him. During his visit to Göttingen in 1827, soon after Ewald had put forth a bitter personal attack upon him, Gesenius nevertheless called upon him as a literary compeer and fellow-labourer in the same department; supposing that much of the bitterness had arisen from a false estimate of his character and relative position. The visit is understood to have had some influence in the respect intended; though the proverbial acerbity of Ewald afterwards broke out again, and never more grossly than just before the death of Gesenius. In like

manner, in A. D. 1829, during the fierce war which then raged in Halle against Tholuck and the orthodox party, in which of course Gesenius was by his position on the side of the aggressors, yet he and Tholuck met as sponsors at the baptism of a child now in this country; and that too with a kindly feeling, which would not have permitted a stranger to suppose them at variance. These are but single instances of what was in Gesenius a well known and acknowledged trait.

As a man of business in an official station, he was deficient in that firmness and stability of character, which inspires public confidence. It may have been because the duties of such a station were not congenial to his habits of mind, nor to his education. As Prorector of the University in 1824, he had to do with a mass of young men excited and troubled by the spirit of their own secret associations, and by the counteracting measures of the government. For such a conjuncture he was wholly unfitted by all his previous tastes and habits of life. No wonder that he misjudged. A student was arrested and confined in prison. On this a tumult arose, and the students paraded the streets in a state of great excitement. Hoping to appease them, Gesenius took the student from prison to his own house; and when at evening the magistrates came to him as Prorector to aid in quelling the further tumult, they are said to have found him with the student and others quietly enjoying themselves at the supper table. The Prussian government so strongly censured this mistake, as to take from him the office of Prorector, and give it to another.

Still more deeply to be regretted, both as it regards himself personally and also his wide-spread influence as an interpreter of the Scriptures, were the defects of his character in a religious respect. In his early years he was thrown by circumstances into the ranks of those who then bore the name of rationalists; and he appears never to have felt a sufficient personal interest in the subject, to give it a subsequent examination, or attempt to disabuse his mind from its early bias. Yet he was never an active partisan. His position was rather that of indifference. He was not a believer in the inspiration of the sacred volume; but pursued the study and illustration of the Hebrew Scriptures, as an ancient book of graphic history and sublime poetry; just as Heyne illustrated the poetry of Homer.

His object here too was philological truth; and there is no good reason to suppose, that his theological indifference led him to falter or swerve in its pursuit. In certain respects, however, this doubtless had, and indeed could not but have, an influence upon his opinions. Thus, denying as he did the inspiration of the Scriptures, he could not admit the genuineness of the latter portion of the book of Isaiah, nor the early age and composition of the Pentateuch. These are fundamental matters, which stand or fall with the doctrine of inspiration. Yet in the interpretation of these writings, his veneration for truth rarely forsook him; and wherever he did depart from the received views, he took care conscientiously to state also the latter. In regard to the great doctrines of the Gospel, he was ever ready to admit, that, if we follow the language and views of the writers of the New Testament, the truth lies with Christians of the evangelical faith; although, denying here also all inspiration, he held that the faith of the Apostles is not binding upon us. His creed, perhaps, so far as he had any, approached most nearly to a pure deism; but, as in the case of all other deists, it was moulded and modified in its development and ethics by the controlling influence of practical Christianity.

In this connexion, it may be remarked of Gesenius, as a trait evincing a paramount love of truth and honesty of purpose, that in very many passages of Scripture, where in the ardour of youthful pursuit he had proposed new interpretations, he was led by further study and consideration afterwards to adopt the former modes of exposition. It was his own remark, that the older he grew the more he was inclined to return in very many cases to the received methods of interpretation; and the later numbers of his Thesaurus furnish abundant testimony to the sincerity of this declaration.

In his personal habits, Gesenius was orderly, methodical, and diligent. His dress was always neat; and his manners ever kind and affable. In his early years he was a night-student; devoting to the eager acquisition of knowledge those hours which nature has designed for rest;—a course by which so many often lay the foundation of future suffering and early decay and death. He afterwards changed his habits in this respect. Rising at five o'clock he usually laboured in his study until ten; when his lectures commenced and continued till twelve. The customary dinner hour at

Halle is half past twelve; and the time afterwards, until four or five o'clock, was devoted to relaxation, to the calls of friends and students, and often to a ride on horseback. He was then again in his study till eight o'clock, the hour of the evening family meal; and afterwards retired early to rest. The delicate organ in him was the stomach; and to such a degree was this member liable to derangement, that what in others would have been but a moderate repast, sometimes produced in him the appearance of excess.

Indeed, in this same organ was seated the disease which terminated his life. In a letter dated June 10th, 1842, he wrote: "I have recently suffered frequently from a nervous cramp in the stomach, which affects the whole system. It leaves behind it great weakness, and unfits me for labour." The disease continued to increase, until in September and October he was confined to his bed. Under date of October 20th, Prof. Roediger wrote: "Gesenius lies very dangerously ill; for the last week the physicians have given him over; but since day before yesterday we have again some hope." Yet three days after, Oct. 23d, the spirit took its flight. The corpse was exposed for some days in the dead-house connected with the venerable cemetery of Halle. A wreath of myrtle encircled his head; and the body was covered with nosegays and garlands. An eye-witness remarks: "I never saw a corpse that looked so much like life. He was not yet fifty-seven years old; but from his silvery locks and furrowed cheeks, you would have judged him to be at least ten years older." It was his own wish to be borne to the grave by students. On the appointed day the friends of the deceased assembled at the university edifice, where the procession was formed, consisting of a line of four hundred students, (it being still vacation,) followed by the clergy of the city and surrounding villages, the professors and officers of the university, and a long line of citizens. Students bore him to the grave, where a hymn was sung, and an address delivered by the University preacher, Professor Marks. A few more verses were sung, followed by a prayer, and the coffin was lowered. The relatives scattered flowers upon it; the pastor cast in three handfuls of earth, in which he was imitated by the bearers and intimate friends of the deceased; the benediction was pronounced; and the crowd dispersed.

Thus has the master of a wide and useful movement in the human mind been removed from the sphere of his labours; but those labours and their fruits will long live after him. Let the present state of the study and interpretation of the Bible, and especially that of the Old Testament, be compared with what it was thirty years ago, when Gesenius commenced his career, and it will be seen, that in no department of theological or philological learning, has the advance been more rapid and great. The study of the Hebrew Scriptures is no longer an isolated pursuit, repulsive from the want of scientific helps, and the jargon of unmeaning technical terms. Indeed, it may be safely affirmed, that, at the present day, the lexicography and grammar of the Old Testament stand upon a higher step of scientific philology, than do those of the New.

Out of Germany and Denmark, the influence of this movement in behalf of the Hebrew, has been perhaps most perceptible in this western hemisphere. In England and Scotland it has been apparently less felt; or at any rate the seed sown has not sprung up as yet with the like vigour. In our own country, the good sense and ardour of Prof. Stuart early led him to adopt the philological principles and results of Gesenius, and to apply them zealously and successfully in the wide field of his own labour. His Hebrew Grammar, first published in 1821, was founded on those principles; and the successive issue of six editions testifies to the spirit awakened, and the results produced, by his efforts in this department of theology. This was followed in 1824 by Prof. Gibbs' translation of the Hebrew and German Manual of Gesenius, which removed many of the difficulties still remaining in the way of the student. The publication of Hahn's Hebrew Bible in 1831, and the Latin Manual of Gesenius in 1833, furnished great additional facilities; and large numbers of both these works were constantly imported. The translation of this Manual by the writer appeared in 1836, in an edition of three thousand copies; which were all sold at the end of six years. Meanwhile the public have received the excellent Hebrew Grammar of Dr. Nordheimer in two volumes, 1839, 1841, of which the first volume has been reprinted; and likewise Prof. Conant's translation of Gesenius' Elementary Grammar, 1839, third edition 1842.

When it became necessary to prepare for a new edition of the Hebrew and English Lexicon, as translated from the Latin Manual, Gesenius wrote proposing to furnish his own corrections and additions, made during an interval of several years, while carrying at least four *fasciculi* of his Thesaurus through the press. The arrangement was entered into; and the corrected copy of the first 384 pages of this Manual, extending to the end of the letter *Heth* (ח), was transmitted in April 1842. It was a transcript of his own copy prepared for a new edition of the same work, which he expected to put to press near the close of the same year. The portion sent covers nearly the whole of the first two *fasciculi* of the Thesaurus, which were completed in 1827 and 1835; and comprises all his emendations to those two earliest parts of his great work. With these his own revision of the Manual ceased. The remainder of the copy has been received since his death. It contains, however, for the most part, only short hints and references, noted down by the author for future use; but not wrought out by him and incorporated into the work. The labour therefore devolves upon the translator, of carrying out the remainder of the Lexicon in the same spirit, by conforming it to the latest views of the author as exhibited in the Thesaurus. Under these circumstances, it is a gratifying fact, that the author was spared to revise just those earliest portions of the work which stood most in need of correction, and as to which there is no printed record of his latest views; while in the remaining portion, the translator has only to follow those parts of the Thesaurus which have appeared within the last four years, and of course require comparatively very little correction. His effort will be to make the new edition a condensed copy of that great work. It is now in press, and may be expected to appear in October of the present year, 1843.

I close this imperfect notice of the life of an instructor and friend, with the following extract of a letter from Gesenius, dated June 10th, 1842; interesting chiefly as being probably the last received from him in this country:

"The Thesaurus is just finished, as far as to שָׁבַר; which completes Vol. III. Fasc. 1. With the present year I hope to see the end of it, including Index, Preface, Supplement, etc. provided my health does not fail me. I have recently suffered frequently

from a nervous cramp in the stomach, which affects the whole system. It leaves behind it great weakness, and unfits me for labour.

"Your work on Palestine is received in all circles with the universal approbation which it deserves. But what say you to the fact of its being prohibited in Austria? Or, at least, it is not permitted to be advertised.[1] Roediger's review of it in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* you will have seen. The important use I make of the work, you will have noticed already in the copy of the manual Lexicon. Very seldom have I been able to add a remark or a conjecture; as in the case of Ramah.[2]

"Write to me soon; and I hope your letter may acknowledge the arrival of the first package of the revised copy.

Yours,

GESENIUS.

II. NORDHEIMER.

We turn now from the contemplation of a veteran and master, gone down to the grave in fulness of years, of labours, and of fame, to dwell for a few moments upon a fellow labourer in the same good work, who had indeed laid deep and solid foundations for a noble superstructure of influence and fame, but who was snatched away in the commencement of what promised to be a distinguished career of learning and usefulness. Far less precocious than Gesenius, and far less favoured in the privileges of early education, there were nevertheless circumstances in his very training and in the development of his character, which gave him immense advantages as a Hebrew philologist, and afforded evidence of a power and determination to improve these advantages to the utmost. The records of

[1] See No. I. of this work, p. 157. This statement apears to have been unfounded. Kopitar of Vienna, in a letter dated at Rome February 22, 1843, says on this point; "The remark of Gesenius probably rests on a political *lie* of some newspaper editor." The review of Olshausen in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* did not appear until after the date of Gesenius' letter, viz. in the number for April, May, June, 1842.

[2] This particular conjecture was an unfortunate one; see No. I. of this work, p. 204.

his life are very few; and for the following notices up to the time of his departure for the new world, I am indebted to a manuscript drawn up by a friend and fellow-student of his at the University of Munich, who too has followed his example in making this country his home..

Isaac Nordheimer was born of Jewish parents at Memelsdorf, a village not far distant from Erlangen, between Nuremberg and Bamberg, in Bavaria, in the year 1809; and died as Professor of Hebrew and other oriental languages in New-York, Nov. 3d, 1842, aged thirty-three years. He received the rudiments of his education at the school belonging to the Jewish community of his native place. These Jewish elementary schools were at that time, throughout Germany, in a very low condition; depending solely for support upon the Jews themselves, and without aid or oversight from the state. At the present day, most of the governments exercise at least some supervision over these schools; and the Jewish youth are, in general, permitted to enjoy the same instruction as others in all public institutions. In some of the German states, indeed, it is by law made obligatory upon Israelitish parents, as upon all others, to send their children to the public schools; and then their own schools are confined, chiefly, to imparting instruction in religion and the Hebrew tongue.

The paternal grandfather of Nordheimer, a quiet tradesman, possessed a good knowledge of the Hebrew, and had a high veneration for that language. It was natural on his part, to wish that his first-born grandson, for whom he ever cherished a peculiar affection, might become a learned Rabbi, a holy man of God; and it became his favourite occupation to instruct the lively and perhaps roguish boy in the sacred tongue. This made a strong impression on his young mind; and he was afterwards accustomed to look back with gratitude upon this labour of love on the part of his grandfather. He received at the same time private instruction from a learned Jew residing in the place. His progress in Hebrew was so rapid, that at the age of eleven, it was thought advisable to procure for him higher advantages; and he was sent to a learned Rabbi at Burgbreppach, a small town about ten English miles distant. Here he remained two years; and his acquisitions in Hebrew learning were such as to excite surprise and admiration in his

teacher and friends. He was now regarded as sufficiently prepared, to be initiated into the profounder studies of modern Jewish learning, embracing the mysteries of the Talmud and the whole circle of Rabbinic interpretation and philosophic speculation.

At this time one of the most celebrated Jewish schools of modern times was at Pressburg, on the Danube, just within the borders of Hungary. Here taught Moses Szofar, perhaps the most renowned Talmudist of his day; and gathered around him a numerous circle both of Hungarian and foreign pupils, whom he instructed in the doctrines and learning of the Talmud. Nordheimer's family friends, including both his grandparents and a paternal uncle, were now so familiar with the idea of his becoming a Rabbi, that neither the want of means on the part of his parents, nor the remoteness of the school, presented any obstacle to his taking up his residence at Pressburg. The want of means was in part supplied by his maternal grandfather, a man of property, but accounted avaricious; and the other difficulties were speedily surmounted, through the advice and example of a somewhat older relative from the same place, who had already been for some time in Pressburg; and by the ardour and decision of the youth himself, thirsting for instruction and longing to listen to the voice of the venerated master.

The long journey from Nuremberg to Pressburg was made by Nordheimer, at the age of thirteen years, alone, partly on foot and partly in the public conveyances. In Pressburg he met with the kindest reception, and strong encouragement from Rabbi Moses Szofar; to whom, even during his first visit, the talents and unusual acquisitions of the pupil were a stronger recommendation than any letters or testimonials. His relative above mentioned, Lebrecht, now in Berlin, and well known to Hebrew scholars as the recent editor of Kimchi, interested himself for him, and afforded him great aid in his first entrance upon the study of the Talmud.

The Rabbinic schools have a certain resemblance to the Catholic seminaries or convent schools of southern Germany; in which a severe and stern discipline, a remnant of the former rules of the religious orders, shuts out the pupils from all intercourse with public and social life. No wonder that the severity of the system should lead in some cases to secret excesses; and in others,

in after life, to an opposite extreme. In like manner, the life and discipline of the *Bacharim* in the *Jeshivah*, that is, of the pupils in the Rabbinic institute, are described as being in the highest degree of a similar character. This arises, however, not so much from any positive and strict supervision over the actions and studies of the pupils, as from the peculiar character of the institution itself and the method of study pursued; which necessarily bind the pupils as with a spell to their own circle, *within* which the nature of their relations and also ancient custom bear stern rule, and *out of* which no one feels himself induced or invited to pass, although no positive rule exists to prohibit such a step. The pupils live together in more or less immediate connexion one with another; and the study which is to be the great object of their lives, not only isolates them from the world and from all the closer and warmer relations of practical and social life, but also draws them into voluntary subjection to rules and restraints, which its enormous difficulties and the long established method of instruction render insurmountable. The interpreting Rabbi, who has embraced in his vast memory the whole learning of the Talmud, even to its minutest details, overflows with thousands of combinations suggested by the shrewdness, fulness, and subtilty of his mind, which he puts forth as the exposition and illustration of the text, in questions and sometimes answers given by himself, and delivers them orally to the keen and strained attention of his pupils. The idea of any generalization, the laying down of any scientific principles, or even of compendious rules and their exceptions, has not yet penetrated into this department of knowledge. It is still an endless casuistry, that now as of old forms the basis of this study; and which perhaps, in the hands of a keen and intelligent master, causes the higher worth of system and scientific method to be the less missed. Overwhelmed with the endless host of critical and shrewd remarks and apothegms, the pupils have enough to do, to recall and fix these in memory; to examine and compare them with the text; to seek out and mark the parallel passages; to prepare themselves to read and interpret, and also to ask questions and give answers, and the like. They spend a great part of the time, however, in discussions among themselves, irregular perhaps, but long continued and lively. Without a certain degree of keenness, quickness of comprehension,

a lively imagination, and a good memory, it is easy to see that little fruit would spring up from such exercises ; nor indeed in any case, without an entire devotion to this study. When, then, on the one hand, we regard the constant and strong excitement given by the teacher, and the fulness and keenness of his dialectics ; and, on the other, the influence of these discussions among the pupils to induce study and investigation for themselves ; it is easy to perceive, how in this way the *Bacharim* may readily fall into the most secluded and monastic mode of life, and so become dead to the claims of intercourse with society, and satisfied with grubbing and grovelling in the mire of interminable speculation.

In his later days of illness, Nordheimer was accustomed not unfrequently to recur to those times of painful abstinence, and wearisome night-watchings, which he underwent during his student-life at Pressburg ; aggravated too, in his case, by many privations, to which he was subjected in his external circumstances. Often, when he and his fellow pupils had pursued their studies and discussions far into the night, instead of retiring to bed and to rest, they threw themselves upon the cold stone floor for two or three hours, in order to be sure of not over-sleeping ! In these circumstances of self-imposed suffering, Nordheimer sought, and probably with justice, the germs of that decay, which subsequently broke down his health, and brought him to an early grave. Five years were spent by him in this species of banishment ; and it is not difficult to conceive, that the consequences should be the loss of all interest in every other mode of life, and a deadness to all those social enjoyments, which are felt by others to be, in a measure, necessary to existence. All other branches of study were neglected and forgotten ; and even the mother-tongue sinks into desuetude and is forgotten. When Lebrecht afterwards repaired to the University of Halle, (as related to the writer by Gesenius,) he could neither speak nor write either the German or the Latin ; and had, indeed, no language except the Rabbinic. So it was in some degree with Nordheimer ; though his subsequent studies, and his intercourse with the world, served in a great measure to obliterate the traces of this early influence.

In the year 1828, at the age of nineteen years, he returned home from Pressburg, fully furnished with the whole stock of Talmudic lore, and with all the learning held to be necessary for a Jewish

Rabbi. In recent times, however, the practice has arisen in Germany, of requiring in the case of Jewish public teachers also some acquaintance with classical literature, and with the outlines of theology and philosophy. Several of the larger German states, indeed, have instituted public examinations in this behalf; and it has therefore become usual for Jewish, as well as Christian theologians, to go through a course of study both at the Gymnasium, and afterwards at the University. In accordance with this practice, so consonant to his own desires, Nordheimer now entered himself at the Gymnasium of Würzburg; and for two years devoted himself to the study of the classics, along with his mother-tongue. This last he also pursued with ardour under private instruction; giving lessons in Hebrew in exchange. At the end of two years he was transferred to the University of Würzburg, where he gave himself chiefly to philosophical studies. Here, led on by the lectures of distinguished professors to wider and nobler views; incited by intercourse with fellow-students in the different faculties; and introduced into the society of many intelligent families in the city; he began to lay off the shell of his former Rabbinic discipline, and to let his heart expand in the enjoyments of social life, and of higher and freer intellectual pursuits. His pecuniary means were still extremely limited; and although he found generous protectors, yet he was led to practise, both from necessity and by system, the strictest economy. How many are the distinguished men of whom this has been the lot!

In the year 1832 Nordheimer left Würzburg, and went to complete his studies at the metropolitan University of Munich. Here he devoted himself to philosophy with fresh ardour; incited by the instructive lectures of distinguished men, like Schelling, Schubert, Oken, and others. He took part likewise in founding a philosophic-theological Society among the students; before which papers regularly and fully prepared were to be read, and also oral discussions to be held. The society was opened with an appropriate address from Nordheimer. Here, too, in Munich, he first began the study of the Oriental or Semitic languages, for which his vernacular knowledge of the Hebrew gave him immense facilities. He also pursued to some extent the study of the Sanscrit. In all these he was mainly his own guide; receiving, however, occasional

aid from the academical lectures, and especially from one of the academic instructors, who had become his friend. These pursuits necessarily brought him in contact with modern oriental philology; and thus reacted upon his own mind in respect to the Hebrew. He now accordingly turned his attention to the scientific philology of that language, as developed in the works of Gesenius and Ewald. As a means of support, he likewise gave private instruction in the Hebrew. His residence at Munich, in the uninterrupted pursuit of chosen studies, and in the delights of select social intercourse, he was accustomed to look back upon with great satisfaction; though, in after life, it was to him a matter of regret, that he had not there devoted his attention more exclusively to oriental philology.

The paternal grandfather, whose wishes had exercised so great an influence in fixing Nordheimer's plan of life, died during his residence in Pressburg. His own religious feelings also, on the one hand, were too deep to permit him to assent to the tissue of minute and often absurd ceremonial observances, which impose upon the Rabbi a life of wearisome constraint; and, on the other hand, he was too conscientious and high-minded to profess a faith in these observances, which he did not feel. From all these circumstances, the plan of devoting himself to the office of a Rabbi had long become unsettled; although no other definite course of life had as yet suggested itself. At this time two American pupils, one of them a son of the late Thomas Grimke of Charleston, S. C. who had, in 1833, taken private lessons of him, and knew his worth, invited him to emigrate to the United States; anticipating that, by the aid of friends in Charleston, there would be no difficulty in the way of his obtaining employment and ample support in that quarter of the country. To this invitation he lent a willing ear and was strengthened in his decision by the advice of various friends in Munich, especially that of Professor Judah d'Allemand, who had spent many years in London, where he was the editor of an edition of the Hebrew Bible. Nordheimer therefore took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy at Munich in the autumn of 1834, and afterwards sustained *pro forma* the public examination required of Jewish theologians. In the month of May, 1835, with the approbation of his family, he left his home for Hamburg, in order to embark for New-York.

Thus far the manuscript of which I have been permitted to make use; and which I have everywhere condensed and in several places abridged. I have dwelt the longer upon Nordheimer's residence at Pressburg; because the character and general influence of the Rabbinic schools upon the minds of the pupils, is probably little understood by most readers in this country. The events of the few remaining years of his life, may be briefly told.

He arrived at New-York in the summer of 1835, with the intention of proceeding to Charleston, where he anticipated the efficient aid of Mr. Grimke in the arrangement of his further plans. But the intelligence which first met him on landing, was the death of that gentleman; and as he therefore could no longer hope for any specific advantages in Charleston, he concluded to remain in New-York. He became acquainted with several Hebrew families; and his friends interested themselves to obtain for him opportunities for giving instruction in Hebrew. As he became gradually known to the clergy and scholars of the city, the gentleness of his character and his acknowledged learning were highly appreciated, and procured for him universal respect. In the following winter he received from the University of the city of New-York the nominal appointment of Professor of the Arabic and other oriental languages, and acting Professor of Hebrew. With this appointment there were connected no specific duties and no salary; but it served to make him more widely known, and gave a public sanction and authority to his course as an instructor, which in a certain degree might help to increase the confidence of his private pupils and enlarge their number. He took rooms in the noble edifice of the University; where he continued to reside for several years.

In the summer of 1836 Nordheimer spent some time in New Haven, where he gave instruction in Hebrew to the students of the Theological Seminary connected with Yale College. Similar visits to the same place and for the same object, were made during the two following summers. In the same summer, 1836, he also made the acquaintance of Mr. Turner, who was afterwards able to render him much valuable assistance. This gentleman had been bred a printer; and while pursuing his trade had already made himself acquainted with the Latin, Hebrew, German, and several other modern languages. He now entered with Nordheimer upon a course

of instruction and reading in Arabic; being still occupied during the day as a proof-reader. The idea was early suggested, of preparing together a new Arabic Grammar for future publication, and a prospectus was issued accordingly. But, on further consideration, the plan was changed, and the Hebrew Grammar was taken up, the manuscript of which was written out from Nordheimer's sketches and dictation; he not being sufficiently at home in the English language to prepare the work himself.

It was in March 1837, that the writer first had the pleasure of making Nordheimer's acquaintance. I was struck at once with the frankness and simplicity of his manners, the gentleness and sincerity of his character, and his perfect familiarity with the Hebrew, coupled with an enthusiasm regulated by sound principles. Not long afterwards he laid before me the first portion of his manuscript Grammar; in which I could not but recognize that method and fulness and clearness of illustration, which has since been universally acknowledged. Our acquaintance was soon interrupted by my departure in July from the country, and subsequent absence of nearly three and a half years. About the same time he repaired to New Haven; and there the manuscript was revised, and the Grammar put to press, with the continued aid of Mr. Turner both in the revision and the printing. The first part was issued in Sept. 1837; and the whole volume in Feb. 1838. This was followed by a Grammatical Analysis of select portions of Scripture, or a Chrestomathy, published in Nov. 1838.

In the autumn of 1838, in consequence of the writer's prolonged leave of absence from his station in the Union Theological Seminary in New-York, the charge of the elementary Hebrew department in that Seminary, was committed to Dr. Nordheimer; and from that time forward until almost the last day of his life, he continued to give regular instruction in Hebrew to the classes, in such a manner as to secure the entire confidence of the Directors and Faculty, and the unwavering respect and affection of the students. He still gave likewise private lessons in Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac; and laboured in the preparation of the second volume, or syntax, of his Grammar. This last was published in Jan. 1841; and a second and corrected edition of the first volume was completed in Oct. 1842, only a few days before his death.

After the publication of his Grammar, Nordheimer turned his attention to the preparation of a Hebrew Concordance; still associated with Mr. Turner. The original work of Buxtorf had become very rare; and the recent revision of it by Fürst had rendered it more bulky and unwieldy, without a corresponding improvement in its character. The first number of Nordheimer's Concordance was published early in the spring of 1842; and may be pronounced, without hesitation, as to type, paper, and arrangement, one of the most beautiful Hebrew works ever printed. It certainly exhibits a much greater improvement upon Fürst, than Fürst does upon Buxtorf; and when we take also into account its more convenient form and more reasonable price, one cannot but anticipate for it a wide circulation. There would be reason for great regret, should there be danger of its being broken off. The preparations for completing it are all in Mr. Turner's hands; and he is most abundantly capable of carrying it through, according to the plan and in the spirit of his lamented associate.

Nordheimer had also plans for the future publication of Grammars of the Arabic, Chaldee, and Syriac tongues; the manuscripts of which remain incomplete.[1]

Besides these separate works, Nordheimer furnished also several articles for periodical Journals. The following is a list of most of these:

1. The Philosophy of Ecclesiastes, translated from Nordheimer's manuscript by Mr. Turner; strictly an Introduction to the Book of Ecclesiastes. Biblical Repository, July 1838.

2. Review of Fürst's Concordance, in the Princeton Review, July 1839.

3. The Talmud and the Rabbies; Biblical Repository, Oct. 1839.

4. The Rabbies and their Literature, especially the Persian Schools; Biblical Repository, July 1841.

[1] The following are among the manuscripts left by Dr. Nordheimer:—
Chald. und Syrische Grammatik. In German.
Arabische Sprachlehre. German.
Arabic Grammar. A Translation and amplification of the preceding.
Das Buch Koheleth. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary, in German.
Manuscript for the Hebrew Concordance; incomplete.
Philosophical Disquisitions on various topics; in German.
Philological Memoranda, etc.

5. On the Hebrew Article, in reply to inquiries by Prof. Stuart; blical Repository, Oct. 1841.

Even before his arrival in this country, the health of Nordheimer was infirm; and in his later years, a chronic disease was gradually wasting his strength, and leading him to the tomb. He probably was not fully aware of its dangerous tendency; and never spared himself in his labours and duties. For two or three of his last years, he spent a portion of each summer at Saratoga, and derived, as he thought, great benefit from the use of the waters. He was easily persuaded to try new physicians; and the different and varying courses of treatment to which he was thus subjected, did not tend to alleviate his disease. At the close of the Seminary-term on the last of June, 1842, he repaired immediately to Saratoga, whither he returned also twice afterwards; making, in the interval, a short sea-voyage. As I was likewise absent from the city during the summer, I did not meet him again until the middle of September; and was then struck with the evident progress of rapid decay. A cough and hectic fever were already upon him; and although he was cheerful and hoped for the best, yet his physicians gave no encouragement to his friends. He entered upon his duties in the Seminary in October with his usual zeal, but with the weakness of an expiring lamp. He last met his class on Friday, Oct. 28th; and died on the Thursday morning following, Nov. 3d.

His funeral took place the next day; and the corpse was accompanied to the grave by a long line of mourning friends, comprising the Professors and Students of the Seminary, the Chancellor and some of the Professors of the University, and many of the Hebrew community. He was buried according to the Hebrew rites; and the same touching custom was exhibited here, which is related to have taken place at the burial of Gesenius. After the corpse was lowered into the grave, the nearest relatives first threw earth upon the coffin, and then the Rabbi and other near acquaintances. After the usual ablutions, the burial service in Hebrew was read in the adjacent chapel.

His place as an instructor in the Theological Seminary, is now filled by his friend and associate, Mr. Turner.

It is needless here to dwell upon those prominent features of Nordheimer's character, which were obvious to all, and which at once

inspired all who met him, with entire confidence. That he was kind, gentle, and amiable, all know; that he was learned, sagacious, and laborious, his works testify. Especially was his heart ever open to the claims of those who were in any way dependent on him. He was the hope and stay of his family; and is understood to have mainly supported his parents, and educated a brother in Germany. At his instance, three younger brothers and a sister followed him to this country; and for them he cared and provided with a father's love. He came among us a few short years ago, a stranger to our manners and our language; and now he is bewailed by very many hearts, as a scholar, an instructor, a colleague, a sincere and cherished friend!

It required no ordinary love for truth and science, and no ordinary strength of character, to do what Nordheimer accomplished; to break away from the trammels and fetters of his Rabbinic education; from that nightmare of Talmudic absurdity, which for five years crushed his spirit; and learn to move freely and rejoicingly in the fields of free inquiry and scientific investigation. What he had thus done was the highest and noblest pledge, that, had his life been spared, he would have continued to reap rich harvests in the field he had so thoroughly and honourably tilled.

VII.

THE WORKS OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS.[1]

NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

To undertake, at the present day and in this country, to speak in commendation of Edwards and his writings, would be to hold up a candle to the sun. The country pastor in his then retired valley, the Indian missionary, labouring under "a low tide of spirits," often conscious "of childish weakness," and spending thirteen or fourteen hours of each day in his humble study, sent forth nevertheless silently, from the walls of that study, unpretending treatises, which knocked at the door of every man's intellect and heart, and would be read, and would not be forgotten. That pastor and missionary has enstamped his mark upon his own age and upon the generations that shall come after him. If Bacon and Newton and Locke may be regarded as having changed the current of human thought, and turned it into new channels; even so Edwards. And more than they; because it was his nobler theme to develope the relations in which man stands to his Maker; and his high aim, 'to justify the ways of God to man.' In this consecrated field, he is the mighty master.

Although Edwards died in A. D. 1758, and his writings were already spread throughout the world, yet for fifty years no collection of them was made in this country. At length in 1808-9 the Worcester edition, so called, was published in eight volumes 8vo. under the care of the Rev. Samuel Austin D. D. of that place. This became and has remained the standard edition. In 1830 another edition was published by the Rev. S. E. Dwight, in ten volumes 8vo. with a new biography, containing extracts from the diary and papers of Edwards not before printed. An edition appeared in England on stereotype plates in 1834, in two large volumes in small type. The editor of it professes to have followed mainly the Worcester edition, which (he says) "is regarded in the United States as the only one entitled to confidence;" but he introduced also the new extracts given by Dwight, and likewise some small treatises before published, but not inserted by Dr. Austin. It needs however but a slight comparison of this with the Worcester edition, to perceive that liberties have been occasionally taken with the language; which, although some may count them improvements, are nevertheless not what Edwards wrote.

[1] *The Works of President Edwards, in Four Volumes. A reprint from the Worcester Edition, with valuable additions and a copious General Index.* New York: J. Leavitt and J. F. Trow. 1843.

The publication before us is a careful reprint of the Worcester edition, with important additions. It is in four moderate volumes 8vo. on large fair type and good paper, handsomely bound in sheep or cloth. It is also stereotyped; and copies therefore may be multiplied to any extent and at a reasonable price. The order of the treatises in the former edition has in some cases been changed, in order to bring works of the same character together in one volume. Thus the great metaphysical treatises are comprised in the second volume; while the fourth is occupied by the sermons. In this way, should there hereafter be a demand for any of the volumes separately, they can be so furnished. But the distinguishing feature of this edition, and one which gives it a value above all others, is its extensive General Index. This supplies a want, which has long been felt, but which no one heretofore has ever undertaken to remedy.

It is right to congratulate the religious public, that they now have access to the works of this greatest of American divines, in a form so cheap, so convenient, and so permanent. This edition cannot but take its place for generations to come as the standard copy. Clergymen and laymen may now have the whole works of Edwards, as readily as they have other books. Would they but also read them, and spread them far and wide; and so best counteract the tendencies of the cheap and trashy reading of the present day! Edwards was a missionary; and what should hinder liberal men, or a liberal man, from placing a copy of his works in the hands of every missionary who has gone forth from this land, either to foreign climes or to our own far west? How would thus his mighty influence be spread abroad, and act with still more directness upon the conversion of the world!

The following pieces, not in the Worcester edition, are contained in the present copy:

1. Distinguishing marks of a work of the Spirit.
2. God's Moral Government, a Future State, and the Immortality of the Soul.
3. The necessity and reasonableness of the Christian Doctrine of Satisfaction for Sin.
4. Perseverance of the Saints.
5. Endless Punishment of those who die impenitent.
6. Fourteen Sermons.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

I.

THE JEWISH WAR UNDER TRAJAN AND HADRIAN.

By F. Muenter, late Bishop of Copenhagen. Translated from the German, by W. Wadden Turner, Instructor in the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.

[The following treatise of the late Bishop Münter, is intended to throw light upon a subject, on which, so far as I know, there exists no work in the English language. It collects and embodies all the fragmentary notices relating to a dark yet interesting portion of Jewish history;—a portion, too, having, as it seems to me, a very important bearing upon the right interpretation of those prophecies of our Lord, which are often supposed to refer solely to the destruction of Jerusalem. Had we the same minute and vivid picture of the extent and horrors of this last tragedy of the Jewish state and people, which is presented to us by Josephus in regard to the siege and downfall of the Holy City, it may be doubted, whether the interest and historical importance of that final overthrow would not be found to equal, or even to surpass, that of the antecedent catastrophe. The bearing of these events upon the prophetic declarations above alluded to, will be seen in another part of the present Number. The article has been translated, at my request and with great accuracy, by my friend and colleague, Mr. W. W. Turner; and will at least help to fill out a chasm in the literature of our Historical Theology.—Editor.]

Introduction.

The protracted and bloody war carried on by the Jews and Romans under the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, is a subject which has not yet been sufficiently explained. Yet it is not only of great importance to Jewish and to the earliest church history, but must also very much contribute to lower the opinion almost universally entertained of the prosperity enjoyed by the Roman empire in the period from Nerva to Commodus. For a revolt repeatedly suppressed and ever breaking out anew,—in which in all probability the whole Jewish nation took part; which continued either

openly or secretly through a course of more than twenty years; in which several blooming provinces were laid waste, many hundred thousands perished by the sword and every other disaster of war, while countless numbers forfeited their possessions and their freedom; and whose after-throes must have extended through the next following ages,—such a revolt can surely not be reckoned among the minor calamities. Indeed, the second Jewish war would certainly not yield in historical importance to the first, did we possess as correct an account of its occurrences as Josephus has left us in respect to the former. As it is, however, we can only determine from scattered historical fragments as to its extent, duration, and importance.

To collect and to arrange these fragments, is the object I have proposed to myself. A toilsome undertaking, truly. For all the notices are so brief, so incoherent, and not unfrequently so contradictory, that one can often only guess at the connexion; and success even here, often depends upon the fact, whether the writer who treats of this subject has acquired a true historical feeling; although this again is capable of easily leading into error. The most connected account is afforded us by Xiphilin's extract from the sixty-eighth and sixty-ninth books of Dion Cassius, and by Eusebius in the fourth book of his Ecclesiastical History. But how brief is even this! All else must be gleaned from solitary intimations in the remaining meagre historical productions of those times, the chronicles, and the writings of the Fathers. Ancient coins yield a few spoils; of inscriptions we have only a single one; and the notices scattered through the Jewish writers—partly of a very modern date—are of such a quality, that at first one must be inclined to pass them over altogether; although one afterwards feels induced to consult them also, though with great precaution and circumspection, and to make use of them where they appear in a measure to supply chasms, and where the mutual agreement of authorities speaks for the truth of the substance of what they state. If therefore there be found in this treatise a tolerably complete collection of what pagan and Christian writers have handed down to posterity concerning this war, it will be regarded as praiseworthy that I have made use of only such passages from the Talmud and the Rabbins as seemed to me worthy of some attention. The

modern writers that I have consulted are cited in the notes; among them I am most indebted to Basnage's History of the Jews. The result of the whole investigation still remains doubtful; for we shall hardly ever be able to do more than to propose a somewhat probable conjecture, as to what may have been the connected course of the events of this war. Many of its occurrences are indeed known to us with certainty; but what was their succession in the order of time, and what their internal connexion, remains to be determined by a more or less successful treatment of the subject.

The Jewish War, etc.

I. The Jewish war under Vespasian was brought to a close by the taking of Jerusalem and the destruction of the city and temple. The subjugated nation had now lost the central point of their religion, and thus were long deprived of the hope of seeing their old expectations of a Messianic kingdom in the Holy City fulfilled. The dislike and contempt entertained for them by the Romans had been greatly increased; and many thousands of Israelites who had survived the fortune of war, were deprived of their liberty, placed in the most wretched condition, and removed far away from their native land. But this last misfortune happened to those only who fell into the power of the conquerors with arms in their hands; for the many Jewish colonies which had settled before in the provinces of the Roman empire, and which, at least apparently, had kept themselves quiet during the war, were not involved in the misfortunes of the Jews of Palestine, and retained the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and liberties; although it may readily be supposed, that the government watched them with greater strictness, and no longer favoured them in the same degree as formerly. One burthen only they were all obliged to bear. The yearly tax of two drachmæ, which every Israelite over twenty years of age paid to the temple as long as it stood in Jerusalem,[1] they were now com-

[1] Petri Zornii Historia Fisci Judaici sub imperio veterum Romanorum, Alton. 1734. Already in the later times of the Roman republic, it was sought to prohibit the Jews from paying the tax to the temple. That the proconsul Flaccus laid such a prohibition on the Asiatic Jews, (i. e. those of Asia Minor,) is attested by Cicero, Orat. pro Flacco c. 67. The tax is mentioned also in the N. T. Matt. xvii. 24. It was half a shekel, Jewish currency.

pelled, if they wished to preserve their religious freedom, to pay to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus;[1] and to what immense sums this tribute, although not very oppressive to individuals, must have amounted, may easily be imagined from the very remarkable populousness of the Jews, who certainly amounted to several millions.[2] Every one that knows the character of the Jewish people, their attachment to the religion of their fathers, and their bitter hatred against paganism, can imagine with what feelings they paid over this tax, held hitherto so sacred, to an impure idol-temple. No wonder, then, that whoever could, sought to escape from it. Many a one may even have denied being a Jew, in case he was able to obliterate the corporeal marks of his religion by a means to which St. Paul himself alludes;[3] especially after the authorities began to institute judicial investigations, one of which Suetonius reports as an eye-witness.[4] The universal contempt entertained for this unhappy people, together with the greediness of the officials connected with the revenue, may have given rise, under the tyrannical rule of Domitian, to many oppressive acts, false accusations, and harsh exactions of the tribute. And this moved the noble Nerva to the edict which, although it did not take off the tax, yet put an end to the misconduct that had been practised in its collection;[5] and was regarded as so benevolent, that the Senate sought to perpetuate the remembrance of it by a separate coin, bearing the legend FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA.[6] But that the government should hold the Israelites remaining in Palestine under a strict supervision, was very natural; and it cannot be made a matter of

[1] Dion Cass. LXVI. c. 7, *Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη, τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιτελλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν.* So too Josephus de Bello Jud. VII. 6. 6, *Φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὅπου δήποτ' οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε, δυο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν.*

[2] Michaelis estimates the yearly poll-tax at half a million of Rix-dollars, and the whole population at from five to six millions of souls. Zerst. kl. Schriften III. p. 447 sq.

[3] 1 Cor. vii. 18. The instrument used for this purpose was called *ἀποσπαστήρ*. Celsus de Medic. VII. 25; compare also Joseph. Antiq. XII. 5. 1.

[4] In Domit. c. 12.

[5] That the tax was taken off at a later period, appears from Origen, Epist. ad African. Tom. I. Opp. ed. Ruæi p. 28, *Καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίων τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς (Ῥωμαίοις) τελούντων.* See also Zorn, p. 305.

[6] Eckhel Doctrina Numor. Veter. VI. p. 405.

reproach to Domitian, that, on receiving information of the survivors of the family of David that were still living there, he had two relatives of Jesus, grand-children of his brother Jacob, brought to Rome. He convinced himself, however, of their innocence, and let them return to their homes in peace.[1]

II. Still, all the hopes of the Israelites for better times had not yet expired. They continued evermore to console themselves with the expectation of the Messiah. Even supposing that Theudas[2] left no adherents behind him, there certainly remained many of the party of Judas of Galilee, who during the siege of Jerusalem had played so conspicuous and, for the people, so fatal a part.[3] And that even the Alexandrine Jews still flattered themselves with hopes for the future, is probable from the drama of the poet Ezekiel, entitled the "Departure out of Egypt," of which no inconsiderable fragments are found in Clemens of Alexandria, and Eusebius,[4] and who perhaps lived towards the end of the first century of the Christian era;[5] while the example of that wondrous deliverance of the Jewish people from Egyptian bondage, was well calculated to nourish and keep alive the expectation of a similar release from the Roman sway. Perhaps, too, the apocryphal Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which appears to belong to the same period,[6] had a similar tendency.

But on the one hand, the courage of the unhappy people was too much depressed by the destruction of their capital, for them to venture so soon again on attempts for their liberation, the result of which could by no means be doubtful. On the other hand, they

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 20. From Hegesippus.

[2] Acts v. 36. Or, perhaps more correctly, the one spoken of in Joseph. Antiq. XX. 5. 11, and Euseb. H. E. II. 11.

[3] Six hundred that committed devastations in Egypt were given up by the chief Jews in Alexandria. How many may have escaped?

[4] Clement. Alex. Stromat. I. 23. ed. Potter p. 414. Eusebii Præp. Evang. IX. 28, 29. The value of this poem in an æsthetic point of view is very small.

[5] Comp. Steph. Le Moine Varia sacra p. 336, who connects him with Barcochba. Fabricii Bibl. Græca, ed. Harles, Tom. II. p. 305; and Eichhorn De Judæorum re scenica p. 10, in the Commentat. Göttingens. Recent. Vol. II.

[6] Fabricii Codex Pseudepigraph. Vet. Testamenti p. 519. Grabe's Preface p. 496. This apocryphal work is cited already by Origen, Homil. XV. in Josuam. It may however have been afterwards interpolated by a Christian.

were perhaps somewhat tranquillized by the moderation which Nerva exhibited towards them, and by the mildness of the government of his successors. The fire, however, continued to smoulder beneath the ashes; and there needed only some external stimulus to accelerate the outbreak. Nerva, by his edict, had only sought to alleviate the abuses that existed in the requisition of the tax to Jupiter Capitolinus. But wise and philanthropic as Trajan was, and careful as he, and the Senate after his example, were in selecting the governors of the provinces, it surpassed human powers to hold in check all the subordinate functionaries; and many complaints never reached the Emperor, who, involved in arduous wars, was forced to be absent from Rome during a great part of his reign. Add to this the constantly increasing hatred and scorn entertained by the Romans for the Jews; and it will be easily comprehended how, by degrees, now that an age had already passed by since the destruction of Jerusalem, a new insurrection was prepared and ready to break out; and that, too, not at first in Palestine, where the people dwelt in smaller numbers, and perhaps also under heavier subjection, but in regions that had not suffered by the war, and where the Jewish colonies existed in wealth and comfort. And, although this revolt showed itself only in single provinces, yet, after weighing all the circumstances, it is more than probable that a great, perhaps the greatest part of the nation had a share in it, and favoured and supported it, at least in secret.

III. Egypt and Cyrene were, without doubt, the countries in which the Jews had spread themselves the most. Every one knows how rich, how powerful, and how highly favoured by the government that people were in Alexandria, from the time of the first Ptolemies. Not less fortunate was their condition in the province of Cyrenaica, so intimately connected with Egypt. The first Ptolemy had permitted them to settle there. The religious persecutions of the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes, had induced many to betake themselves to this country, which was not subjected to his rule. In every city of Cyrenaica dwelt Jews in the full enjoyment of equal rights with the Greeks;[1] and their prosperity is evinced, not alone by their having together with the Alexandrians

[1] P. Wesselingii Diatribe de Judæorum Archontibus ad Inscript. Berenicensem, p. 24.

a synagogue in Jerusalem,[1] but also from the circumstance recorded in the inscription of Berenice, that in this city, as well as in Alexandria and other cities, and hence most probably throughout Cyrenaica, they were under their own magistrates.[2] But here also they had restless spirits amongst them. Shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, a weaver, one Jonathan, had succeeded in misleading about two thousand persons by promises of signs and wonders. It is true, that the wealthier and more respectable took no part in his project, and even gave warning to the Roman governor, Catullus. The latter fell upon the unarmed multitude assembled in a desert place about their seducer, slaughtered many of them, and caused three thousand more rich Jews to be put to death in Egypt; after which, he boasted of having obtained a victory over the nation. But when he communicated the matter to the Emperor, with many embellishments to his own advantage, and thereupon made his appearance in Rome with the prisoners, among whom Jonathan also was, Vespasian and Titus were informed, doubtless by the historian Josephus who was under accusation in company with other Roman and Alexandrine Jews, of the true state of the case. Jonathan paid the penalty of his crime with his life. Catullus, on the contrary, escaped the punishment he deserved, through the clemency of the Emperor, but died shortly after.[3]

IV. Since that time, so far as we know, all had been quiet in the province of Cyrenaica; at least in appearance. Under Trajan's mild and at the same time powerful and victorious sway, the provinces of the Roman empire that lay at a distance from the frontiers, enjoyed an undisturbed repose; and it was not till he became involved in the arduous Parthian war, that the Jews could venture to take up arms. Their revolt, however, must have been concerted and prepared long before; otherwise it could not have spread so far, and with such violence.

Did we still possess the Ecclesiastical History of Aristo of Pella, which Eusebius has made use of; or the History of the Jewish War under Hadrian, by the rhetorician Antonius Julianus, who in all

[1] Acts vi. 9; comp. also xi. 20. xiii. 1.

[2] Wesseling, ib. p. 109.

[3] Josephus de Bello Jud. VII. cap. ult.

probability was a contemporary, and of whom Minucius Felix[1] and Gellius[2] make mention; or were we better acquainted with the contents of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, so called;[3] we should doubtless be more particularly informed as to the circumstances. As it is, we must content ourselves with what little we obtain from Dion Cassius, Eusebius, and some other, partly very corrupt, sources; and cannot even adduce, with certainty, the immediate cause of the insurrection in the province of Cyrenaica. Perhaps, however, it was no other than the fact, that there were then but few troops in those regions; inasmuch as Trajan had probably taken with him all the forces that could be spared from the provinces for the Parthian war.

It was in the year of Rome 868, A. D. 115, in the 18–19th year of Trajan's reign,[4] under the consuls M. Vipstanus Messala and M. Vergilianus Pedo,[5]—when the Emperor had in the spring attacked and completely subdued Armenia, after expelling Parthamasiris, the king set up by the Parthians,—that the insurrection broke out in Cyrenaica. With incredible quickness, says Orosius, the Jews at the same time broke loose in different countries, as though they had gone mad.[6] The flame of war soon spread to Egypt, and thus took a direction of the last importance to the Roman state. For Alexandria was one of the principal granaries of Rome, which for one third of the year was furnished with the necessary supply by the grain-flotillas that regularly sailed from that city.[7] Consequently, the emperors had given their particular

[1] In Octavius, edit. Ouzelii et Meursii, p. 319.

[2] Noct. Atticæ I. 4. IX. 15. XV. 1. XVIII. 5. XIX. 9; always with respect.

[3] Fabricii Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 887; in the extract from cap. 45, "Obsidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ per Adrianum fuse pertexitur." Joseph Scaliger was in possession of this manuscript, which he presented to the library of the University of Leyden. Hottinger took a copy of it, and made known its contents in his Exercitationes Antimorinianæ, and in other writings. Eichhorn's Introd. to the O. T. II. p. 457, edit. 1803. Extracts are also to be found in Reland's Dissertt. selectæ, Pars II, de Samaritanis; but unfortunately none on the Jewish war.

[4] In the year 144–145 of the Alexandrine era. Zoëga Numi Ægyptii Imperatorii, p. 368.

[5] Almeloveen, Fasti Romani Consulares, 133, names the consuls: M. Valerius Messala and C. Popilius Carus Pedo Vergilianus. I have followed Eckhel in the text.

[6] Histor. VII. 126, "Incredibili deinde motu sub uno tempore Judæi, quasi rabie efferati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt," etc.

[7] Alexandria supplied Rome, af-

attention to Egypt; and it had been a maxim ever since the time of Augustus, to intrust the government of that country to none but a Roman knight, and to allow no senator or distinguished knight to make the journey thither without special permission.

The centre of the revolt was Cyrenaica. Thence it spread over the inhabitants of the country, who were slaughtered in droves. Dion Cassius, or rather his epitomist Xiphilin, draws a frightful picture of the barbarities committed by the Jews on the Greeks. They slew them, he says; they stripped off their skins, and then covered themselves with them; they sawed many in two lengthwise; they devoured their flesh, and wound the entrails round their own bodies; they cast them before wild beasts; they forced them to combat as gladiators with each other; and in such wise they put 220,000 persons to death.[1]

That the slaughter was immense, can by no means be doubted; even R. David Ganz, of the sixteenth century, says in Zemach David, one of the best Jewish authorities for the history of this war, that the Romans and Greeks slain in Africa by the Jews were like the sand on the sea-shore, that cannot be numbered.[2] But the cannibal fury that the Jews are accused of is altogether incredible; as they would thereby have rendered themselves in the highest degree unclean. What we are to assume as true, is this: that in a sudden and widely extended rising they destroyed many Romans and Greeks; and that in the amphitheatres they threw many to wild beasts, or forced them to fight with each other. Indeed, it is known that they attended exhibitions of the kind;[3] and they may have desired to repay the Romans in this manner

ter the victory of Augustus over M. Antony and Cleopatra, with grain for four months. Afterwards, but not till the time of Commodus, a regulation was instituted, that a grain-flotilla should be despatched yearly from Carthage, in order that the capital and Italy might never run in danger of suffering from want.

[1] Dion Cassius LXVIII. 32. p. 1145 Reim.

[2] Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Judenthum II. p. 654.

[3] Even in Jerusalem, Herod the Great had built an amphitheatre for the celebration of the quinquennial festivals, in commemoration of the victory near Actium; Jos. Ant. XV. 8. 1. He there exhibited combats of wild beasts, and threw condemned criminals to them. Fights of gladiators were also produced by Herod Agrippa in the amphitheatre at Berytus; 1400 malefactors fought there together in mortal combat; Joseph. Ant. XIX. 7. 5. Eichhorn de re scenica Judæorum, p. 6.

for the combats with wild beasts, and as gladiators, in which the latter had employed the Jewish captives after the taking of Jerusalem.[1] The sawing in pieces, seems to have been a well known mode of execution among them.[2] But can that, which may have taken place in single instances, be supposed to have occurred throughout a general insurrection, in which men were slaughtered by thousands? At most, then, only some individuals can have suffered such a death. How the rising was suppressed, we know not. The quieting of Cyrenaica was probably a consequence of the restoration of tranquillity in Egypt; but it required a length of time, and cost rivers of blood, before this end was obtained.

Egypt appears to have been stripped of troops, which were probably needed by the Emperor for the Parthian war; for the revolt kept continually spreading. Its leader is named *Lucuas* by Eusebius; and by Dion Cassius, *Andreas*. Perhaps, like many Jews of that period, he bore a double name—one Jewish, the other Roman; for Lucuas appears to be a corruption from Lucius.[3] The Jews flocked to him on all sides, and greeted him as the king of Israel. One nomos (district) after another was laid waste, as far up as the Thebaid; indeed, the Jewish bands appear to have pushed on beyond the boundaries of the Roman empire, even into Ethiopia, and probably to the state of Meroë, where many Jews resided.[4] Even in Alexandria, where the nation found itself in the most prosperous condition, a revolt appears to have taken place, in which much havoc was committed; although the Jews can hardly have

[1] Joseph. de Bello Judaico VII. c. 2. 1. c. 3. 1. c. 5. 1.

[2] In this manner, according to Jewish tradition, the prophet Isaiah was put to death. The Epistle to the Hebrews also makes mention of this mode of execution, Heb. xi. 37; comp. Suiceri Thes. Eccles. in πρίω. Reimarus accordingly considers this statement of Dion as not improbable.

[3] Reimarus on Dion. The Arabic text of Abulpharagius calls him Luminum; the Syriac, Lumpisum: both of them corruptions.

[4] It is probable that Jews had come from Egypt into Ethiopia. Comp. Basnage, Histoire des Juifs XI. p. 181, 8vo. Ancient traditions connect the Ethiopians with the Israelites. The kings of Abyssinia profess to derive their origin from Solomon and the queen of Sheba. That there were Jews in those regions at the institution of Christianity, is proved by the conversion (recorded Acts viii. 27) of the treasurer of queen Candace, or Hendaque; a name still extant in the traditions of the country, and which, according to Pliny, H. Nat. VI. 35, was the common appellation of the queens that ruled over it.

mastered that great and opulent city, of which they possessed only a single quarter.[1] It was not till the following year, A. U. C. 869, A. D. 116, that the troops were assembled; and then apparently they were not sufficiently numerous, for they were driven back in the first battle. They retired however in good order to Alexandria, which city they also defended, and where they effected a dreadful slaughter among the Jews.[2] Rabbi David Ganz, in the Meór Enáim, gives, according to the testimony of R. Asaria de Rossi, (in what age he lived is not accurately known,) the number of the slain at 200,000.[3] Lucuas and his comrades, however, seem to have given themselves no further trouble about Alexandria, but to have directed their efforts exclusively to the land of their forefathers; and if there be any truth in the tradition in Abulpharagius, that he led his hosts into Palestine,[4] the expedition must have taken place at this time, and before the great general Marcius Turbo could come to the assistance of the sorely afflicted province. This officer, who, little as we know concerning him,[5] was accounted one of the best of Trajan's captains, was now despatched by the Emperor against Lucuas with a body of infantry and cavalry. Besides the land forces, he had a fleet under his command, which, without doubt, was equipped in Syria or Phenicia, and was destined to keep the sea open; for this was now of the last importance, as the revolt had also broken out in Cyprus, and every thing depended on preventing Rome from lacking a supply of corn. We are thus obliged to conclude, that the Jews also possessed ships; which, as they were then masters of Cyrenaica and Cyprus, is easily explained. Turbo had at least two legions of regular troops, together with the auxiliaries belonging to them, but was obliged to purchase the victory dearly; for several bloody battles took place, in which many thousand Egyptian and Cyrenian Jews perished,[6] and certainly many thousand Romans also. According

[1] It lay by the sea-side; Joseph. c. Apion. II. 4.

[2] Euseb. H. E. IV. 2. Orosius VII. 12.

[3] In Zemach David, Eisenmenger II. p. 655.

[4] Ed. Pocockianæ p. 76, according to the Arabic text. The Syriac, edited by Bruns and Kirsch, contains the same statement; see Barhebræi Chronicon Syriacum II. p. 54.

[5] Spartianus in Hadriano, c. 4, 5, 6, 8, 15. Dion Cass. LXIX. 18. p. 1166. Fronto mentions him in the third letter to the emperor Antonine; Mailänder's edit. I. p. 7; in Niebuhr p. 6. His full name was Marcius Livianus Turbo.

[6] Euseb. IV. 2.

to the Arabic text of Abulpharagius, Turbo sought out Lucuas in Palestine, and there destroyed his army.[1] He speaks of many small skirmishes. This system of petty warfare was quite suited to the locality of Palestine; as will also be seen in the sequel of this history. The same Arabic text of Abulpharagius states, moreover, that Lucuas was killed in Palestine.

V. In Egypt tranquillity seems now to have been restored. The slaughter of the Jews, whether in Palestine or in Egypt itself, terrified them all. But was it the Jews alone, and not perhaps the native Egyptians also, that rose against the Romans? That these latter were likewise turbulent, and bore the Roman yoke with an ill will, can scarce be doubted. The insurrection of the Bucoli under Marcus Aurelius,[2] furnishes a clear proof of the fact. Were the dialogue of Philopatris found in Lucian's writings genuine, the passage at its close, where Egypt is spoken of as subdued, might certainly be explained as referring to Trajan's victory over the rebellious Jews and Egyptians. But this production belongs probably to a later Lucian, who lived in the time of the emperor Julian; as Wieland has lately maintained from internal grounds.[3]

But great and extensive as the insurrection of Egypt may have been, still Alexandria was not comprised in it. It is true that, according to the Armenian version of Eusebius's Chronicon, Alexandria, after having been destroyed by the Jews, was restored by the emperor Hadrian in the first year of his reign.[4] But,

[1] Turbo, however, is not named by Abulpharagius.

[2] What remains to us relative to the history of this insurrection, which was suppressed by Avidius Cassius, who afterwards laid claim to the purple itself, has been collected by Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs II. p. 402; and by Zoëga, Numi Imperatorii Ægyptii p. 222. We have only one Alexandrine imperial coin of the 11th year of Marcus Aurelius, in which the insurrection broke out, given in Mionnet's Description de Médailles antiques Grecques et Romaines, Tome VI. p. 305. Of the 13th year we have likewise only one (Zoëga 223), and of the 14th none at all. Here belongs the insurrection of Cassius, in which Egypt was doubtless involved.

[3] Wieland's translation of Lucian, VI. p. 382 sq. He understands Tryphon's words, "I also leave to those who belong to me the happiness of seeing the times when Babylon shall be destroyed, Egypt conquered, the Persians subjugated," so far as they relate to the Egyptians, of the evil-minded and rebellious bands of monks and other Christians of this country opposed to the emperor Julian; and those comprised by far the greatest number. p. 419.

[4] Chronicon Eusebii edit. Mediolan. 1818, "Hadrianus Alexan-

although the capital of Egypt may indeed have suffered much in these disturbances, and in those which perhaps broke out there shortly after Trajan's death,[1] destroyed it certainly was not. Jerome even attributes the insurrection to the Romans.[2] He must have thought that Alexandria had been taken by force from the Jews; which, however, cannot be proved. At any rate the imperial coins of this city continue numerous and without interruption from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of Trajan's reign;[3] and this clearly shows that it did not take part in any rebellion. The later coins also, although containing some allusions to conquests,[4] give not the slightest hint of a destruction and important restoration of this city; which, however, in consequence of the zeal with which the Alexandrians flattered the emperors, and especially Hadrian, would certainly have been the case, had they been able to laud him as the new founder (*Κτίστης*) of their city.[5] It is not till the fifteenth year of his reign, that we find a coin on which the female genius of the city is represented kissing the Emperor's hand.[6] But this can have no reference to a restoration of it in his first year. On the contrary, there is a coin of the kind

driam a Judæis labefactatam reparavit."

[1] See Sec. IX, below.

[2] Chron. Hieronymi ad ann. Hadr. primum "Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis subversam restauravit." Zoëga proposes instead of Alexandriam to read Hierosolymam; Numi Imperat. Ægyptii p. 101. But we have no need of this emendation, if we only understand the passage aright. Besides, the restoration of Jerusalem belongs to a later epoch.

[3] Mionnet reckons not less than 126 of them. The coins struck by the Egyptian Nomoi in honour of Trajan are not taken into the account, because the latest of them belong to his 15th year.

[4] In Mionnet No. 759, 760, 762, all of the 18th year of his reign. No. 759 represents the Emperor on the triumphal car; in No. 760 he is sitting with the goddess of victory at his side, and in front of him kneels a prisoner at the foot of a trophy; No. 762 bears a triumphal arch, on which stands a quadriga. Of his 20th year the following coins are worthy of notice: No. 777, Serapis seated, one hand resting on an eagle,—at the back of the throne a goddess of victory; No. 794, the Emperor on a quadriga in the act of being crowned by the goddess of fortune; No. 795, the Emperor on a triumphal car drawn by four elephants.

[5] This title occurs not unfrequently on imperial coins and in inscriptions; e. g. *ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ* on a coin of Nicopolis Epiri; Eckhel D. N. Vet. II. p. 166. Also *ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΙ*, at Athens, Muratori Thesaur. Inscr. I. p. 234, 235; and at Smyrna, Smith Opuscc. ex itinere Turcico p. 53.

[6] Zoëga l. c. p. 132.

extant which was struck on the restoration of Libya, with the inscription RESTITVTORI AVG. LIBYAE. S. C.[1] It is true that Eckhel adduces as an objection to its genuineness the word AVGusto, which is found on no other coins of this kind applied to Hadrian; but he does not venture to decide in opposition to such a connoisseur as Pellerin.[2] Mediobarba, in his catalogue of imperial coins, has merely RESTITVTORI LIBYAE.[3] The year in which this coin was struck is uncertain; but it was probably in the early part of Hadrian's reign, perhaps in his sixth year, provided that he was then sojourning at Alexandria[4] andmade a journey from thence to Cyrene,[5] or that he conferred benefits on the province. The coin moreover was struck at Rome by command of the Senate.

VI. While Egypt was now in a state of repose, the insurrection raged in Cyprus. The number of Jews in that island was very great. The trade with Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had drawn many thither; and their condition must have been a very prosperous one. The leader of the revolt, of whom we know nothing further, was named Artemion. According to Dion Cassius, the Jews in Cyprus put to death 240,000 persons.[6] Eusebius states in his Chronicon, that they took Salamis, put the Greeks to death, and razed the city to the ground.[7] Jewish accounts also assert that they destroyed all the Greeks in the island and in the neighbouring countries, and that Trajan was obliged to send Hadrian his sister's son to Cyprus, in order to subdue them.[8] All this is certainly exagge-

[1] Pellerin Mélanges de Médailles I. p. 205. Tab. X. 10.

[2] Doctr. Num. Vet. VI. p. 497.

[3] Imperat. Romanor. numismata p. 177.

[4] Zoëga p. 94. Eckhel doubts as to this first journey, and at any rate will not admit the validity of Zoëga's reasons, l. c. p. 491. It is quite certain, however, that Hadrian was in Egypt in the 15th year of his reign. Comp. the recent investigations of Champollion-Figeac in the Annales des Lagides, I. p. 419, 430, 441, 443. He also assumes only one journey to Egypt.

[5] At least he was in Libya on a hunting expedition, during which he killed a lion; Athenæus XV. 21. Tom. V. p. 468. Schweigh.

[6] Lib. LXVIII. 32. p. 1046.

[7] *Τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῆς Κύπρου Ἕλληνας Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαφαν.* At Trajan's 19th year. Beda has the same statement, taken probably from Eusebius; De nominibus locorum in Actis Apostolorum: "Salamis civitas, in Cypro Insula, nunc Constantia dicta, quam Trajani Principis tempore Judæi interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt."

[8] In Zemach David, in Eisenmenger II. 655.

rated: 240,000 persons, together with 220,000 in Cyrenaica, making altogether nearly half a million, would not so easily, or rather without the most strenuous resistance, allow themselves to be put to death; and so fruitful a country as Cyprus had at that time certainly not less than a million of inhabitants, of which however the Jews could not by far have constituted the largest part. Salamis also remained thereafter, as it had been before, the capital of Cyprus, and received in the time of Constantine the name of Constantia. Its bishop, Epiphanius, is also known to church history. It was at length destroyed by the Saracens, under Heraclius.[1] It is therefore probable, that Salamis was plundered and set on fire by the Jews; an event which later historiographers have turned into a total destruction. Numismatics afford us no light, because we possess no indisputable imperial coins of this city. If, however, those which have the legend *ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ* were struck in the capital of the island, as indeed is scarcely to be doubted, we have specimens of them from Claudius to Macrinus. The tumults in Cyprus were soon suppressed, we know not for certain whether by Marcius Turbo or Lucius Quietus. It appears that the Jews were completely exterminated; or at least they were driven out of the island; for Dion Cassius relates that none of this people could dwell there, and that any who were driven on shore by stress of weather, were immediately put to death.[2] This also is not to be taken literally; and must, at any rate, be understood only of the period immediately succeeding the revolt.

VII. The circumstances of the period, without doubt, rendered the rising of the Jews in Mesopotamia still more dangerous. They were very wealthy and powerful in this province. Of the ten tribes who had been carried away in former times into the kingdom of Assyria, by far the greater part remained behind, when Cyrus and his successors gave the Jews permission to return to the land of their forefathers. The cities on both banks of the Euphrates in particular were filled with them.[3] According to Philo, they were spread

[1] Pococke's Description of the East, II. p. 216. Meursii Cyprus, in the third volume of his works, where the notices respecting Salamis among the ancients are collected, c. 20–23. But I find nothing concerning the destruction of the city by the Saracens.

[2] Loc. cit. cap. 32.

[3] Joseph. Antiq. XV. 2.

over a great part of Babylon and other Satrapies.[3] They had their own patriarch, of the family of David, who was possessed of great privileges under the Parthian government.[2] They came in multitudes to Jerusalem at the time of the festivals; and under Caligula, the prefect Petronius was so struck with their numbers, that he feared a powerful aid might come from that quarter, were the Jews to oppose by force of arms the Emperor's decree to set up his image in the temple; and it cannot be doubted, that from the ruins of the Jewish state not a few escaped to their co-religionists in the Parthian dominions.

The hatred of the Jews against the Romans may easily be conceived; and in each Parthian war they no doubt devoted themselves with all their hearts to their protectors the Parthian emperors, to whom their assistance must have been exceedingly welcome. This too must have rendered a revolt in the rear of their army so much the more hazardous for the Romans. Trajan probably still remained with a part of his legions in Armenia; whence, as this country became tranquillized, he gradually withdrew into Mesopotamia. Here no doubt it was, in the regions which the Romans had not yet been able to occupy, that the Jews broke out into insurrection. The Emperor committed their suppression or entire expulsion to Lucius Quietus,[3] a Mauritanian, who was considered one of his most distinguished generals, who had done him signal service in the Parthian war, and had taken Nisibis and Edessa;[4] a proof how important the Emperor held the matter to be. Lucius subdued the Jews with much bloodshed, but incontestably with great loss on his own side also; for the bravery which the Jews were wont to exhibit when combating for their freedom and religion, is well known. Trajan was so well satisfied with the service done him, that he conferred on Lucius the governorship of Palestine;[5] of course, with the charge of preserving tranquillity, and, provided there be any thing in the story of Lucuas's irruption, to put down him or his still remaining adherents. And thus Lucius appears to have restored order for a while.

[1] Legatio ad Caium p. 1032, ed. Hœschel.

[2] Walch Historia Patriarcharum Judæorum, p. 96, 103, 246.

[3] *Λουκίῳ Κυήτῳ προσέταξεν*, says Eusebius, *ἐκκαθᾶραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτούς*. Hist. Eccl. IV. 2.

[4] Dion Cassius LXVIII. 30. p. 1044.

[5] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IV. 2.

VIII. With the disturbances in Mesopotamia we are perhaps to connect the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch; who it seems was tried in this metropolis of Asia, and then sent to Rome to be executed. The story of his martyrdom has often indeed been called in question; and especially by Martini.[1] But how can the credibility of the most ancient church history be maintained, if we attack even those statements which are confirmed by the most respectable testimonies? Nevertheless, as the precise period of his death is uncertain, we must assume that Trajan sentenced him during his second stay in Antioch, in the year 115; his first visit to that city having been in A. D. 105. The Christians were not then so accurately distinguished from the Jews, but that the Emperor, although he might have obtained more correct information and better ideas respecting them from the trials held in Bithynia by the younger Pliny a few years before,[2] was continually confounding them one with another;[3] and this especially in the East, and in provinces that were filled with Jews, where the greater part of the Christians had previously professed Judaism, or were of Jewish origin. If now Trajan learnt that Ignatius was one of the heads of the Christians, he might easily regard him as a party to the Jewish attacks on the empire; and this it was—not the earthquake that had just devastated Antioch, and from which it is said the priests took occasion to accuse the bishop[4]—that may have excited Trajan against the venerable old man. Indeed, the whole trial, as it stands (perhaps not wholly authentic) in the *Acta Martyrum*,[5] exhibits an acrimony which in this noble and philanthropic prince is truly surprising; but which may be accounted for by supposing that he confounded the Syrian Christians with the Jews, or at least regarded them as belonging to the same party. That Hadrian also, at a later period, was not able to distinguish between them with readiness, will be seen in the sequel. If such be really the case, the reason is evident why Trajan, after having

[1] Persequutiones Christianorum sub Imperatoribus Romanis; Commentat. II. p. 12.

[2] About the year 111. Semler's Christliche Jahrbücher I. p. 29.

[3] Seidenstücker de Christianis ad Trajanum usque a Cæsaribus et Senatu Romano pro Cultoribus Religionis Mosaicæ semper habitis. Helmstad. 1790.

[4] Schröckh's Kirchengesch. II. p. 338.

[5] In Ruinart Act. Martyr. sincera et selecta p. 11.

passed sentence of death on Ignatius, did not cause him to be executed in Antioch; but sent him to Rome, there to be torn in pieces by wild beasts as a rebel.[1] That is, it was an object with him to strike terror into the great body of Jews in the Roman empire by the cruel execution of one whom he regarded as a chief of their party in the East, and thus deter them from insurrections. All this, however, I offer as nothing but a conjecture, which perhaps has more plausibility than truth.

IX. Trajan died in the twentieth year of his reign, A. D. 117. Hadrian succeeded him without opposition; made peace with the Parthians, to whom he restored the provinces conquered by Trajan on the other side of the Euphrates; and hastened to Rome. But as soon as he found himself firmly seated on the throne, he commenced, apparently in the year 120, his celebrated tours through all the provinces of the empire. It is true, that of these journeys, historians have left us little on record; but there are so many monuments everywhere extant, relating to them, and they are testified to by so many inscriptions and coins, that they well deserve to be accurately investigated in a separate dissertation; which would doubtless furnish very interesting results. In the regions with which we are at present concerned we first find him between the years 129 and 131.[2]

Through all this period the Jews seem to have kept themselves tolerably quiet, if we except a brief revolt in Palestine, immediately after Trajan's death; of which Spartian and Eusebius make mention. The former speaks in general terms of insurrectionary movements in this country, with which perhaps the disturbances in Egypt, to which he also alludes, were connected.[3]

Eusebius, however, records that Hadrian in his first year subdued the Jews, who had for the third time revolted against the Romans, perhaps in Alexandria.[4] It was therefore probably a remnant of

[1] In Julii Pauli sententiarum receptarum L. V. tit. 22, de Seditiosis, (in Schulting's Jurisprud. vet. Antejustiana, ed. Ayreri, p. 504) it is said: "Auctores seditionis et tumultus, vel concitatores populi, pro qualitate dignitatis, aut in crucem tolluntur, aut bestiis objiciuntur, aut in insulam deportentur." So a Gallic rebel was thrown to wild beasts, Tacit. Hist. II. 61. The law was accordingly older than Trajan's time.

[2] Eckhel D. N. V. Vol. VI. p. 481.

[3] Spartianus in Hadriano c. 5, "Ægyptus seditionibus urgebatur. Lycia denique ac Palæstina rebelles animos efferebant."

[4] Chron. p. 381, ed. Mediolan. "Hadrianus Judæos, qui ter contra

the war against Trajan, which had been brought to a close a short time before, and was now completely extinguished. The breaking out of these disturbances may have been connected with the disgrace into which Lucius Quietus fell. For Hadrian, whose adoption by Trajan was very equivocal, conceived against this great general a suspicion of a design upon the throne, in consequence of an impeachment by his prætorian prefect Tatian; whereupon he deprived him of the command of the Mauritanian troops, who were very much devoted to him, as being their own countryman.[1] This may have given the Jews courage to make a new attempt; which, however, can hardly have been of great importance.[2] Since that time, all had been quiet in Palestine likewise.[3] Hadrian was there in the year 130, A. U. C. 883; for we have coins of Gaza commencing with a new era, that of his visit to this city.[4] To this period belong also the Roman coins that make mention of his journey to this country, and of the benefits conferred on it. On one of these the Emperor and the Province are represented as sacrificing together, with the legend: ADVENTVI AVG. IVDAEAE.[5] On

Romanos rebellaverunt, ad obedientiam revocavit;" and in the Greek text: *Ἁδριάνος Ἰουδαίους κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρέων στασιάζοντας ἐκόλασεν*, from Syncellus.

[1] "Lucium Quietum, sublatis gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit, Martio Turbone, Judæis compressis, ad deprimendum tumultum Mauritaniæ destinato," says Spartian, Hadr. c. 5; comp. Dion Cassius LXVIII. c. 32. p. 1146, and Reimar. Not. 203; also Tillemont II. p. 249. A few years after, Lucius Quietus embarked in a conspiracy against the Emperor with three other ex-consuls, and atoned for it with his life.

[2] Crevier is of opinion that Hadrian transferred the command against the Jews to Turbo, in whom as an older friend, he placed greater confidence than he did in Quietus; and that it was not till after the disturbances were suppressed, that he sent him into Mauritania; Hist. des Empér. VIII. p. 22. The words of Spartianus cited in the preceding note are somewhat obscure; but as we know that Trajan despatched Turbo against the Jews, they seem to apply rather to this earlier event. Casaubon and Salmasius do not decide in their notes on Spartianus.

[3] A couple of Alexandrine coins of Hadrian's second year, (in Mionnet VI. p. 147, No. 845 and 846,) where the Emperor is represented in a triumphal procession, (in 845 his chariot is drawn by four elephants,) may be referred to a victory. Probably, however, they relate to the triumph offered the Emperor by the Senate; but which, as it belonged to Trajan, he would not accept. Alexandrine adulation may, notwithstanding, have represented him as the hero of a triumph.

[4] Eckhel III. p. 453.

[5] Basnage Histoire des Juifs XI. p. 357. I do not find this coin adduced by Eckhel.

the other the Emperor is raising the Province, which is kneeling on one knee, and around which stand three boys with palm-branches: the circumscription is, IVDAEA. This is the impress usually accompanied by the inscription RESTITVTORI of this or that province.[1] Eckhel, however, thinks that Judea at that time was unworthy of any such benefit. But the numerous Greek and Syrian inhabitants had surely no share in the rebellion. I consider, therefore, that the word RESTITVTORI was omitted without any secondary design. Indeed, the impress itself shows the purport of the coin; and the first one, on which the Emperor and the Province are represented as sacrificing together, proves moreover that there existed no grudge on the part of Hadrian against the Greek and Syrian inhabitants of the country.

During the Emperor's stay in Palestine, a conversation may have taken place between him and Rabbi Joshua Ben Hannina on the resurrection of the dead, which is mentioned in the Talmudical book *Bereshith Rabba*. Hadrian was very inquisitive, and concerned himself about every thing. It is therefore not improbable that he also engaged in conversation with learned Jews. That, however, the Rabbi failed of satisfying him with his explanation, that the new body is formed from the bone Luz, may well be supposed.[2]

In Egypt Hadrian seems now to have considered himself perfectly safe as far as regarded the Jews. He noticed them, indeed, as he did every thing else that came in his way; but it was with a rapid and superficial glance. Thus in his celebrated letter to his brother-in-law, the consul Servianus, which Vopiscus has preserved,[3] he says of them: "There is no Jewish, no Samaritan Rabbi, no Christian priest, that does not cast nativities, or inspect the entrails of beasts in order to predict from them, or busy himself as a quacksalver. Even the patriarch [of the Jews], when he

[1] Eckhel VI. p. 495.

[2] Eisenmenger II. p. 931. The Emperor is said to have demanded the proof for this doctrine. They brought him such a bone, which could not be ground in a mill, burnt in fire, or dissolved in water; and when it was laid on an anvil, the hammer split in pieces. In this narrative, at the name of Hadrian the wish is added, that *his* bones might be crushed! See more about the bone Luz in Eisenmenger l. c. and in Bayle's Dict. v. Bar-cochba.

[3] In the Life of Saturninus, just at the beginning.

comes to Alexandria, is compelled to humour the former [the adorers of Serapis] by worshipping Serapis, and the latter [the Christians] by worshipping Christ." That there is a strong admixture of error in this statement, is clear as the day. But that the Jews did lend themselves to such loose acts, to which they joined the trade of begging, is shown by the following passage, among others, in Juvenal's Satires, whose author was banished about the year 134, to Egypt;[1] and which, though it applies only to the poorer sort, is yet remarkable enough, especially if we assume that the poet had before his eyes, not only the Roman, but likewise the Alexandrian Jews.

> ————Cophino fœnoque relicto,
> Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
> Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
> Arboris ac summi fida internuncia cœli.
> Implet et illa manum, sed parcius ære minuto,
> Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt.
>
> Juv. Sat. VI. 543 sq.

X. It was very natural that Hadrian, during the first years of his reign, while the Jews remained tranquil, should often occupy himself with them, and with pondering the means of securing the empire against their attempts for the future. One of these means was perhaps that of dividing the numerous population among the different provinces. But it may well have been difficult to find places for them. Asia, Greece, Italy, and Spain, hardly wished for any more of them than they had already. The coast of Africa offered, perhaps, the only tract of land whither he could have transplanted more than a small number; and even this may not have appeared to him advisable, when he reflected on the revolt in Cyrenaica. Accordingly, the statement in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius, that he sent a colony of Jews into Libya, which was entirely depopulated,[2] is scarcely worthy of credit; and at most is to be understood only of a colony in general that was sent there, as the Greek text of the same Chronicle has it,[3] and as is confirmed

[1] That is, supposing Juvenal was actually banished to Egypt; which Frank, in his Examen Criticum D. Junii Juvenalis vitæ, p. 3, considers a poetic fiction.

[2] "Hadrianus in Libyam Judæorum Coloniam misit." In Hadrian's fourth year.

[3] Chronicon. p. 382, *Ἀποικίαν εἰς Λιβύην ἐρημωθεῖσαν Ἀδριανὸς ἐπεμψεν*, from Syncellus.

by Orosius.[1] The place is not specified more particularly. Libya was the name given by the Greeks to the whole coast of Africa from Egypt as far as Carthage, and perhaps still further.[2] In the midst of such difficulties, it might very possibly be the case, that there were some grounds for a Jewish statement, that the Emperor entertained the design of driving the people entirely out of the empire.[3] But its execution was impracticable. For whither should he send them? Their number might still have amounted to several millions. To cast these into the arms of the Parthians, the hereditary enemies of the Romans, would have been hazardous in the extreme; and to drive them into the wilderness among completely savage tribes dwelling on the north or south, would have been inhuman, contrary to the principles and practices of the Romans, and moreover exceedingly dangerous for the borders. The plan, therefore, supposing it was actually formed, remained unexecuted.

Another means Hadrian seems actually to have tried; and this was, gradually to extirpate the Jews as such, by prohibiting circumcision, the characteristic sign of their nationality, and to amalgamate them with the other people of the empire. This prohibition is mentioned in a few words by Spartian as the cause of the insurrection.[4] He does not indeed fix the time; but it seems evident from his narration that the outbreak followed soon after. It may indeed be objected to Spartian, that the Romans were wont never to assail the national customs of the people subjected to them; and hence Casaubon understands this prohibition of emasculation, and regards it as an application of the older edicts of Domitian and Nerva against this practice.[5] It would also have been a very impolitic act of Hadrian, who certainly was acquainted from his own experience with the Jewish mode of thinking, to imbitter the nation

[1] Histor. Heb. VII. c. 12, "Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt (Judæi): quæ adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est, ut, nisi postea Hadrianus Imperator collectas aliunde colonias illuc deduxisset, abraso habitatore mansisset."

[2] Hence too the name Libyphœnices; compare Münter's Religion der Carthager, 2d edit. pp. 107, 108.

[3] Talmud in Abodha Zara c. 1, cited in Basnage Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 331. But the account of the Emperor's deliberations is so fabulous, as not to be worth the trouble of repeating.

[4] In Hadr. c. 14, "Moverunt ea tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia."

[5] In the note to the above cited passage from Spartianus. See Schrevelius's edit. p. 63.

against himself in the highest degree by such a prohibition. It would not be consistent either with his customary prudence or with his general character; which, although not a noble one, was far from being bad or tyrannical.

But on the other hand, it is to be considered that the restless spirit of the Jews, and their striving after independence, had occasioned two such dreadful insurrections within little more than half a century; and that a ruler may well have thought himself called upon by these two examples – whether correctly or not—to put an end to such continual danger, by endeavouring to destroy the nationality of that people, even at the cost of their ancient customs and religious usages. But that not castration, but circumcision, was forbidden by this edict, is evident from the fact, that the former was not at all in use among the Jews. Besides, we have an account of an edict of Antoninus Pius, who revoked Hadrian's prohibition as far as it related to Jewish children, and only forbade the Jews to adopt proselytes into their community by means of circumcision.[1]

XI. Another means contrived by Hadrian for keeping the Jews in subjection, remains to be mentioned. This was the restoration of Jerusalem. This city had always been considered one of the strongest fortified places; and the difficulty which all hostile armies, and finally the Romans under Titus, had experienced in capturing this stronghold, sufficiently proves the importance of its position.[2] Surrounded by mountains, itself built on a rocky promontory almost completely isolated, forming the hill called Mount Zion, and that on which the lower city stood,—the reduction of Jerusalem, in the then state of the art of besieging, was necessarily a very tedious operation, and to be effected chiefly by famine; so that Hadrian, who in the journey from Syria to Egypt was at least in its neighbourhood, if he did not visit the place itself, must have been perfectly well convinced of the importance of this post. No wonder, therefore, that he determined to fortify it anew, and to

[1] See below, § XXVI.

[2] "Urbem arduam situ," says Tacitus, "opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur;" and thereupon describes the city pretty much at length; Histor. V. 11, 12. Michælis has collected the history of its fortification, as well as could be done, in a note on this place. See his treatise on the vaults under Mount Zion and the temple, in his Zerstr. Schriften III. p. 428.

send thither a colony, consisting indeed mostly of veterans, and sufficient for the defence of the city.

Dion Cassius cites this determination of the Emperor, and the carrying of it into execution, as a cause of the renewal of the insurrection.[1] Eusebius states, on the contrary, that Hadrian did not send the colony till after the Jews were put down.[2] It is not difficult to reconcile both these apparently contradictory testimonies, as Basnage has done already.[3] The restoration of Jerusalem was not the work of a few months; but the labour, when begun, was interrupted by the revolt; and after this was suppressed, it was continued and completed.

But ere we proceed further, we must collect the few notices that have been preserved respecting the history of Jerusalem after the capture of the city by Titus. Witsius and Deyling will be our guides.[4]

It is true that Titus, after the burning of the temple, which he would so willingly have spared, destroyed the city. But we cannot conceive this destruction to have been complete, although Josephus speaks of it in that sense.[5] The same historian, however, informs us that Titus left standing the three large towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, probably with the wall connecting them, and the western wall, as a shelter for the cohorts whom he left in that neighbourhood;[6] and these must also have had dwellings for themselves, their families, and their followers. It is very probable, moreover, that Jews who had taken no part in the war, had permission from the authorities, either expressed or understood, to settle among the ruins. A few survivors of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained there immediately after the destruction of the city.[7] But it is certainly going too far, when Eusebius affirms that

[1] Lib. LXIX. 12. p. 1161.
[2] Histor. Eccles. IV. 6.
[3] Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 337.
[4] Herm. Witsii Miscell. Sacr. T. II. Exerc. X—XII, Historia Hierosolymæ. Exerc. XII, Ab excidio Titi ad nostra usque tempora—C. E. Deyling Diss. de Æliæ Capitolinæ Hist. et origine, in Salom. Deylingii Observatt. Sacr. Pars V.

[5] Τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περιβόλον (the three towers to be shortly spoken of excepted) οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παράσχειν τοῖς προσηλθοῦσι. De Bello Jud. VII. 1. 1.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Basnage Hist. des Juifs. XI. p. 255.

only half the city was destroyed by Titus;[1] for this is at variance with all history, and we can only assume with the greatest probability, that Jerusalem under Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, was indeed no longer a city, but that it still possessed inhabitants besides the Roman garrison, and was much visited by pious Jews who came to mourn over the ruins of their city and temple. Jerome also speaks of some remains of the city in the fifty years that elapsed between its destruction by Titus and the war with Hadrian.[2] With this too agrees what we read in ancient authors respecting the war with Hadrian and the second capture of Jerusalem. Were Occo the numismatist a trustworthy man, we might cite an ancient coin pretended to have been struck under Hadrian with the legend *ΔΙΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ*,[3] and conclude therefrom that the name Jerusalem still continued under Hadrian, before he brought his colony thither, and that a temple of Jupiter was built in the city. But the coin spoken of has remained unknown to later numismatists; and it is not at all probable that such a one has ever existed. The garrison of Jerusalem in its former condition, as they were neither a colony nor a municipium, could not have struck any coins; the erecting too of a temple to Jupiter upon the ruins, would certainly have been noticed by some Jewish or Christian author.

We confine ourselves, therefore, to the assumption that Hadrian, before the breaking out again of the war, had already begun to put his design of rebuilding and fortifying Jerusalem into execution. We remark only in addition, that he could do this without offending against the principles of the Roman state-religion; since this only forbade the rebuilding of a city once laid in ruins, in case the plough had passed over it, and the exauguration, or exfundation,

[1] Demonstr. Evangel. VI. 18, *Τότε μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ὡς φησὶν ἡ προφητεία*, see Zachar. xiv. 2. The prophecy itself, in which it is said, *Καὶ ἁλώσεται ἡ πόλις . . . . . καὶ ἐξελεύσεται τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ*, seems to have led Eusebius to this assertion.

[2] "Civitatis usque ad Hadrianum Principem per quinquaginta annos mansere reliquiæ;" Epist. ad Dardanum. Opp. edit. Martian. II. p. 610.

[3] Imperatorum Romanor. numismata. Aug. Vindel. 1601. p. 240, "Templum sex columnarum, in cujus medio Jupiter dextra fulmen, sinistra sceptrum cum aquila; ad dextram Pallas et Mercurius, ad sinistram Mars et Venus, et duæ aliæ figuræ sedentes in gradibus."

had been thereby rendered complete.[1] We have no proof however that this ceremony did take place after the capture by Titus.[2] Josephus is entirely silent respecting it; and Jerome only relates, according to Jewish traditions which we also possess,[3] that Titus Annius Rufus caused the plough to be drawn over the site of the temple.[4] But that is said to have been done in Hadrian's time. And even this is very doubtful, since we do not know that the Romans observed the practice with respect to single buildings. There was therefore nothing in the Emperor's way, in case he wished to rebuild Jerusalem. Moreover, the Gracchi undertook to rebuild Carthage, which had been desecrated and laid waste with such solemnities,—although at a short distance from the old city; and from the ruins of Punic Carthage that of the Romans sprang, the fourth capital of the world!

XII. But the restoration of their metropolis in the shape of a pagan city was more than the Jews could bear. It is possible that they had for several years been silently preparing anew for the project of freeing themselves from the Roman dominion, and had long entered into secret compacts with the people of other oriental regions, to whom the yoke of their masters was equally hateful, perhaps even with Parthian satraps or with the Great King himself. It is only the enduring contempt of the Romans for the oppressed people, which renders it conceivable that they entertained no suspicions, and made no preparations, easily as they might have done so, to frustrate the plans of their enemies. They felt secure, probably because they had disarmed the Jews after suppressing their

[1] Servius ad Æneid. IV. p. 327, "Nam ideo ad diruendas vel exaugurandas urbes aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu, quo conditæ, subvertantur." Comp. Horat. Carm. I. Od. 16. Seneca de Clementia I. c. 26. Zorn Hist. Fisci Judaici p. 321. Deyling p. 448.

[2] Although Scaliger, in the Animadverss. ad Eusebii Chronicon, and Valesius, in his notes to Eusebius's Eccl. Hist. IV. 6, maintain this to have been the case.

[3] In the Gemara Taanich, c. 4, where it says: "Quando aravit Turanus Rufus impius porticum, decretum factum est, ut interficeretur Rabban Gamaliel." Hence Turanus Rufus is called in the Gemara Sanhedrin רשע *the impious;* Zorn l. c. 321. The name Turranus Ruffus (sic) occurs on a gravestone which was in the possession of Pope Julius III. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. IV. 417.

[4] Commentar. in Zachar. viii. 13, "Capta urbs Bethel [read Bether] ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum: aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Antonio Ruffo."

revolt. If Dion were to be believed, the latter devised a curious expedient for relieving themselves from this dilemma. It is said that they, meaning doubtless the numerous prisoners condemned by Trajan to the public works, were ordered to forge weapons for the Roman troops; but that they intentionally made them bad, so that when rejected as unfit for service they could keep them themselves, and thus become possessed of a large quantity of arms.[1] But this statement carries with it an aspect so fabulous, that it is inconceivable how Dion could have given it the least attention. For how could Roman commanders, who necessarily knew well enough the spirit that animated the whole Jewish people, have suffered the workmen, and they too prisoners, to retain possession of arms, with which, bad as they might be, they could have wrought much mischief? and how could the superintendents of the manufacture have answered for such a proceeding? After the arms and accoutrements had been repeatedly found unserviceable, resort would certainly have been had to compulsory measures, to force the workshops to deliver better articles. The truth of the matter can only be this, that the Jews found ways and means of procuring and secreting arms; which with their extensive trade, and that too with people not under the Roman sway, could not have been so very difficult of accomplishment, especially if the whole nation were of one accord.

They kept themselves quiet notwithstanding, as long as the Emperor remained in the East. He had spent the year A. D. 130 in Egypt. The following year he had travelled to Syria, and thence had proceeded to the western provinces; to which of them is not known. We first meet with him, in A. D. 135, in Athens. The rebellion, however, broke out shortly after his departure from the East, as soon as he was considered far enough off, in the year of Rome 885, and 132 of the Christian era.

For the direction of a conspiracy so widely spread and accurately organized, and at the same time so profoundly secret and so exceedingly active, a leader was indispensably requisite. And now it was that such a one made his appearance. How long he may have already been busy in secret, rests upon conjecture. The war

[1] Dion Cassius LXIX. 12. p. 1161.

however is so remarkable, as to make it incumbent on us to collect all the remaining accounts concerning him, which are at all worthy of credit.

XIII. This leader of the Jews is known to us by the name of Bar-cochba.[1] He has remained unknown to the Roman historians. But the Christian authors Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius, make mention of him; and in the Jewish writers many scattered notices respecting him are preserved, which however are to be used with caution, as they are partly at variance with history and chronology, and in part are evidently fabulous. We shall therefore pay attention only to those writers from whom something may with probability be obtained for the elucidation of history; while of the others we shall here and there give a few specimens, sufficient to show their inadmissibility. Titus had already permitted the Jews, after the destruction of their capital, to transfer their great Sanhedrin to Jamnia.[2] It was placed under the patriarch, who was at the head of the academy at Tiberias;[3] and who, as well as the Babylonian patriarch, is said to have been of the tribe of Judah.[4] His power extended over religious matters, and perhaps to deciding as arbitrator in civil disputes, when these were brought before him. But he can hardly have had the power of life and death, although he may occasionally have arrogated it to himself.[5] He was always, notwithstanding the title of נשיא (Prince) which he bore,[6] subject to the Roman authorities; and it will easily be perceived that this could not have been otherwise. Still his prerogatives may have augmented by degrees, and may not have been as great at first as they afterwards became, when an important rank was likewise conferred upon him in the Roman empire.[7] This was all done publicly. But the book 'Zemach David' represents the matter as if the Jews soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in spite of their victor, had made for themselves a sort of civil constitution. It assumes, that as early as under

[1] בר כוכבא Son of a Star.

[2] Walch Historia Patriarchar. pp. 128, 227.

[3] Ibid p. 160.

[4] Ibid. p. 139.

[5] Ibid. p. 170 sq.

[6] Ibid. p. 161. Maimon. de Synedr. c. I. 3, as given by Walch p. 120.

[7] They bore the appellation *Viri clarissimi et illustres, viri spectabiles*, which Theodosius and his sons conferred on them. Walch p. 188.

Domitian, Bar-cochba commenced his reign, and also died under him; and that this Bar-cochba was succeeded by his son, and this latter again by his own son.[1] The possibility of the thing, in itself considered, cannot be denied, if we take into account the spirit that animated the Jews; and with this might be connected the inquiries set on foot by Domitian after the family of David. But in case we could, with difficulty, make out the twenty-one years which this statement attributes to the dynasty of Bar-cochba, they would have already elapsed at the commencement of Hadrian's reign; and this cannot by any means be reconciled with history. Accordingly, we cannot place the period at which Bar-cochba appeared earlier than towards the end of the reign of Trajan; and will endeavour to make use of the account of his dynasty in the course of this narration.

The number of adherents that he found, and the power that he exercised, render it very probable that he elevated himself by degrees. As king of Israel he had certainly nothing more to do than to imitate Eunus the prince of the Sicilian slaves,[2] and to spirt fire out of his mouth from tow secretly lighted,[3] in order to obtain for himself the admiration and reverence of the common people. This trick can only have prepared the way for him; his own talents must have helped him further on. He showed off no miracles before the learned.[4] This he had no need to do; for, animated by national enthusiasm, they only sought a man who was able to lead them against the Romans.

Who he was, and what was his origin, is entirely unknown. If he gave himself out for the Messiah, he must have traced his pedigree back to David.[5] But this is not fully proved. The name

[1] Zemach David ad ann. 880, Millenarii 4. According to other statements, the reign in Bether (for of Jerusalem the Rabbins say nothing) commenced in the 52d year after the destruction of the temple, A. D. 120, in Hadrian's first year; and Bether is said to have been taken under Romulus, in the 73d year after the destruction of the temple. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. III. p. 698.

[2] Florus III. 19.

[3] Hieron. Apolog. II. adv. Rufinum: "Atque ut ille Bar-cochebas auctor seditionis Judaicæ stipulam in ore suo accensam anhelitu ventilabat, ut flammas evomere videretur."

[4] "Sapientes nullum ab eo signum vel miraculum petierunt;" Maimonides Jad Hazakah, Tract. de regibus c. 2, as cited in Martini's Pugio Fidei p. 320.

[5] That he really was of the race of David, is maintained by Lipmann of the 14th and 15th centuries, in the book Nizzachon No. 352; see Wolf Bibl. Hebr. IV. 417. The

Bar-cochba, *son of the star*, under which he is known to history, was given him because either he or his adherents maintained that through him was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy, Num. xxiv. 17, concerning the star that should rise out of Jacob.[1] It was not until his death and the depressed condition of the Jews had proved how little he answered the great expectations formed of him, that he was called Bar-coziba, *son of a lie*.[2] But whether he was the same whom Dion Cassius calls *Andreas*, and Eusebius *Lucuas*, as Samuel Petit[3] and Reimarus[4] conjecture, we must leave undecided. These assume two Bar-cochbas, the first under Trajan, the second under Hadrian; an hypothesis that stands in connexion with the rabbinical story of the dynasty of three successive princes. But if the account in the Arabic text of Abulpharagius be well founded, Lucuas had perished already in the war with Martius Turbo.

The Rabbins also, who ascribe to him the devastations in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, fix his epoch under Trajan.[5] This we must leave undetermined.

The Jews flocked to him in multitudes, and anointed and crowned him king in the stronghold Bether;[6] for that he had his seat in Jerusalem is not known to the Jewish writers. That he gave himself out for the Messiah, is not completely proved, as has been already remarked. There are indeed stories to the effect that he could not support the proof to which he was put, as to whether he, as was required of the Messiah according to an interpretation of the saying in Isaiah xi. 3, could distinguish the just from the unjust by the smell;[7] and that Rabbi Akiba said of him, This is the king

tradition may indeed have been current as early as the time of Bar-cochba. Else Akiba and the learned Rabbins would hardly have owned him for the Messiah.

[1] Echa Rabbatha, on the words of Lam. ii. 2, and Zemach David cited by Eisenmenger II. p. 654; also R. Gedaliah in Shalsheleth Hakkabbala, cited by Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica III. p. 698. Syncellus in his Chronography (Script. Byzant. IX. p. 348) has the following singular remark respecting him: τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως Χοχεβαστης (Χοχέβας τις) ὁ μονογενὴς ἡγεῖτο, ὃς ἑρμηνεύετο ἀστήρ. Can he, as the pretended Messiah, ever have received the title μονογενής, יחיד ?

[2] בר כזבא or בר כוזבא, Zemach David, ibid.

[3] Observatt. Lib. III. 4, p. 318.

[4] Ad Dionem Cass. p. 1146.

[5] Zemach David, Eisenm. II. 655. His rebellion is placed, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, in the year of the world 3880.

[6] Zemach David l. c.

[7] Talmud in tract. Sanhedrin cap. Kelech, cited in Martini Pugio Fidei p. 322. "Dixit ad Magistros Ego sum Messias. Dixerunt ei:

Messiah.[1] Maimonides however calls him merely the great king.[2] Meanwhile, whether he gave himself out for the Messiah or not, he was regarded as such by the populace; for the Messiah alone could be their deliverer from the Roman yoke. He however was not expected to come from the nobility, but out of their own midst. Indeed, according to his contemporary Trypho, whose dialogue with Justin Martyr we still possess, the Messiah was to be unknown when born, and should not even know himself or possess any power, until Elias should come to anoint him.[3] But this Elias was most probably found in the person of Rabbi Akiba; although we do not know that it was he who anointed him in Bether.

XIV. Akiba, who had not sprung from an Israelitish stock, but had gone over to Judaism of his own free choice, had become the most zealous and learned of the Rabbins, and glowed with the same hatred against the Romans that fired all Israel.[4] He deduced his pedigree from Sisera, the general of the Tyrian king Jabin, whom Deborah slew; but his mother was a Jewess. His whole history is mythic, and copied after that of Moses. Forty years he was an untaught shepherd; he then sued for the hand of his master's daughter, who however would marry none but a learned man. For four and twenty or (according to others) forty years he pursued his studies, and is said to have travelled much. He then began to teach, and served the people forty years long as superintendent of the schools, first at Lydda, and then at Jamnia; the number of his pupils was reckoned at 24,000. What God did not intrust to Moses, he is said to have revealed to him; and hence he is regarded as the teacher of the unwritten law. The Mishna began with his collections; and the book Jezirah[5] attributed to Abraham, but

De Messia scribitur, quod odorans erit et judicans; videbimus ergo, utrum tu odorando valeas judicare: cumque vidissent quod non esset odorans et judicans, occiderunt ipsum."

[1] Zemach David l. c. Tract. Sanhedrin cap. Kelech in Martini Pug. Fidei pag. 390. Akiba refers the star in Hagg. ii. 7, to Bar-cochba; Bartolocci II. p. 346.

[2] "Capta est Bether .... et in ea regnabat rex magnus, quem putaverunt Israelitæ et sapientum majores, eum esse regem Messiam;" so in Jad Hazakah given by Bartolocci II. p. 723.

[3] Justini M. Dialogus cum Tryphone c. 8 and 49.

[4] The Jewish writings are full of accounts concerning him. Comp. Jo. Henr. Othonis Historia Doctorum Mischnicorum, in Wolf's Biblioth. Hebræa IV. p. 410; also Bayle's Dictionary under his name.

[5] See Fabric. Cod. Pseudepigr.

which is now lost, was one of the works in which he deposited his wisdom. No wonder therefore that they even sought for him in the Old Testament. The words of Moses, Ex. iv. 13, "Lord, send whom thou wilt send," were applied to him;[1] the passage in Job xxviii. 10, "his eye seeth every precious thing," was understood of him;[2] and when at last he was executed by the Romans, some even referred to his death the celebrated passage in the 52d and 53d chapters of Isaiah.[3] He had seen the temple while yet in its splendour, and was so much the more eager for its restoration. The exalted dignity with which he was invested as associate of the patriarch, must have considerably augmented the great influence he already possessed; and at the same time it furnishes us with a plain indication that the patriarch in Palestine, Gamaliel,[4] and the entire Sanhedrin, had an understanding with Bar-cochba; which also appears evident from the Jewish traditions of Bar-cochba's transactions with the wise men.

Akiba not only declared Bar-cochba to be the king Messiah, with which the latter, even if he did not give himself out as such, was very well pleased; but he was also his most trusty counsellor, accompanied him everywhere, and on festival occasions assumed the office of his armour-bearer, by carrying before him his sword, the symbol of his dignity.[5] That the old man of nearly six score years could not have attended him in battle, may easily be conjectured.

Bar-cochba seems also to have had a counsellor and assistant in Rabbi Tarphon, the successor of Akiba in the superintendence of the school at Lydda.[6] His name at least occurs in the history of this prince. Several other celebrated Rabbins who took an active part in the war, and perished in it, will be mentioned in the sequel.

XV. Bar-cochba had at first the most complete success. In Palestine all the Jews united with him,[7] and probably also the Samari-

Vet. Test. p. 385, and the citation in the first note from Wagenseil's Sota p. 985. The book now known by this name was edited by Rittangel.

[1] Martini Pugio Fidei, p. 320.

[2] Othonis Hist. Doctor. Mischnic. in Wolf p. 411.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Walch Hist. Patriarch. p. 257.

[5] Talm. Tract. Sanhedr. cap. Kelech: "Rabbi Akiba magnus et sapiens fuit, et de sapientibus Misnæ; fuit armiger Bar-cochba regis, de quo dixit, eum esse Messiam." Shalsheleth Hakkabbala, p. 21.

[6] Otho, in Wolf Bibl. Heb. IV. 409.

[7] Sulpit. Severi Hist. sacra II, 4, "Sub Hadriano deinceps Judæi re-

tans, who at least are never mentioned as his enemies, this army must have been very considerable, although the statements of the Rabbins, who give it at 200,000 men,[1] may be exaggerated; and he pushed forward his arms beyond the borders of the country into Syria. After the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, many Jews had fled to the Galilean cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias; the descendants of these now fell upon the pagan and Christian inhabitants, and committed great slaughter among them. After the war was concluded, and these cities once more set free, they testified their gratitude to the Emperor in a remarkable manner: the former took a new name, Diocæsarea Adriana; and the latter erected a temple, which they called Adrianum.[2]

Bar-cochba at first endeavoured to draw the Christians of Palestine over to his side. But unable to prevail upon them to renounce their faith, and to participate in the insurrection against the Romans, whom he treated with great barbarity, he speedily turned his rage against the Christians also in the most dreadful manner; as is testified by Justin Martyr,[3] Eusebius,[4] and Orosius.[5]

bellare voluerunt, Syriam ac Palæstinam diripere conati: missoque exercitu, coacti sunt."

[1] One of the many Jewish fables is, that he made trial of the bravery of the troops by chopping off a finger of each man. But the wise men then gave him a better piece of advice, which was, that he should let it serve as proof of a man's prowess, if he could root up one of the cedars of Lebanon while on horseback. Echa Rabbatha, in Martini Pugio Fidei p. 326.

[2] Basnage XII. 147, 148. I know not from what sources Basnage has derived these statements.

[3] Apol. I. c. 316, *Βαρχοχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγήτης Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινὰς εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι.* Also in Euseb. IV. 6. It is not to be understood from the term *μόνους*, that he was not cruel to the Romans and Greeks likewise; but the Christians he specially tortured, out of religious hate, when he could not move them to apostasy. See the notes of the St. Maurites on this passage in p. 62 of their edition of Justin, (Paris 1742 fol.) of which I have made use.

[4] In loc. cit. and in the Chronicle: *Τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως Χοχεβάς τις ἡγεῖτο· οὗτος Χριστιανοὺς ποικίλως ἐτιμωρήσατο μὴ βουλομένους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων συμμαχεῖν*, see at the 18th year of Hadrian. The same words are given by Jerome in his Chronicle taken from Eusebius, at Hadrian's 17th year: "Cochebas dux Judaicæ factionis nolentes sibi Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium omnimodis cruciatibus necat." Eusebius also calls him on this account, *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φοινικὸν καὶ ληστρικὸν ἄνδρα*, H. Eccl. IV. 6.

[5] Histor. VII. 12, "Judæos sane perturbatione scelerum suorum exagitatos, et Palæstinam provinciam quondam suam depopulantes, ultima nece perdomuit (Hadrianus), ultusque est Christianos, quos illi, Coch-

No long time had elapsed, when he became master of Jerusalem. It is true that all writers are silent as to this circumstance; but the many testimonies to its recapture under Hadrian, place beyond all doubt the fact that the Jews had possession of the Holy City. It was probably the colony sent thither by the Emperor, that was driven out. A few incidents have been preserved, which appear to belong to this period.

The surrounding region was dreadfully desolated. Wolves and hyenas made inroads on the city itself. R. Akiba therefore, according to the interpretation given by Samuel Petit to a passage in Aben Ezra, caused the celebration of the passover to be transferred from Mount Nisan to Mount Ijar.[1] This seems to have reference to the journeys usually undertaken at the time of the festival; for it is certain that every one might keep the feast of Easter in his own house, even though there should be no hindrances—such as continual rain-storms, swollen streams, roads and bridges destroyed —to render the journey to Jerusalem difficult. But festival-journeys presuppose that Jews were living in Jerusalem, and that divine worship was at least in some measure restored. Again, Dion relates that, about this time, Solomon's sepulchre tumbled down of itself,[2] —a prodigy that, considering the great antiquity of David's family burial-place,[3] was very natural, but which he regarded as a bad omen. He mentions, indeed, that this happened before the break-

eba duce, quod sibi adversus Romanos non adsentarentur, excruciabant." The Talmudists assert that Bar-cochba compelled the Jewish Christians, a great number of whom he induced to deny Christ, to submit to circumcision a second time; so Basnage XI. p. 361. He gives no citations. The tract Jebammoth, in the Jerus. Talmud, speaks of repeated circumcision, but without naming the Christians; as does also one Rabbi Nissim. "Plurimi," says the former, "qui præputium metu retractarant, diebus Bencozibæ iterum circumcidebantur." R. Nissim says the same, and names Bether as the place where it was performed; Lightfoot Chron. Temporum Opp. II. p. 143. Here reference seems to be made to Jews, who from fear of the Romans sought to render undiscernible the marks of their nation and religion.

[1] Aben Ezra in Levit. xxiii, cited by S. Petit, Eclog. chronolog. I. 14. According to Petit's reckoning, this was in the year 133.

[2] Lib. LXVIII. c. 14. p. 1162. The same account is found in Cedrenus Script. Byzant. XII. p. 249; taken doubtless from Dion.

[3] Respecting this tomb of Solomon which belonged to the family of David, and of which mention is made in the N.T. Acts ii. 29, comp. Michaelis Kleine Schriften III. 457; and also Münter's paper on Solomon's family sepulchre under Mount Zion, in the Antiq. Abhandlungen p. 87.

ing out of the war. But could the falling down of the old royal tomb presage any disaster to the Romans? It is probable, therefore, that this explanation did not occur till after the close of the war, and that Dion erred with regard to the time, and placed the event in a somewhat earlier period than that in which it actually took place. The Jews in Jerusalem might certainly, according to their way of thinking, have had reason to be terrified, when they saw the tomb of David and Solomon, whose kingdom they were then about to restore, fall down without any visible cause.

XVI. To these proofs are to be added those furnished by numismatics. We know from both the Talmuds, that coins were struck by Bar-cochba. That of Jerusalem says expressly, "Samaritan money, as for instance that of Bencoziba, does not defile;"[1] and that of Babylon mentions the coins themselves.[2] Of these some have descended to our times. There are, namely, four silver coins, three of which belong undeniably to the Emperor Trajan, while the fourth is somewhat doubtful; on these the Roman impress can still be partially discerned, although they are stamped over again with a Samaritan inscription. It is known that such recoining was practised in ancient as well as in modern times.[3] On these restamped Samaritan coins we read, more or less completely, the name שמעון *Simon;* and on the other side לחרות ירושלם *to the freedom of Jerusalem.* The traces of the legends remaining on three of these coins, (viz. .... R ... OPTI .... INC. or TRAI ... P. M. TR. P. COS. also the Greek .... *IAN CEB. ΓΕΡ. ΔΑΚ.*) besides the remains of the face, leave no doubt of their being restamped coins of Trajan. The first of them was struck in the year of Rome 852, A. D. 99; in which year the Senate conferred upon him the title of *Optimus Princeps*, though this does not appear

[1] Tract Maaser Sheni, "Moneta Samaritica, ut Bencozibæ, non profanat."

[2] The tract Baba Kama speaks of "Numi Cozibeani Hierosolymitani." The coins therefore, according to the Babylonian Talmud, were struck in Jerusalem. Both these citations from the Talmud are taken from O. G. Tychsen's Assertio Epistolaris de peregrina Numorum Hasmonæorum origine, p. 19. He refers also to Abrah. Zacut in Juchasin fol. 23. 2. lin. 24.

[3] Thus, for instance, the coins of Agrigentum, which the Carthaginians, when they became masters of that city, restamped with the head of Melkart, the Tyrian Hercules. See Prince Torremuzza's Siciliæ veteres Numi Tab. X. No. 4, 5.

on coins before A. U. C. 858, A. D. 105. The second belongs in or after the year 856, A. D. 103, when he received the title of *Dacicus;* and the Grecian coin on which stands the date ΥΠΔ. (ὕπατος τὸ τέταρτον) was struck during his fourth consulate in a Syrian city, probably Antioch. A fourth coin is undistinguishable, and has only the Roman letters TR (Tribuniciæ Potestatis). But this also doubtless belongs to Trajan or to Hadrian.[1] Hence we now know that Roman coins in Trajan's time, or soon after, were stamped over again by Jews or Samaritans. Which of the two effected this, is to us at present a matter of indifference, since the Jerusalem Talmud acknowledges the Samaritan money of Bar-cochba as also clean; so that there only remains the palæographic question, whether the Assyrian character alone was at that time employed by the Jews.[2] This restamping of money, however, points infallibly to a war in which the Jews wished to have a coinage of their own. The name Simon, which we find on two of them, is the name of the prince; and who can this have been but Bar-cochba? It is true, we nowhere read that he was called Simon; but from this silence there is nothing to be inferred. We have likewise coins of the Asmonean king Antigonus, bearing his Hebrew name Mattathias, which is not otherwise known to us.[3] This name Simon, however, extends still further. Among the Samaritan coins, which in former times were attributed without exception to the Asmonean princes, are found many whole and half shekels and copper pieces with the same name. The French scholar Henrion, so far as I know, was the first to whom the idea occurred that this was not Simon Maccabæus, but Bar-cochba; and he accordingly ascribed this coin to him.[4] He is partially followed by Barthelemy[5]

[1] See Barthelemy's Letter to the author of the Journal des Savans, in Perez Bayer Numorum Hebræo-Samaritanorum Vindiciæ, Valentiæ 1790, in Append. p. IX. Two of these coins are there copied.

[2] The affirmative is maintained by Tychsen in his Diatribe de numis Hebraicis, Madrid edit. 1792, p. 36; also in the above cited Assertio Epistolar. p. 18. Barthelemy, on the contrary, is of opinion that the Jews retained the Samaritan character until forty years before Christ, and on monuments much longer. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres XXIV. p. 59.

[3] Barthelemy in Perez Bayer Numorum Hebræo-Samaritanor. Vindiciæ, p. IX, where the coin is engraved on copper; also Tychsen's Diatribe p. 22.

[4] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres III. p. 189.

[5] In Perez Bayer p. XIII.

and O. G. Tychsen;[1] and there are several reasons which favour this opinion. That the character found on the coins is not Assyrian, but Samaritan, is not so very decisive against their high antiquity; since the former, even if the Jews did bring it with them after the captivity, may have been regarded as a sacred character, while the common writing of the country was employed on the country's coinage. And this indeed is evidently the case; since the coins of Jonathan or John Hyrcanus, (for it is not quite certain to which of the two the coins so read belong,) and also of Antigonus, are likewise stamped with the Samaritan character. Neither would I build much on the circumstance, that Simon Maccabæus governed the Jewish nation eight years, while the coins bear the dates of the four first only; partly because, from the small number of Samaritan coins that have been preserved to us, those of his four last years may have been lost; and partly, because there was no law that money should be struck every year. It is just as little decisive, that the reading of the passage 1 Macc. xv. 6, where mention is made of the right of coinage which the Syrian king Antiochus Sidetes is said to have conferred on Simon, still remains doubtful.[2] But more seems to be proved by the species of letter on the money attributed to Simon, inasmuch as the character here exhibited differs from that on the remaining Asmonean coins; and this without taking into account the circumstance, that all these are of copper, (perhaps because the Syrian kings reserved to themselves the right of coining the precious metals,) while on the other hand we have silver coins bearing the name of Simon.

The difference of title is still more decisive. Simon is called on single coins נשיא ישראל *Prince of Israel;*[3] the same title as that borne by the patriarch, whom the Greeks named *ἐθνάρχος*, or in Mesopotamia *αἰχμαλωτάρχης*.[4] On the contrary, Jonathan or John Hyrcanus and Antigonus are called on the coins הכהן הגדול *High-priest*, after which follows the title נשיא, or נשיא יהודה, *Prince of*

[1] In the two treatises above cited.

[2] The Greek version of this book has only the words: *Καὶ ἐπέτρεψα σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμια ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου.* But the Syriac has: "Et tibi decreta pro lubitu faciendi potestatem concedo." Now what stood in the Hebrew text? It is also remarkable, that Josephus should know nothing of this right of coinage granted to Simon. Tychsen Diatribe p. 25.

[3] Tychsen Diatribe p. 19.

[4] Walch Histor. Patriarch. p. 103.

Judah, not of Israel; and on one coin bearing the name of the Syrian king Alexander Bata, we read יהונתן חמלך *King Jonathan*.[1] These two last reasons, together with the restamped coins of Trajan, seem to pronounce decisively, that all those which have the name *Simon* must be taken out of the class of Asmonean coins and be assigned to Bar-cochba.

We have then the following results:

1. That in the first disorder of the insurrection, before the new Jewish government was organized, it was the practice to recoin money of the Roman currency. How long this may have lasted, cannot be determined.

2. That Bar-cochba, however, as soon as he was able, coined his own money. The rich contributions of the Jews, that flowed to him from all quarters, (for the Jews of Palestine were too poor to afford him much aid in this respect,) procured him the requisite metal. This enabled him to strike coins of many kinds. Tychsen enumerates thirteen different stamps, one of which is of gold.[2]

3. That the mint was at first, in the two first years, at Jerusalem, is at least very probable from the inscriptions לחרות ירושלם *to the freedom of Jerusalem*, and ירושלם קדשה *Jerusalem the holy*;[3] which alternate with the legends לחרות צירן or לגאלת צירן and לגאלת ישראל, *to the freedom* or *redemption of Zion* or *Israel*; though these latter do not appear on the coins of the third and fourth years, but only on those of the first and second, and on some without a date.

4. That Bar-cochba either was called Simon, or that he assumed this name in memory of Simon Maccabæus the deliverer of the Israelites from the Syrian bondage, in token that he would deliver his people in like manner from that of the Romans; but that this name fell into oblivion, because the people preferred to call him at first the "Son of the Star," which according to the prophecy had risen over Israel; although they afterwards gave him the nickname of Bar-coziba.

It was probably one of his first concerns, when he saw himself

[1] Tychsen Diatr. p. 23. Engraved on copper in the Table accompanying Barthelemy's Letter in Perez Bayer.

[2] Diatribe p. 19. sqq.

[3] The testimony of the Jerusalem Talmud, cited above, with respect to the Jerusalem money of Bar-cochba, hereby acquires a much greater weight.

in possession of Jerusalem, to restore the temple, of which at least the foundation-walls and subterranean vaults[1] were still in existence; in addition to which an immense mass of building-materials must have been found under the ruins. This is so much the more certain, since Chrysostom,[2] the Chronicon Alexandrinum, Nicephorus Callistus, and Georgius Cedrenus,[3] give accounts of it. Here, too, appears to belong a coin on which is seen a portico with four pillars; in the middle hangs a lyre, a serpentine line runs beneath. Who does not here call to mind the brook Kedron? On the other side stands a manna-pot and a leaf or a small fruit. The inscription is שמון and לחרות ירושלם. The year however is wanting.[4]

We may regard it then as fully proved, that Bar-cochba had possession of Jerusalem; although the Jewish writers, the Samaritan Book of Joshua alone excepted, are entirely silent on the subject, and speak only of Bether. Was it perhaps too painful to their feelings to speak of a third destruction of their capital? for

[1] See my essay, cited above, on David's family burial-place, at the beginning. These vaults are also mentioned in the history of the capture of Jerusalem. Simon, the leader of the Zealots, had hid himself in them with many of his party, after Titus had taken the upper city, with the design of forcing an outlet into the open country, and thus making his escape; but when this project failed in consequence of the impenetrable nature of the rock, he again came above ground beneath the ruins of the temple, and surrendered himself to the Romans; Joseph. de B. Jud. VII. c. 2. [See Robinson's Palest. I. pp. 446–452.] The Jews probably made use of the foundation-walls for the new structure: had they dug deeper, they would doubtless have met with the same disaster that befell their successors under the Emperor Julian.

[2] Oratio III. in Judæos, ed. Francof. 1698. Tom. i. p. 431, *Καὶ ὅτι οὐ ψεῦδος τὰ εἰρημένα, φέρε καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν παρασχώμεν μαρτυρίαν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐπεχείρησαν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναὸν, εἶχον ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι εἴγε ἐβουλήθημεν ἐπιχειρῆσαι, καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἅψασθαι, πάντως ἂν ἰσχύσαμεν καὶ ἠνύσαμεν. Νυνὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς δείκνυμι, ὅτι οὐχ ἅπαξ οἱ δὲ δὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρὶς ἐπιχειρήσαντας καὶ ῥαγέντας, κ. τ. λ.* The second time, namely, under Hadrian, and the third under Julian.

[3] Chron. Alexandr. p. 598, *Καὶ καθελων (ὁ Ἁδριανὸς) τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἔκτισε τὰ δύο δημόσια, κ. τ. λ.* Nicephori Callisti Hist. Eccl. III. c. 24, *στασιάσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτου (Ἁδριανοῦ) καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων αὖθις φασί· πρὸς βούλης δ' ἦν ἐκείνοις, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολίμοις νεὼν ἀνιστᾶν.* Georgius Cedrenus, in Script. Byzant. XII. p. 249, *Ἐφ' οὗ στασιασάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι βουληθέντων ὀργίζεται κατ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα.* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the design spoken of by the two last writers does not exclude the idea of the building's having been begun.

[4] Engraved on copper in Perez Bayer de numis Hebræo-Samaritanis, Valent. 1781, p. 141.

an occurrence so remarkable, and affecting them so nearly, they can certainly never have forgotten. Or did they purposely exchange the name Jerusalem for Bether? But then it is just as true that Bether likewise was captured.

How long Bar-cochba was master of Jerusalem, cannot be determined. From the fact that the coins of the two first years alone bear the inscriptions ירושלם קדשה and לחרות ירושלם, we can only draw the conjecture that his possession of the city may have lasted no longer than these two first years. It is true, that the coins of the third and fourth years also mention Zion and Israel; but then by Zion may be meant the nation itself, which always, even after it had lost Jerusalem, continued to hope for the recovery of its freedom.

XVII. At first, the Romans despised the insurrection. Yet they must soon have found that they had to do, not with single mobs, but with the entire Jewish people. Not only was all Palestine in motion, but the spirit of disturbance spread in every direction where Jews were to be found in the Roman empire, and broke out in covert or open attacks on the Romans; and the support that Bar-cochba received proves of itself how deeply the nation was involved in his undertaking. Almost the whole world, says Dion, was set in motion by the revolt of the Jews.[1] Lucius Quietus was at a distance; and as Hadrian supposed that all was in perfect tranquillity, there were probably but few cohorts in the country. The insurrection accordingly proceeded so much the more quietly. The governor of Palestine, Tinnius Rufus, could effect nothing. The Romans were everywhere exposed to the attacks of the Jews; who, while they avoided coming to the decision of a battle, were exceedingly formidable in slight skirmishes, and could easily retire to the mountains. Great numbers of loose rabble joined them out of hatred to the Romans and love of theft; and thus the revolt assumed a very serious character. At length the eyes of Hadrian were opened. He found that none of his generals in the East were capable of managing the affair. *Fifty* places fortified either previously or by themselves, and *nine hundred and eighty-five* open towns and villages, were in the possession of the Jews.

[1] Lib. LXIX. c. 14, p. 1162.

They must therefore have spread themselves far beyond the boundaries of Palestine proper, into Syria, and perhaps into Phœnicia; and must also have obtained possession of the sea-coast, which rendered it much easier for them to procure supplies. And now came the capture of Jerusalem, or of Ælia, if the renovated city was already so called. Hadrian at length summoned from the extreme west the governor of Britain, Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time.[1] Auxiliaries came from the remotest regions. This is shown by an inscription, which will be given further on. The struggle was protracted and dangerous. As late as under Hadrian's grandsons, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Fronto speaks of it, and places this struggle on a parallel with the Parthian and British wars.[2] The Jews were very numerous, and fought with the courage of despair. Necessity developed talent; perhaps, too, they obtained leaders from the kingdom of Parthia. Julius Severus attacked single bodies of troops, and cut off their supplies, doubtless by taking possession of the roads and passes; for Palestine, thinly populated as it was, could by no means furnish support to two hostile armies, and yet the Jews were able to keep up the war for four years. Consequently, in order to carry it on so long, they must have been able to obtain assistance and supplies by ways which the Romans could not for a long time block up. We are made acquainted, in the history of the first Jewish war, with the glens and mountain-caves that rendered the subjugation of Palestine so difficult to the Romans. These, and the subterranean passages intersecting each other, which possessed many outlets, and obtained air as well as light through openings from above, they now made use of, partly as hiding-places from which they made attacks upon the Romans, and partly as strongholds to protect themselves; and when it was necessary, they threw up walls in addition for their better defence.[3] Caves and subterranean passages of this kind are

[1] He was just as much esteemed for his integrity and prudence. After the close of the Jewish war, Hadrian sent him as governor to Bithynia, where his memory was long held in honour. Dion Cass. LXIX. 14. p. 1163.

[2] In Fragm. ad M. Antoninum de bello Parthico ed. Mediol. II. p. 321, "Nonne a Parthis consularis æque vir in Mesopotamia trucidatus? Quid avo Vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum a Judæis, quantum ab Britannis cæsum?"

[3] Dion Cass. LXIX. 13. p. 1161.

still to be seen in the desolated portions of Palestine; and the writers of travels speak of them with wonder.

XVIII. It is probable that the Romans had first to clear in some measure the region about Jerusalem, before they could think of besieging the city. Two years appear to have elapsed in this manner. It is true, Jerusalem had no longer the fortifications that made it so formidable in the time of the first Jewish war; but the city by its very situation was a fortress, and always difficult to subdue. Its capture does not admit of a doubt. It is testified to by Appian[1] and the Samaritan Book of Joshua,[2] which seems to have been about contemporary, as its proper text closes with Hadrian's times; and also by Eusebius,[3] Chrysostom,[4] Jerome,[5] the Alexandrine Chronicle,[6] Abulpharagius,[7] Paulus Diaconus,[8] Syn-

[1] De bellis Syriac. ed. Toll. p. 191, *Ἱερουσαλὴμ . . . . . ἣν δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθήρῃ, καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατίσκαψε, καὶ Ἁδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.*

[2] In the extract from cap. 45, in Fabric. Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 887, 'Obsidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ per Adrianum fuse pertexitur.'

[3] In the passage above cited from the Demonstr. Evang. VI. 18, Eusebius adds: *μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον κατὰ Ἁδριανὸν Αἰτοκράτορα κινήσεως αὖθις Ἰουδαϊκῆς γενομένης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἡμίσυ πολιορκηθὲν αὖθις ἐξελαύνεται ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πάμπαν ἄβατον γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.*

[4] Chrysost. Orat. III. in Judæos, l. c. *Ἐπὶ Ἁδριανοῦ δυστάντες οὗτοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐποιοῦδαζον ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν πολιτείαν ἐπανελθεῖν . . . . . συῤῥήξαντες τοίνυν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάλιν εἰς ἀνάγκην αὐτὸν καθέστησαν παντελοῦς ἐρημώσεως. Καθελὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ χειρωσάμενος, καὶ τὰ λείψανα ἀφανίσας πάντα, ἵνα μηδὲ ἀναισχυντεῖν ἔχωσι λοιπὸν, τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἔστησε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ.*

[5] Comment. in Habac. c. ii, "usque ad extremas ruinas Hadriani eos perduxit obsidio." Comment. in Ezech. cap. v. 1, "Sub Tito et Vespasiano urbs capta est, templumque subversum; et post quinquaginta annos sub Ælio Hadriano usque ad solum incensa civitas atque deleta est, ita ut pristinum quoque nomen amiserit." Commentar. in Zachariam, c. viii, "Capta urbs Bethel (Bether), ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum: aratum Templum, in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Ruffo." Yet Jerome misplaces these events, putting them under Vespasian and Titus.

[6] *Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων Ἰουδαίων στασιασάντων ἦλθεν Ἁδριανὸς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους αἰχμαλώτους.*

[7] "Hoc anno (quarto Hadriani) prodiit Hierosolymis quidam nomine ben Cocab . . . . . cujus rei nuncio ad Hadrianum delato, misit ille copias quæ ipsum interfecerunt et expugnatis Hierosolymis Judæos perdiderunt, urbemque Hierosolymitanam penitus diruerunt." So the Arabic text. The Syriac is not quite so precise; "Imperator," it says, "misit exercitum, qui Judæos perdidit, et Hierosolymis funditus eversis," . . . etc.

[8] Histor. Miscellæ in Murator. Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. I. Lib. X. p. 61, "Hadrianus . . . . . Judæos ultima cæde perdomuit . . . . . excidio Hierosolymis novissime

cellus,[1] Cedrenus,[2] Nicephorus Callistus,[3] and Suidas.[4] So that the silence of the Rabbins in opposition to all these testimonies, is of no consequence.

These furnish only the statement, of which I have already made mention, that the plough was drawn over the place where the temple had stood.[5] They call the general by whom this was performed, Turanus Rufus. Jerome, who mentions it, names him more correctly Titus Annius Rufus.[6] If there be any truth in the account, which, as was before remarked, does not completely accord with the Roman custom,—which was to draw the plough over whole cities, whereas here only a single building is spoken of,—it was done in order, by such a solemn desecration, to deprive the Jews of all hope that the Romans would ever suffer the temple to be restored. But then how could Julian, who was so zealous for the religion of the state, and for its customs so venerable in his eyes on account of their antiquity,—how could he allow, nay, even invite the Jews, to rebuild their temple on the same site where it formerly stood?

Of Bar-cochba's further fate we have no positive information. The sole incident related of him is, that he caused one Rabbi Tryphon, who counselled a surrender, to be executed.[7] If the same Tryphon be meant, with whom Justin held his well known dialogue, the statement is false; for although that Rabbi may have been engaged in the war, yet he survived it, for he is mentioned in the

desolatis, ita ut nec lapis super lapidem secundum divinam vocem in iis sit relictus, ultusque est Christianos," etc.

[1] Script. Byz. IX. p. 349, *Καὶ ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμος πέρας ἔσχεν, ἁλόντων Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ ἔσχατον, ὡς μήτε λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον ἀφῃθῆναι.*

[2] After having spoken of the attempt to rebuild the temple: *ὀργίζεται (Ἀδριανὸς) κατ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα, καὶ πολέμου γενομένου μεταξὺ, ἀνεῖλεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μυριάδας νή. Καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατεριπώσας κτίσει νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ.* Which, together with what precedes, seems to allude to the capture of the city.

[3] Histor. III. 24. This contains the same accounts respecting the design of the Jews to rebuild the temple, and of Hadrian's destruction of the remains of the old city, almost in the same words.

[4] S. v. *Βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως: Ὁ Ἀδριανὸς καθεῖλε τὴν πόλιν ἅρδην.*

[5] Maimonides in Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbin. III. p. 697, "Impius Turanus Rufus ex regibus Idumæis (h. e. Romanis) aravit templi solum et per circuitum ejus, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est Jerem. xxvi. 18."

[6] In Zachar. c. 8.

[7] Basnage Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 364. He appeals to Lent de Judæorum Pseudomessiis, p. 17.

dialogue relating to the close of the war.[1] Of the death of the above-named R. Tryphon nothing is related by the Rabbins, although they often make mention of him.

The time during which Bar-cochba reigned is not given with exactness. The Talmud assigns him three years and a half, but places his death under Vespasian.[2] The book Seder Olam gives him two and a half years.[3] Eusebius places his death in the time of the siege of Bether, and says indefinitely that he suffered the punishment he deserved.[4] Several rabbinical accounts make out that he died by the hands of the Jews on account of his crimes, or because he could not prove himself to be the Messiah.[5] According to Abulpharagius, he perished in Jerusalem.[6] The coins attributed to him have his name with the numbers of the two first years only, or else without any date. This seems to indicate that he died earlier. Moreover, the Jewish writers have many fables on the subject. For instance, they relate that his head was brought to the Emperor, who in fact was not then in Palestine; that the latter caused the body to be sought for, and a snake was found wound about its neck. They also quote Hadrian's words at the sight of the corpse: "Had this man not been killed by his God, no one would have been able to do him harm!"[7]

The year of the taking of Jerusalem is given by the Chron. Alexandrinum, as follows: *ΙΝΔ. Α. Γ. ΤΠ. ΑΙΛΙΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟ Β. ΚΑΙ ΡΟΥΣΤΙΚΟΥ.* Hadrian's second consulate falls in the year A. U. C. 871, A. D. 118. His colleague in the same was Titus Claudius Fuscus Salinator. He held his third consulate with Q. Julius Rusticus; this was in the year of Rome 872, A. D. 119.

[1] Dial. c. Tryphone, cap. 1 et 9.

[2] "Barcochba regnavit tribus annis et dimidio."

[3] Bartlocci Bibl. Rab. II. p. 346.

[4] H. E. IV. 6, *Καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀποστολας αὐτοῖς αἰτίου τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτίσαντος δίκην.*

[5] Maimonides in Jad Hazakah, Tract. de regibus c. II, "Videbatur (Barcochba) ipsi (Akibæ) et reliquis omnibus sapientibus generationis ejus esse Messias; donec ob scelera sua interfectus est. Tunc enim patuit, eum ipsum (Messiam) non esse;" in Martini Pugio Fidei, p. 320. But in another place he says: "Cecidit in manus gentilium, et omnes occisi sunt," namely in Bether. Bartolocci II. p. 723.

[6] "Cujus rei nuncio ad Hadrianum delato, misit ille copias quæ ipsum interfecerunt et expugnatis Hierosolymitis Judæos perdiderunt," etc. according to the Arabic text. The Syriac does not mention him.

[7] Echa Rabbathi; also Basn. XI. p. 364.

Both consulates, therefore, were too early for us to assume that the capture of Jerusalem took place in either of them. The true state of the case may perhaps have been this; that in the year 119, Hadrian had begun to put his plan of restoring Jerusalem into execution. But then a long time must have elapsed before the breaking out of the war. It is, therefore, better to abstain from any precise designation of time, and content ourselves with the conjecture, that Jerusalem was recaptured by the Romans about the second year after the outbreak of the war, in A. D. 132. Probably it was in consequence of this event, that the Senate caused a coin to be struck with an allocution (so called) of the Emperor's to the soldiers, and the circumscription EXERCITVS IVDAICVS.[1] But it does not by any means follow from this, that the Emperor himself was with the army; for he carried on his wars by means of his lieutenants. Besides, we know very little of the history of those years in which the Jewish war took place; and cannot even determine where the Emperor remained during the whole time. We know only of his abode in Athens in the year 888, A. D. 135; where he had himself initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and was occupied in erecting the great temple of Jupiter. About the same time he began to suffer from ill health, and in this year Eckhel places the adoption of Ælius Cæsar.

XIX. According to the book Zemach David, Bar-cochba was succeeded in the government by his son Rufus, and this latter by his son Romulus, who was also like his grandfather called Coziba. The whole dynasty is said to have lasted twenty-one years.[2] As a voucher, there is given us R. Abraham ben David, who perished in the year 1391.[3] Of this tradition the other writers know nothing. But when we reflect, that there must have been a dynasty which had the Jews under its rule, and probably kept itself as secret as possible, this silence of foreign, pagan, and Christian authors can determine nothing against the truth of the matter. Rufus was a cognomen known among the Romans. We find it also among the Jews. The Cyrenean Simon, who was com-

[1] Eckhel D. N. Vet. VI. p. 496. Mediobarba p. 178. It is a medallion, and consequently a medal properly speaking.

[2] Ad ann. 886 millenarii 4. Martini Pugio Fidei, p. 265.

[3] Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. I. p. 38.

pelled to bear our Lord's cross after him, is called "the father of Alexander and Rufus."[1] A greater difficulty is caused by the name Romulus, which among the Romans at least was very rare. I find it in the earlier times only twice in the inscriptions collected by Muratori,—among the names of the freedmen of Livia,[2] and (as Muratori thinks) of the marines of the fleet at Misenum.[3] Once the name is given to an oriental of Emesa:[4] to what time he belonged is uncertain, but he was no Roman; for the name of his father, Bigezonus, is quite foreign. It is also found a couple of times in Gaul and Britain.[5] From written documents we know of a pretended martyr of this name under Trajan;[6] also the son of the emperor Maxentius, of whom we possess coins;[7] and a senator in Aquileia, in the time of the emperor Constantius.[8] How much the name was formerly held in honour, is evident from the circumstance, that Octavianus, when desirous of laying aside his own appellation, which had been made odious by the cruelty of the triumvirate, would willingly have assumed this name, although he afterwards decided for that of Augustus.[9] All this, however, is not completely decisive against the opinion that Bar-cochba's grandson, who, as above stated, is said to have been likewise called Coziba, bore also the name Romulus. And if we suppose the name Coziba, perhaps with a somewhat altered pronunciation, to have been a family name, we can so much the more easily conceive how the majority came to be acquainted with one only, and to have attributed every thing to him. But in any case we are not to ascribe either to son or grandson the idea of Messianic dignity, which seems, especially after the conquest of Jerusalem, to have disappeared; this family being doubtless regarded as a new Asmonean race, who were to procure for the nation its former independence.

XX. Jerusalem was now taken; but there was still one stronghold in the hands of the Jews, into which a considerable force must

[1] Mark xv. 21.
[2] Thesaurus Inscript. p. 974. 6.
[3] Ibid. p. 874. 3.
[4] Ibid. p. 1045. 19.
[5] Ibid. p. 1094. 4, and p. 1736. 10.
[6] In Tillemont Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Eglise II. p. 237.
[7] Eckhel Doctr. N. V. VIII. p. 59.
[8] Le Beau, Hist. du Bas Empire XI. p. 92.
[9] Sueton. August. c. 7. Dion Cass. LIII. 166, Reim. I. p. 710.

have previously thrown themselves; since we cannot suppose that, on the surrender of Jerusalem, the Roman army granted a free retreat thither to a great body of fugitives. But doubtless all that could make their escape, or fight their way through, endeavoured to get to Bether. Such, according to the testimony of Eusebius, was the name of this fortress situated near Jerusalem.[1] Its site is not yet determined; and indeed it will hardly be possible to ascertain it, until at some future day a more exact investigation of ruins, and perhaps of inscriptions bearing its name, shall bring it to light. A place called *Betarum* mentioned in the Itinerary of Antonine, and which perhaps is the Betthar of the Jerusalem Itinerary, divides opinions with the ancient Beth-horon.[2] But this last is opposed by the circumstance that the name Beth-horon occurs unaltered in the Mishna; which also speaks of a Bether,[3] probably that situated in Idumea, of which Josephus makes mention.[4] The Jerusalem Gemara and the book Echa Rabbathi designate the distance of this fortress from the sea at four Roman miles.[5] We confine ourselves to following Eusebius, who places it in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and describes it as very strong.[6] It must have been of considerable extent, as a large multitude of people found protection within it; and it probably had a naturally strong position on a hill, so that it could even hold out against a long siege. But it seems also to follow from this, that the military strength of the Romans must have been much weakened, and that they did not attack Bether with great vigour. The accounts of the Rabbins moreover as to the extent of the city, are in the highest degree exaggerated. It had, say they, from four hundred to five hundred synagogues, in each

[1] Hist. Eccles. IV. 6.

[2] Relandi Palæstina p. 639 sq. See also Bachiene's Descript. of Palestine, Part II. Vol. III. p. 227. Betarum between Cæsarea and Lydda, and in the Jerus. Itinerary a Betthar between Cæsarea and Antipatris, which are perhaps the same city. Beth-horon was distant 100 stadia from Jerusalem, Reland p. 634. By the Jews Bether is called בֵּית־תּוֹר *domus explorationis;* because, after the destruction of Jerusalem, watchmen it appears were posted there, in order to spy out those who went on a pilgrimage to the ruins, and to accuse them of doing it, either with a view to obtain the favour of the Romans, or else to make sale of their lands. Basnage XI. p. 349.

[3] Reland p. 639 sq.

[4] Josephus calls it *Βήταρις*,—in case the reading is correct, and it should not be *Βήγαβρις*. Reland p. 627 sq.

[5] Reland p. 639.

[6] [See Note by the Editor, at the end of this article.

four hundred teachers, and in the smallest three hundred scholars; or, according to others, each teacher had to instruct four hundred children.[1]

At last the besieged were subdued by hunger and thirst, as well as by the attacks of the Romans. The city was captured with great bloodshed,[2] towards the end of the eighteenth year of Hadrian's reign, in the year of Rome 888, A. D. 135, on the 9th of the month Abh,[3] in the same month of August in which Nebuchadnezzar formerly took Jerusalem. In this designation of time we are obliged to acquiesce; for the other specifications cannot be reconciled with history, and are besides self-contradictory.

The book Shalsheleth Hakkabbala gives the seventy-third year after the destruction of the temple; and Zemach David, on the contrary, the fifty-third year after the same.[4] Accordingly, in the first case, as Titus destroyed the temple in the year of Rome 823, A. D. 70, we should have to assume the year of Rome 896, A. D. 143, in which Antoninus Pius had already reigned five years. The second case would give the year of Rome 873, A. D. 123, when all was in profound peace, and in which Hadrian set out on his journey. Eusebius adds in his Chronicon one year more to the year 135; since he remarks at Hadrian's nineteenth year, that the war was then brought to a close.[5] And it is very conceivable, that it may not have ceased immediately upon the taking of Bether; for else we should be obliged to assume, that all had been before restored to tranquillity. But a long interval must certainly have elapsed

[1] Tract Gitthin, in Eisenmenger II. 644, and Echa Rabbathi ibid. Hadrian, it is said, burnt 480 synagogues. A hymn of lamentation which is sung on the 9th of Abh, contains this statement. If all the synagogues destroyed during the war be here intended, the number is by no means exaggerated.

[2] Jewish authors relate that the horses had to wade up to their mouths in blood; that the blood of those who fell rolled along in its current stones of four pounds weight; that the corpses of the slain did not undergo putrefaction; and that Hadrian caused his vineyard, (perhaps the villa near Tibur, of which they may have heard,) which was 18 Roman miles square, to be fenced in with them; Tr. Gitthin and Echa Rabbathi. See Wolf's Bibl. Hebr. IV. p. 318; also Bayle's Dictionary. These are some specimens of Rabbinical histories!

[3] Shalsheleth Hakkabbala, cited in Otho's Histor. Doctor. Misnicor. in Wolf's Bibl. Hebr. IV. p. 417.

[4] Shalsheleth Hakkabala, ibid. Zemach David, in Eisenmenger II. p. 655, and Martini Pugio Fidei p. 339.

[5] Ἰουδαῖοι κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμος πέρας ἔσχεν, ἔνθεν εἴργονται πάντη τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαίνειν, κ. τ. λ. ad ann. Hadr. 19.

before fifty strongholds, and nine hundred and eighty-five towns and villages were all in the hands of the Romans. The closing scene of the war appears to have lasted three and a half years. In this Jerome[1] and the Talmud[2] coincide. The coins attributed to this period bear also four years; and on those of the third and fourth, as has already been remarked, there is no more said of Jerusalem, but they have the legends לחרות ציון and לגאלת ציון.[3]

XXI. At the taking of Bether, Bar-cochba's grandson Romulus is also said to have perished.[4] We must therefore place the death of his father Rufus somewhat earlier, in case there is any truth in the tradition of this dynasty of three successive Jewish princes. Rabbi Akiba was taken prisoner, together with his son Pappas, and executed; and with him vanished, as it is said in the Mishna, the glory of the Law.[5] He was, when he perished, an aged man of a hundred and twenty years.[6] That he then lost his life is probable, although R. David Ganz in Zemach David asserts that he died in the year of Rome 880, A. D. 120.[7] But the manner of his death, namely, that his flesh was torn off with an iron comb, and that he was roasted by a slow fire, is a story of later date.[8] Such tortures were unknown to the Romans. His grave was afterwards shown, together with the graves of many of his pupils, in a mountain cave near Tiberias.[9]

Many Rabbins had taken part in the war; and several of them perished at or after the taking of Bether. Basnage has collected from the Jewish writings the names of the most remarkable.[10] They

[1] In Danielem cap. 9, "Tres autem anni et sex menses sub Hadriano supputantur, quando Jerusalem omnino subversa est, et Judæorum gens catervatim cæsa, ita ut Judææ quoque finibus pelleretur."

[2] Sanhedrin, Tract Kelek, in Martini Pug. Fid. p. 326, "Tribus annis et dimidio obsedit Hadrianus Bitter." According to this author, Bar-cochba reigned during the whole time in Bether.

[3] See Appendix to Sect. XX, at the end of this article, p. 455.

[4] Shalsheleth Hakkabbala, in Otho's Histor. Doctor. Mischnicor. in Wolf's Bibl. Heb. IV. p. 417.

[5] In Sota 515, p. 303; in Basnage XI. p. 365.

[6] It is also said of another Rabbi, Johanan ben Zechai, that he attained the age of 120. Walch Hist. Patriarch. p. 256.

[7] Fol. 29, in Walch Histor. Patriarchar. p. 260.

[8] In the Talmud, Tract Erubhin, and in Berakoth, cited by Bayle in his Dictionary.

[9] Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbin. I. 422. [Robinson's Bibl. Researches in Palest. III. p. 272. Burckhardt's Travels in Syria p. 328.]

[10] Basnage Histoire des Juifs XI. p. 566.

are regarded as martyrs. Ishbab the scripturist (scribe) was slain in the hour of prayer, and his corpse remained long unburied, a prey to the dogs and wild beasts. Ananias, or Chanina, the son of Thardion, was condemned to the flames, and was burnt along with the book of the Law, which he is said to have read and expounded, contrary to the Emperor's commands. Judah, the son of Bava, the restorer of the Sanhedrin, was thrust through with lances,—according to the tradition, with three hundred of them. Whether the son of Suma perished then or later is uncertain; because some regard him as the teacher of Rabbi Judah the Holy—that sun which rose as the other set. He is said to have been born on the day of Akiba's death. R. Jose Setham, a name celebrated in the Mishna, had taken no part in the insurrection; but, it is said, because he was silent when the Romans were extolled, he was sent into exile to Sepphoris.

XXII. The number of the Jews that perished in the battles, is given by Dion Cassius at five hundred and eighty thousand; while those who were carried off by hunger, pestilence, and all the miseries of war, were innumerable.[1] Jewish accounts give the number of those whom Hadrian destroyed at four millions;[2] and in Alexandria he is said to have killed twice as many as came out of Egypt under Moses, viz. six millions. These exaggerations are evident. But the loss that the Roman empire suffered through this war, may easily have amounted to over two millions. Not only was it for the Jews, the Cyrenians, Egyptians, and Cyprians, an exceedingly bloody war; but the Romans also lost men in great numbers. Dion even thinks that it was in consequence of the loss sustained, that Hadrian did not employ, in a letter to the Senate, the customary formula: *Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; ego quidem et exercitus valemus.* But this conjecture is groundless. The Emperor must in that case have been with the army; and that he was so, is also the opinion of the Jewish writers. He was however in Italy: a sufficient reason for not mentioning the army in his letter.

A single inscription commemorative of this war has been pre-

[1] LXIX. 14. p. 1162.

[2] In the book Gitthin it is said: "Tradidit R. Eliezer Magnus .... In Bitther vero interfecit Hadrianus quadringentis vicibus decem millia;" in Martini Pugio Fidei p. 327.

served. It is said to exist in the stone pavement of St. Peter's at Rome:[1]

SEX. ATTIVS. SENECIO.
PRAEF. ALAE. P. FL. GAETVLORVM.
TRIB. LEG. X. GEMINA. EMIS
SVS. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN. EXPE
DITIONE. IVDAICA. AD. VEXILLA.

Thus, then, auxiliaries were sent even from distant Mauritania to the Jewish war! This S. Attius Senecio was a tribune of the tenth legion, and probably headed a squadron of light Getulian cavalry which marched to Judea as a corps of reserve, *cohortes vexillares.*

Hadrian's coins in all the metals with the inscription TELLVS STABILITA accompanied by different types, undeniably have reference to the tranquillizing of the provinces and the suppression of the insurrections;[2] and hence also to the conclusion of the Jewish war, the most dangerous of all. But as nothing occurs on them that has special reference to Judea, we cannot consider them as monuments properly belonging to the history of this war. They have also no precise dates. On some, the Emperor's third consulate is given. This indeed was in the year 872, A. D. 119; but as he did not take another consulate, we find the COS. III. on several of his later coins. The Alexandrine coins from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of his reign seem indeed sometimes to allude to victories; but in too indefinite a manner for us to draw any conclusion from them.[3]

XXIII. At length all was reduced to subjection. But Palestine had also become a desert.[4] The prisoners were sold for slaves in countless multitudes; at first at the annual market by the Terebinth, or as Jerome says, in Abraham's tent near Hebron,[5] where the

[1] Syntagma Inscript. p. 513.

[2] Eckhel VI. p. 509. Mediobarba p. 183.

[3] In Mionnet VI. E. g. of the 18th year, No. 1187, 1188 with the *Ἀθήνη Νικηφόρος*; of the 19th year, No. 1245, a goddess of victory; of the 20th, No. 1282, the figure of Providence; No. 1292, the Emperor in a triumphal car and crowned by Victory.

[4] Justin says to Tryphon, Dial. c. 52, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ ἴδιον βασιλέα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ προσέτι ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν ἠρεμώθη, καὶ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον καταλελείπται.*

[5] In Zachariam c. ii. "Legamus veteres historias et traditiones plangentium Judæorum, quod in tabernaculo Abraha, ubi nunc per annos singulos mercatus celeberrimus exercetur, post ultimam eversionem, quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominummillia venundata sint; et

patriarch had dwelt, and where a great market was yearly held.[1] As much was paid for a slave as for a horse. Those not sold there were taken to Gaza to another market, which thence received the name of Hadrian's mart.[2] The remainder were shipped off to Egypt. Many perished miserably on the way, by hunger and shipwreck; others were murdered by the heathen.

Thus was this unhappy people severely punished for their renewed bold but indiscreet attempt to recover their freedom. No wonder that even in the following centuries they continued to mourn over the capture of Bether, as they did over that of Jerusalem under Titus; and that in their lamentations Hadrian and Nebuchadnezzar are mentioned with equal abhorrence. Titus, on the contrary, was far from being detested by the Jews in a like degree.

That Hadrian caused the ears of the Jews to be cropped off, as Abulpharagius relates,[3] is at any rate to be understood only of those prisoners who were condemned to slavery. Yet the whole affair seems improbable; at furthest they can only have been marked with the iron, as servants exposed for sale. The prohibition against reading the Bible in Hebrew except on paying tribute for the same, which has been ascribed to the Emperor, has been shown by Basnage to be a fable;[4] although the above mentioned Rabbi Ananias is said to have suffered martyrdom for transgressing it. But that the Emperor, as Appian relates, imposed on the Jews a heavier tax than that which they formerly had to pay to the state, a poll-tax which must be distinguished from that to Jupiter Capitolinus,[5]—is not by any means unlikely. This, however, may have served as a partial indemnification for the expenses of the war.

XXIV. We have thus reached the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign, A. U. C. 889, in the course of the year A. D. 136; in which

quæ vendi non potuerint, translata in Ægyptum; et tam naufragio et fame, quam gentium cæde truncata." In Jeremiæ cap. xxxi, at the words, 'Vox in Rama audita est,' some, he says, understand these words of the many thousand prisoners who under Vespasian were taken on this route, by way of Gaza and Alexandria to Rome; "alii vero, quod ultima captivitate sub Hadriano, quando et urbs Jerusalem subversa est, innumerabilis populus diversæ ætatis et utriusque sexus in mercatu Terebinthi venundatus sit."

[1] See Biblioth. Sacr. I. p. 53.

[2] Chron. Alexandr.

[3] Abulph. in both texts.

[4] Basnage Hist. des Juifs XI. p. 375.

[5] Appianus Bell. Syriac. ed. Toll. I. p. 191, *Ἰουδαίοις ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας.*

the Emperor celebrated his Vicennalia. It was the custom on such festivals, which only Augustus and Trajan had lived to see, to build or consecrate new cities, or else to give new names to old ones.[1] And it was then accordingly that Jerusalem, which was no longer a Jewish but a Roman city, received the name of Colonia Ælia Capitolina,—Ælia after the prænomen of its founder Ælius Hadrianus, and Capitolina in honour of the god to whom it was now dedicated, and whose temple was built on the site where that of the Jews had formerly stood. Thus too a temple to Jupiter in Neapolis, the ancient Sichem, occupied the place of the Samaritan sanctuary on Mount Gerizim;[2] although perhaps at a somewhat later period. The Holy City no doubt had already been fortified by Romans and Jews. Hadrian added whatever was still wanting, and adorned his colony with magnificent buildings. The Chronicon Alexandrinum speaks of a theatre—for the old one built by Herod had long since been destroyed; and of two market-places,[3] a Trizonium, and a building called *Τετράνυμφον*, the purpose of which is unknown, as is also that of another named *Κόδρα*. A building that was formerly called the *Ἀναβαθμοί*[4] received in its new shape the name *Δωδεκάπυλον*, which reminds one of the *Πεντάπυλον* and *Ἑξάπυλον* in Syracuse,[5] and may have formed part of the fortifications. Was this perhaps placed on the site of the fortress of Antonia? The materials for these structures were furnished in abundance by the ruins of the temple and of other great works.[6] The city itself was divided into seven quarters, *ἄμφοδοι*, each of which had its own warden, called the *ἀμφοδάρχης*. With all this, Ælia Capitolina did not attain to the size of the former Jerusalem. Mount Zion, which now lay in ruins, and was used for gardens and tillage, was not included within the walls;[7] and that the city was enlarged on the west, and that Calvary among other places was

[1] Pagi Critica Antibaroniana ad ann. Chr. 132. § 35.

[2] Damasc. apud Photium Cod. 242, *ἐν ᾧ* (*ὄρει*) *Διὸς ὑψίστου ἁγιώτατον ἱερόν*. Eckhel D. N. III. p. 434.

[3] *Δύο δημόσια* I prefer the meaning *market-places* (Fora) to that of *prisons;* although the word bears the latter signification also.

[4] The *Ἀναβαθμοί* are mentioned Acts xxi. 40.

[5] Goller de situ et origine Syracusarum; Procem. p. xix.

[6] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. VIII. 3. Tillemont Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise II. p. 319.

[7] Plessing's Golgotha und Christi Grab p. 120. So the Mount was

brought within its circuit, is a fable of later date.[1] Hadrian's Ælia is the Jerusalem of the crusaders and of the Turks; and its limits have been assigned by nature herself.[2]

Over the gate that led to Bethlehem, Hadrian caused a swine to be sculptured in relief on the wall;[3] perhaps with the view of rendering the new city still more odious to the Jews; since their refraining from the flesh of that animal was a subject of derision among the Romans. The swine however belonged also to the *signa militaria* of the Roman army, and was the fifth in rank, in honour of the sow that Æneas found at the place where Lavinium was to be built.[4] We see it on one of Hadrian's coins.[5]

It was an object of importance with the Emperor, to attract a large number of inhabitants to his new city. Accordingly, he provided also for their religious worship. That great honour was shown to Jupiter Capitolinus, is a matter of course. He was indeed regarded as the guardian deity of the city. His temple, on the site where that of Solomon formerly stood, is mentioned by Dion Cassius.[6] Jerome also speaks of a statue of Jupiter at the place of the resurrection.[7] But the sepulchre of Christ must certainly have been destroyed in the siege under Titus.[8] Golgotha also, according to Sozomen,[9] was surrounded by the pagans with a

found by Jerome and the pilgrim of Aquitaine; see the Itin. Hierosol.

[1] Plessing loc. cit. p. 113 sq. [See the article on this subject by the Editor, in the present volume.

[2] [See Robinson's Bibl. Researches in Palest. I. p. 467 sq. and the Plan of Jerusalem.

[3] Hieron. Chron. ad ann. Hadr. 20, Chr. 137, "In fronte ejus Portæ qua Bethlehem egreditur, sus sculptus in marmore prominens, significans, Romanæ potestati subjacere Judæos." Sestini adduces, in his Descr. Numor. Vet. p. 545, a coin of the emperor Antonine, which on account of the inscription K. A.C. he attributes to Ælia Capitolina, and on the reverse of which stands a swine. A similar one is found in Pellerin's Supplem. Tab. II. 12.

[4] Virgil. Æneid. VIII. v. 43.

[5] In Zorn Historia Fisci Jud. on the frontispiece to p. 328. But I do not find the coin cited by Eckhel. Did he perhaps regard it as spurious?

[6] Dion Cass. LXIX. 12. p. 1161, Ἐς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον, ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος. The Jerus. Itinerary says, that two statues of Hadrian stood in the temple; ed. Wesseling. p. 591. Jerome, in his Comment. in Esaiam ii. 8, says the same: "Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est;" and in Comment. in Matth. xxiv. 15, he relates that there was a "statua equestris" of the Emperor standing "in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem."

[7] Ad Paulinum de Institut. Monachor. c. 2.

[8] Plessing's Golgotha, p. 79.

[9] H. E. II. 1.

wall, filled up with stones, and on it placed a temple to Venus, whose image in marble is mentioned by Jerome.[1] This was probably an Astarte, for the Phenicians; and if there stood also in this temple, as Paulinus de Nola reports, an image of Jupiter,[2] it was doubtless a Phenician Baal, who indeed was not unfrequently adored as the solar deity in the same temple with the queen of heaven. A temple to Serapis appears to have been erected by Hadrian for the Egyptians.[3] But excepting the adoration of Jupiter, the Phenician worship must have been the predominating one in the city and in the country round about; and hence it was that the cave in Bethlehem, in which, according to tradition, Christ was born,[4] was dedicated to Adonis.[5] Yet Hadrian can hardly have conceived the idea of a dying God, and have represented to himself Adonis as a mystical being having any reference to Christ.[6] He was moreover no enemy or persecutor of the Christians; and it may well be supposed that the Apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to the Emperor, perhaps during his stay in Athens in the year 135,[7] were immediately occasioned by the Jewish war, and were at the same time designed to convince him that Jews and Christians differed essentially from each other. Had

[1] Ep. 13, "In crucis rupe statua Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur."

[2] Ibid. "Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, simulacrum Jovis."

[3] Plessing's Golgotha, p. 116. This conjecture rests on a coin with the head of this god, Vaillant Numism. Coloniar. I. p. 166. Also in Eckhel III. p. 443.

[4] So already Justinus Martyr. Dial. c. Tryph. cap. 78; and Protevang. Jacobi c. 21, in Fabric. Cod. Apocr. p. 116.

[5] Paulini Epist. II. ad Severum: "Hadrianus . . . . in loco passionis simulacrum Jovis consecravit, et Bethlehem Adonis fano profanatus est." We learn from the sequel of this letter that the festival of Adonis was there celebrated: "Ubi natum Salvatorem . . . . salutaverunt pastores, ibi Veneris Amasium mixtæ semiviris planxere meretrices," etc.

[6] Fikenscher's Mythus des Adonis, Gotha 1800. Creuzer's Symbolik und Mythologie II. p. 91, 2d edit.

[7] See Euseb. H. E. IV. 3. The Alexandrine Chronicle speaks also of an Apology, which it appears Apelles and Aristo presented to the Emperor in the eighteenth year of his reign; and thereupon refers to Eusebius, who however says not a word about it. The Apology of Aristides is mentioned by Ado Viennensis in his Martyrologium, as a production still extant in his time in Athens, and highly thought of; ad d. 3 Octobr. According to De la Guilletière (Athènes anciennes et nouvelles, Paris, 1676, p. 146,) it was still in existence in the seventeenth century, in the library of the Medelli convent near Athens.

he not possessed this conviction, he would have prohibited the Christians as strictly as the Jews from approaching Jerusalem. This however was not done; and he seems even to have observed with satisfaction, that they took up their abode in his new city, together with the Romans and Phenicians. This result could not fail to ensue; for, drawn to Jerusalem by the recollections attached to it, the Nazarene community, who had retired to Pella as long ago as the first war with Vespasian, now came back to Ælia Capitolina and re-established themselves there. But as no Jews were any longer tolerated in Ælia, the succession of bishops of the race of David and of the kindred of Jesus, now ceased with Judas, the fifteenth bishop, who appears to have died in Pella; and the series of bishops from the Gentiles begins with Marcus.[1] Epiphanius asserts that he became a Christian in consequence of his intercourse with Christians in Jerusalem; but that, as he was compelled to leave off the pursuit of astrology, he relapsed into Judaism.[2] Very improbable, truly! The Alexandrinian Chronicle has copied Epiphanius, and adds the fable that he was father-in-law to Hadrian.[3] In what Rabbi this may be found, I know not.

The period of the building of Ælia is given in this Chronicle, as follows: *ΙΝΔ. ΙΔ. 15. ΥΠ. ΑΥΓΟΥΡΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΡΓΙΑΝΟΥ.* We find in the year 885, A. D. 132, Sentius Augurinus and Arius Severianus, and in the year 887, A. D. 134, C. Jul. Servianus III. and C. Vibius Varus. Neither of these consulates perfectly agrees with the statement. The Chronicle probably meant the first, as the number 15 indicates the year of Hadrian's reign; and in that year he has TR. P. XV. and XVI. on coins and inscriptions. Both statements are incorrect, notwithstanding; for he did not celebrate his Vicennalia till the year 889, A. D. 136. Or, he must already have made use of Aquila at an earlier period, and before the breaking out of the war with Bar-cochba, when he began the building of the city, which was afterwards interrupted.

[1] In Hadrian's 20th year. See Eusebii Chron. p. 384. In Jerome's Latin version, Marcus is made bishop of Jerusalem in Hadrian's 19th year. The difference is unimportant.

[2] De ponderibis et mensuris c. 14, 15. Petav. p. 170, 171.

[3] *Ἀκύλας ἐγνωρίζετο, ὃς ἦν πενθερὸς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.* Chron. Alexandr. p. 598.

The coins of Ælia Capitolina begin with Hadrian, and end with Hostilian. We still possess that which was struck at the establishment of the colony, with the symbol of founding, i. e. a husbandman ploughing, with the ensign of a legion near him, and the inscription, COL. AEL. CAPIT. CONDitor.[1] The coins of this city, however, must not be confounded with the Grecian coins of the city Capitolias in Cœlesyria,[2] although some of them also have Greek inscriptions. A catalogue of all the coins of Ælia is found in Rasche's Lexicon,[3] and some additions in Sestini.[4]

Those are particularly remarkable whose types have reference to religion. On coins of Hadrian and Diadumenus we see the Capitoline Jupiter in his temple between Pallas and the genius of the City. The queen of heaven, Astarte, is represented on the coins of Antonine and Marcus Aurelius; she stands sometimes alone, sometimes in a temple, holding in her right hand a human head, the head of Adonis, with her feet on a river-god, doubtless the conquered Jordan.[5] A coin of the emperor Severus has a large conical stone in a temple between two ensigns of legions, and alludes to the local worship of the Bæthylia, or meteor-stones.[6]

The later fortunes of Ælia are foreign to our purpose. We refer to the before mentioned treatises of Deyling and Witsius;[7] and add only, that the ancient and venerable name Jerusalem gradually sank so entirely into oblivion, that under Diocletian, a governor of Palestine, Firmilianus, on a trial of Christian prisoners, asked what city it was.[8] The name Ælia was retained long after in the Christian ages, together with the ancient one; which last was applied again to the city from Constantine's time onwards, and gradually supplanted the other.

XXV. Pagans and Christians were thus permitted to reside in Ælia. The Jews alone were excluded by the most stringent laws

[1] Mélanges de Pellerin I. p. 239. Eckhel III. p. 442.

[2] As has been done by Harduin; Eckhel III. p. 328.

[3] Rasche's Lexicon Tom. I; and in the first supplementary volume.

[4] Sestini Descriptio numorum veterum p. 544.

[5] Harduin Numi antiqui illustrati p. 8. Eckhel III. 442. A similar coin of Cæsarea in the province of Samaritis is found in Eckhel p. 431.

[6] Pellerin Recueil III. Tab. 135. no. 9. Münter's Antiq. Abhandl. p. 278.

[7] [See also in Robinson's Bibl. Researches, II. p. 9 sq.

[8] Euseb. de Martyr. Palestinæ c. 11.

from the city of their fathers. Hadrian forbade them access to it under pain of death. This is testified to by Justin Martyr,[1] Aristo of Pella in Eusebius,[2] Tertullian,[3] Eusebius himself,[4] and Jerome.[5] The prohibition was still in force in Tertullian's time, in the beginning of the third century. Nay, the unhappy people dared not even to venture into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; not even to look upon and lament over the ruins of their sanctuary from a distance! Guards too were stationed to prevent their entering![6] Such strong measures were of course intended to last only for a while. But they were certainly renewed, and perhaps increased in severity, as often as the Jews gave new cause for suspicion or raised new disturbances. In the age of Constantine, however, the Jews received permission to approach the city within a certain distance, so that they could see it from the surrounding mountains. But none ventured to enter it, or take up his abode there.[7] At length they were allowed to come to Jerusalem once a year, on the anniversary of the day when Titus took the city, and to weep over the

[1] Apol. I. 47, *ὅτι δὲ φυλάσσεται (Ἱερουσαλὴμ) ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ καταλαβομένου Ἰουδαίου εἰσιόντος ὥρισθαι, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε.* Dial. c. Tryph. c. 16, *Ἵνα ἦτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἀφωρισμένοι . . . . καὶ ἵνα γένωνται αἱ χῶραι ὑμῶν ἔρημοι, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πυρίκαυστοι . . . . καὶ μηδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπιβαίνῃ εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ.*

[2] Hist. Eccles. IV. 6.

[3] Contr. Judæos c. 15, "Et exinde, quod interdictum est, ne in confinio ipsius regionis demoretur quisquam Judæorum . . . . quod vobis pro meritis vestris post expugnationem Hierusalem, prohibitis ingredi terram vestram, de longinquo tandem eam oculis vestris videre permissum est." Apologet. c. 21, "Quibus (Judæis) nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur."

[4] Demonstr. Evang. VIII. 18, after the passage cited above relating to the destruction by Titus: *μετ' οὐ πολὺν τὸν χρόνον κατὰ Ἁδριανὸν τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα κινήσεως αὖθις Ἰουδαϊκῆς γενομένης, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἥμισυ πολιορκηθὲν, αὖθις ἐξελαύνεται, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πάμπαν ἄβατον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.*

[5] In Esaiam c. 6, "Rursum ipsæ reliquiæ erunt in deprædationem, quando post annos ferme 50 Hadrianus venerit, et terram Judæ penitus fuerit deprædatus, in tantum ut terebintho et quercui quæ glandes amiserit, comparetur." So too in Dan. c. 9.

[6] Sulpicii Severi Hist. Sacra II. 45, "Militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu arceret." Euseb.-Chron. *ἔνθεν εἴργονται πάντῃ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαίνειν προστάξει θεοῦ* ("sicut Prophetæ vaticinati sunt," adds Jerome) *καὶ Ῥωμαίων κράτει.*

[7] Euseb. Comment. in Psalm. pp. 267, 382. ed. Montfauc. Hilar. in Psalm. 58. no. 12, "Amissa civitate, temploque deserto, et secundum Romani regis edicta, circumeuntes tantum, non etiam ineuntes civitatem fames eos . . . . . afficiet."

ruins of the temple. Men and women, often feeble and aged persons, flocked there together in rent garments of mourning, and were forced to purchase permission from the Roman guards to weep undisturbed.[1] At a later period, when the Jews were more equitably treated, they obtained leave either expressed or understood to reside in Jerusalem. Twice however they were driven forth, by Constantine and by Heraclius;[2] and it was not till under the dominion of the Saracens, to whom the city was no less holy, that its gates were again opened to the posterity of its former inhabitants.

XXVI. But with the taking of Bether, all disturbances among the Jews do not yet appear to have been suppressed. A few words of Capitolinus allude to a new attempt in the first years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. By means of his governors and lieutenants, says this biographer, he quelled the rebellious Jews.[3] This is all we know. According to Capitolinus, disturbances had broken out in several provinces, for instance also in Achaia and Egypt. The tranquillizing of Egypt is probably referred to on a couple of Alexandrian coins of Antonine's second year.[4] Perhaps a passage in Fronto's letters also belongs to this period. This rhetorician had been appointed to the command of a province as proconsul; but he excuses himself on account of his feeble health, and speaks of his friend Julius Senex, whom he had summoned to him from Mauritania; having desired the support of his activity and fidelity, as well as of his military abilities in hunting out the highway robbers (latrones) and keeping them in check.[5] That the province allotted to Fronto lay in Greece or in Asia, has been rendered very proba-

[1] Hieron. in Zephan. i. 15, "Qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi, emant lacrymas suas, et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit. Videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum lugubrem, confluere decrepitas mulierculas, et senes pannis annisque obsitos, et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes, plangere ruinas templi sui. Miles mercedem postulat, ut illis flere plus liceat." Also in Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. XII.

[2] Basnage XI. p. 149. XII. p. 387.

[3] Cap. 5, "Atque Judæos rebellantes contudit per præsides ac legatos." It is singular that the Jews try to make out the emperor Antonine to have been a Jew, and to have even circumcised himself in order that he might eat the Paschal lamb. He is said to have been a disciple of R. Judah the Holy. Zemach David, in Basnage XII. p. 3.

[4] In Mionnet VI. No. 1406, 1427. On the first is a Victory in a quadriga; on the second, the eagle on a globe with the wreath of victory in his beak.

[5] Epist. ad Antonin. 8. ed. Mediolan. I. p. 17.

ble by Maius;[1] and the expression *latrones* may with good reason be applied to the Jews, inasmuch as they had made themselves especially formidable in skirmishes and onslaughts. In Egypt also they may have participated in the disturbances that there broke out. But nothing can be said with certainty on the subject; as the seventieth book of Dion Cassius, which must have contained the history of these years, was already lost in the time of Xiphilin. After this, the Jews kept themselves quiet. At their solicitation, Antonine softened the rigour of Hadrian's laws, and permitted the circumcision of their own children; but he forbade them to incorporate strangers in this way among their own people.[2] Their Sanhedrin they had established anew;[3] and history names several of their patriarchs who lived under Antonine and his successors.[4]

Marcus Aurelius and Verus also at first gave them proofs of favour, and according to Ulpian again granted them access to posts of honour.[5] But when a new Parthian war broke out, the Jews living in the East, and hence probably those in Mesopotamia under the Parthian rule, united themselves to the hereditary enemies of the Roman empire; and when Mesopotamia and Osrhoene became in time of peace (A. U. C. 918, A. D. 165) subject to the Romans, they were compelled to bow again beneath the hated yoke. The Emperor, who, though otherwise so mild, on his journey through Syria to Egypt likened them to the Marcomanni and Sarmatians,[6] renewed Hadrian's laws against them; although in the remote oriental provinces they were never enforced. Probably the dis-

[1] Commentar. prævius, ibid. I. p. 19.

[2] Modestinus L. II. D, ad legem Cornel. de sicariis: "Judæi ipsi, ut possent circumcidi, indulsit iis Divus Pius." Schulting Jurisprud. Antejustiniana p. 405. There too it is said: "Cives Romani, qui se Judaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidi patiuntur, bonis ademptis, in insulam perpetuo relegantur. Medici capite puniuntur." Again: "Judæi si alienæ nationis comparatos servos circumciderint, aut deportantur, aut capite puniuntur." Taken from Jul. Pauli Sententiar. receptar. libr. V. Tit. 22, de Seditiosis. That the Jews alone had the right of circumcision, is affirmed by Origen, c. Celsum II. 13. p. 399. ed. Ruæi.

[3] Basnage XI. p. 366.

[4] Walch Histor. Patriarch. p. 260.

[5] Digest. I. 2. 3. 3, in Corp. Juris ed. Lips. 1720. p. 886, "Eis, qui Judaicam superstitionem sequuntur, Divus Verus et Antoninus honores adipisci permiserunt." Before the year A. U. C. 922, A. D. 169, in which Verus died.

[6] Statii Sylvar. III. v. 170:

Quæ modo Marcomannos post horrida bella, vagosque
Sauromatas, Latio non est dignata Triumpho.

pleasure with which Marcus Aurelius visited them, arose from their participation in the rebellion of Avidius Cassius;[1] which however was very pardonable, as almost the whole of the East had declared itself for him, and the Jews as well as the rest may have been deceived by the reports which Avidius spread of the Emperor's death.

In the early part of the reign of Severus nothing was heard of them. Although Pescennius Niger seems not to have been their friend, as he gave them, or at least the inhabitants of Palestine, a harsh reply in answer to their request that he would exempt them from taxation;[2] and was at the same time master of the country, as we have coins of Ælia bearing his name;[3] still the Jews appear not to have been involved in the war with Severus. And when Spartian relates that Severus deprived the inhabitants of Neapolis of their rights of citizenship for siding with Niger, but afterwards remitted to the inhabitants of Palestine the punishment they had deserved on Niger's account,[4] he seems to refer to the Syrians and Greeks dwelling in the country, and not to the Jews and Samaritans. Perhaps these latter were then sufficiently occupied with one another. For Abulpharagius informs us that a civil war broke out among them; and that during it a bloody battle took place, which cost many menon both sides.[5] This may well have been the case and may be explained by the bitter national and sectarian hatred which animated each of these people against the other.

Perhaps this account is connected with the story of the highwayman Claudius, who had a large body of the people under his command, and who carried his audacity to such a pitch, that he once even appeared in the Emperor's presence, in the guise of one of his tribunes.[6] If his bands consisted partly of Jews, they may have made use of this opportunity to attack the Samaritans; and thus the battle may have ensued. That the Jews were really involved in the affair of Claudius,—or that he himself belonged to this people, and conducted his operations on a pretty extensive scale,

[1] Basnage XII. p. 20.
[2] Spartianus in Pescennio c. 7.
[3] Eckhel VII. p. 157.
[4] In Severo c. 9. et 14.
[5] Pag. 79, "Anno imperii ejus primo oborta est contentio magna inter Judæos et Samaritanos, et commissum prœlium, quo ex utroque exercitu occiderunt multi."
[6] Dion Cass. LXXV. 2. p. 1257.

is probable from the fact that Jerome's Chronicle, at the fifth year of Severus, (A. D. 198, A. U. C. 951,) speaks of a Jewish and Samaritan war ;[1] and that Spartianus gives an account of a triumph over the Jews decreed by the Senate to Caracalla, but which Severus changed into a triumph over the Parthians.[2] An Alexandrian coin of the same year also gives intimation of victorious rejoicings.[3] But to triumph over Jewish highwaymen was beneath the imperial dignity. In connexion with these disturbances stands also the account, that Severus in his journey through Palestine prohibited accession to Judaism under severe penalties.[4] Consequently the Jews must have gone on making proselytes, in spite of all former laws. The same prohibition was issued by command of the Emperor respecting the Christians; and thus he gave rise to a persecution, which was particularly vehement in Alexandria and in Africa; and in which, besides Leonidas the father of Origen, and the celebrated Potamiæna, there perished also the Scyllitanian martyrs, and somewhat later Felicitas and Perpetua, together with their companions in misfortune.

In the sequel, Severus became again more favourable to the Jews. Their money opened his heart to them; but at the same time he did not spare their purses, and they were obliged afterwards as before to pay the taxes imposed on them.[5] They were, however, regarded as Roman citizens; were capable of holding office, and of being employed in public business; and possessed even the right of declining such offices as were attended with too great expense, e. g. municipal magistracies.[6] They consequently felt deep gratitude to the Emperor; and applied to him, as they had previously done to Marcus Aurelius, the words of Scripture:[7] "Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help."

[1] Hieronymi Chron. ad h. ann. "Judaicum et Samariticum bellum motum." Eusebius's Chronicle has nothing relative to it.

[2] Spartianus in Severo c. 16. Dodwell Dissertatt. Cyprianicæ c. XI. § 41.

[3] A coin of Caracalla of the fifth year, No. 2482, bearing a caduceus sprouting out into a palm; in Zoëga p. 252. No. 28.

[4] Spartianus in Severo c. 17, "Judæos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit."

[5] The passage cited above from Origenis Epistola ad Africanum c. 14. Opp. Tom. I. p. 28, *Καὶ νῦν γοῦν Ῥωμαίων βασιλευόντων καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ διδραχμὸν αὐτοῖς τελούντων, κ. τ. λ.*

[6] Basnage, XII. p. 48.

[7] Dan. xi. 34.

Accordingly there now ensued quieter and more prosperous times for the Jewish people; and these constitute the boundary which our recital of their calamities must not transcend.

APPENDIX *to Sect. XX, Page* 438, *where the capture of* BETHER *is treated of.*

The Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, also gives a short account of the insurrection of Bar-cochba and of the capture of Bether. Histor. Armen. II. 57, p. 174, ed. Whiston.

"Artasis (regis Armeniaci) mortem præclare tradit Aristo Pellæus. Siquidem per ea tempora Judæi ab Adriano rege Romano defecerunt et cum Rufo Hipparcho conflixerunt, ductu viri cujusdam latronis, cui nomen erat Barcochebas, id est stellæ filius, qui quidem re erat facinorosus et homicida, sed nomine suo glorians, afflictis illis et captivis servatorem se de cœlo delapsum esse prædicabat. Is bellum adeo accendit, ut Syriæ ac Mesopotamiæ incolæ, Persæque omnes, id respicientes, tributa solvere desisterent. Namque audiverat etiam lepræ morbum in Adrianum invasisse. Noster autem Artasis super ea re nil movetur. Accidit autem, ut per id tempus Adrianus in Palæstinam veniret, rebellesque in parvo oppido prope Hierosolyma obsessos deleret, qui ideo omnem Judæorum gentem a patrio solo jussit pelli; quæ ne procul quidem Hierosolyma esset spectatura; atque ipse Hierosolymam a Vespasiano, Tito, et ab se devastatam instauravit, et ab nomine suo Æliam appellavit, cum ipse Adrianus Sol esset appellatus, (he confounds the Greek word Ἥλιος with Hadrian's prænomen Ælius,) atque ibi ethnicos locavit, et Christianos, quorum Episcopus erat Marcus."

Even if this narration be taken in the main from Aristo, or, which seems more probable, from Eusebius, it still confirms what I have said of the great importance of the war, and clearly indicates the extent of the insurrection, which spread far beyond Palestine. That Hadrian himself took part in the war in person, Eusebius nowhere says. This statement seems to rest wholly on Jewish traditions, with which perhaps Moses of Chorene was also acquainted.

Note *by the Editor on* Bether. *Sect. XX. P.* 438.

The notices of Jewish writers respecting the city Bether (ביתר), or Beth-Tar (בית תר), are collected by Lightfoot, and less fully by Reland.[1] Eusebius writes the name *Βιθθηρά*, Lat. *Bitter*.[2] This mysterious city seems destined to baffle the efforts of historians and archæologists to determine its position; for all the data extant are too few and too indefinite to afford ground for more than some degree of probability.

The name accords sufficiently well with the *Betarum* of the Itinerary of Antonine; which notes this place as eighteen Roman miles from Cæsarea towards Lydda.[3] The Jerusalem Itinerary has the name *Betthar* at sixteen of the like miles from Cæsarea towards Antipatris, from which it was distant ten miles.[4] These names doubtless both refer to the same place; which thus far might well be the *Bether* in question. This too would nearly agree with the testimony of the Rabbins, that Bether was situated four Roman miles from the sea.[5] But on the other hand, this last specification is contradicted by Eusebius, who says that Bether was not far from Jerusalem.[6] Further, Betarum would seem to have been merely a village or station between Cæsarea and the towns further south; and no traces of its existence are found, except in those two Itineraries of a later age. There are also other circumstances to which we shall again recur, which render it probable that Bether lay not in the plain, but upon the mountains.

Cellarius and others find Bether in the upper Beth-horon, which lies twelve Roman miles north-west of Jerusalem, on the brow of the steep pass leading down to the plain below.[7] This would accord sufficiently well with the testimony of Eusebius; and it would certainly be a position of great strength. But the two names are

[1] Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. Tom. II. p. 208, coll. p. 143. Reland Palæst. p. 639.

[2] H. E. IV. 6.

[3] Itin. Anton. ed. Wesseling, p. 150. The same name occurs again on p. 199, where it is mentioned as *thirty-one* miles from Cæsarea in the same direction.

[4] Itin. Hierosol. ed. Wesseling, p. 600.

[5] Reland Palæst. p. 639.

[6] H. E. IV. 6, *Βιθθηρὰ ὀχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα.*

[7] Cellarii Notitia Orb. Tom. II. p. 450.

very far from being identical or even similar; and besides, the Mishnah exhibits the name Beth-horon without change, while it also speaks of a city Bether; thus implying that the two were distinct.[1] Further, the position of Beth-horon, upon a narrow, rocky ridge on the lofty brow of a mountain-pass, in the midst of a rocky and desolate region, shows decisively to one who has ever visited the spot, that nothing larger than a very moderate village could ever have existed there.

The *Betaris* of Josephus, in the midst of Idumea, has also been held to be Bether.[2] But most probably, as Reland has shown, this form of the name is merely a corruption from *Begabris*, as read by Rufinus.[3] At any rate the position of this place in Idumea, (which then included the south of Judea,) accords neither with the testimony of the Rabbins nor with that of Eusebius.

Baronius boldly attempted to cut the knot, by assuming *Bethlehem* as the Bether of Jewish writers.[4] But for this hypothesis there is no foundation, either in the name or in the circumstances.

In all the preceding conjectures there is then nothing which amounts even to a slight degree of probability. In searching, therefore, for some other data on which to found a further suggestion and inquiry, two or three preliminary circumstances suggest themselves as worthy to be taken into the account.

First, the name *Bether* or *Beth-Tar* appears not to have been ancient; but to have become known only after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is rendered *domus inquisitoris*, or *domus explorationis;* and, as Münter has related, is said to have been given because of a watch stationed there after the destruction of the Holy City, in order to spy out those going up to visit the ruins.[5]

Secondly, the testimony of the Rabbins as to the position of Bether at four miles from the sea, is utterly irreconcilable with that of Eusebius, who places it near Jerusalem. If the one be adopted, the other must be rejected. And that the evidence of the Christian Father is here to be preferred, is manifest from the following considerations.

[1] Reland Palæst. pp. 639, 640.
[2] Joseph. B. J. IV. 8. 1.
[3] Reland p. 627, 628. Biblical Researches in Palest. II. pp. 360, 422.
[4] Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. T. II. p. 143.
[5] See Münter's note above, p. 439.

1. Eusebius resided at Cæsarea, and must often have passed by way of the *Betarum* above mentioned, in journeys to Jerusalem and elsewhere. Had this been the Bether so renowned in history and mentioned by himself, he could not but have known it; yet he places Bether near Jerusalem.

2. The origin of the name Bether or Beth-Tar, as above described, implies that it was near Jerusalem, and probably on the north of that city; since the greater number of Jewish visitors would naturally come from that quarter, where a very large population of Jews continued to reside undisturbed in Galilee and the adjacent region.[1]

3. The many captives taken at Bether are said to have been first exposed for sale at the Terebinth, or Abraham's Tent, near Hebron; afterwards at Gaza; and then those remaining were transported in ships as slaves to Egypt.[2] Now if Bether was situated near Jerusalem, it would be a natural and obvious course thus to remove the captives for sale first to the mart near Hebron, then to Gaza, and so to Egypt. But if Bether were in the plain and near the coast, then to have marched them first away from the coast into the mountains, and afterwards back again to Gaza, in order to send them to Egypt, would have been unnatural and is improbable; especially as the large marts and sea-ports of Cæsarea, Joppa, and Askelon were much nearer at hand.

It seems therefore in the highest degree probable, as asserted by Eusebius, that Bether lay upon the mountains, and not far from Jerusalem.

The question as to its particular site, and as to its possible identity with some known place, has been for years before the mind of the writer; and the idea has repeatedly suggested itself, whether after all *Bether* may not have been the same with *Bethel*. The change from *l* to *r*, is a very common one in all languages; although I would not insist upon it here. But the position of the latter place accords well with all the circumstances known respecting Bether. It lay twelve Roman miles north of Jerusalem, on the east side of the great road leading northwards to Neapolis

[1] See a passage from the Talm. Hieros. implying the same thing, in Lightfoot Opp. T. II. p. 143.

[2] See above, p. 443. For an account of the place here mentioned near Hebron, and the extensive remains now found there, see p. 44 sq. of the present volume.

and Galilee; by which indeed all visitors from that quarter would necessarily approach the Holy City; and it would therefore be an appropriate station for such a watch as has been above alluded to. Bethel was re-inhabited after the exile; was fortified in the time of the Maccabees by the Syrian general Bacchides; and, although not mentioned in the New Testament, yet we know from Josephus that it existed and was captured by Vespasian.[1] Eusebius and Jerome mention it as a small village in their day;[2] and this is the last notice of it as an inhabited place. Later writers speak of it only as of a place known in Scripture history, and not then in existence. Yet the present ruins cover a large extent of ground, and are larger and more important than those of any village. The remains of churches and of other edifices upon the site and in the vicinity, betoken a town of importance probably before, and certainly after, the time of Jerome; and it is matter of surprise that no further allusion to the place occurs on the pages of history. The ground on which it lay, viz. the long point of a low hill between the heads of two shallow Wadys which unite and form a valley below running S. S. E., is capable of being strongly fortified—far more so indeed than the site of Eleutheropolis, though less so than the rocky precipices of Jerusalem.[3]

It may be said, that there is no good nor probable reason, why the Jews should thus adopt the change of form from Bethel to Bether; and we therefore have no right to assume the identity of the two names on mere hypothesis. To a certain extent this is true; and I therefore would here lay no weight upon the circumstance, that such a change is often nothing more than a mere popular corruption. But we know that the Jews were fond of by-names, formed by a slight change of letters, so as to bring out a name of like sound, but of different and sometimes opposite signification. A striking instance occurs in connexion with this very place; where the leader of the war, in the days of his success, bore the honoured appellation of Bar-cochba, *Son of a Star;* but was afterwards (and is still) stigmatized as Bar-cozba, *Son of a lie.*[4] Now if we may

[1] Ezra ii. 28. Neh. vii. 32. xi. 31. —1 Macc. ix. 50. Jos. Ant. XIII. 1. 3. —Jos. B. J. IV. 9. 9.

[2] Onomast. arts. *Bethel* and *Agai*.

[3] See the account of the ruins of Bethel, now called *Beitîn*, in the Bibl. Researches in Palest. II. p. 125–130.

[4] See too the names *Sichem* and *Sychar* in the New Testament; also

suppose in the case of Bethel, that the like-sounding by-name Bether (softened from Beth-Tar) had arisen from some such cause as has been above described, it is easy to conceive how Jewish writers, when speaking of the catastrophe and utter subversion of their own nation, should prefer to connect it with this form, rather than with the ancient and venerated name imposed upon the spot by the immediate ancestor of their race.

It may be further asked, why then do Eusebius and Jerome, when treating expressly of Bethel, make no allusion to the important circumstance of its identity with Bether? To this it may be replied, that these writers in the Onomasticon were treating simply of places, as mentioned in Scripture; their object being mainly to mark their topographical position, for the most part without any allusion to historical facts. In like manner, in respect to Sichem and Sychar, Jerome in the Onomasticon contents himself with making them distinct places, merely translating Eusebius; though he elsewhere declares the latter name to be nothing more than a false reading.[1]

So in the present instance, if the preceding considerations go to establish any degree of probability in favour of the identity in question, this is greatly strengthened by a remark of Jerome in another of his works. In a passage referring directly to the capture of Bether under Hadrian, and founded on Jewish accounts, he writes the name *Bethel*;[2] thus showing that he himself regarded the two names as designating the same place; unless, indeed, we suppose the form Bethel to have crept in here by a corruption of the text; of which however there is no evidence.

On the contrary, there exists another witness to show, that in the days of Eusebius, in the fourth century, the ancient site of Bethel was actually known among the people as *Bether*. The Bourdeaux

Beelzebub and *Beelzebul*. See the Lexicons, and also Bibl. Res. in Palest. III. pp. 118, 119.

[1] See Bibl. Researches in Palest. III. p. 120.

[2] Comment. in Zach. viii. 13, "Capta urbs Bethel, ad quam multa millia confugerunt Judæorum: aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Rufo." Jerome here evidently confounds the destruction of the Temple with that of Bether; but the mention of Titus Annius (Turanus) Rufus shows clearly that he is speaking of events which took place under Hadrian; see the notes on p. 418 above. Deyling de Æliæ Capit. Hist. et. orig. in S. Deyling Observatt. Sac. Pars V. p. 450.

pilgrim, who visited the Holy City in A. D. 333, writes that in going from Neapolis to Jerusalem, on the left hand, at the distance of twelve Roman miles from the latter city, there is a "villa" called by this name.[1]

Taking all these circumstances together, although they certainly do not amount to any positive demonstration, yet they seem to me to afford a much higher degree of probability in respect to the site of Bether, than is presented by any previous hypothesis.

II.

THE WHITE STONE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Exegesis of Rev. II. 17.

By M. Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

Ὁ ἔχων οὖς, ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· τῷ νικῶντι, δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου, καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ ψῆφον λευκὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινὸν γεγραμμένον, ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων.

"He who hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: To him that overcometh will I give of the hidden manna; I will also give him a white stone, and on the stone a new name inscribed, which no one understandeth save he who receiveth."

Some attention may be regarded as due to the *grammatical* construction of this passage. The phrase, *τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ* apparently contains a pleonastic or redundant pronoun. The like to this may be found elsewhere in the Apocalypse; e. g. Rev. 7, 2 *οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι*, and Rev. 20, 8 *ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ*

[1] Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 588, "Inde [a Neapole] millia xxviii, euntibus Hierusalem, in parte sinistra est villa, quæ dicitur, *Bethar*."

ἄμμος. So in 3, 8. 6, 4. 8. 7, 9. 17, 9. Even adverbs are sometimes repeated in a similar way; as ὅπου τρέφεται ἐκεῖ Rev. 12, 14, and the like in 12, 6, and in some other cases. Indeed the instances in which the *demonstrative pronoun* is inserted after the noun to which it refers, (as in the phrase above which gives occasion to these remarks,) are by no means unfrequent in the Apocalypse. It is matter of particular interest, moreover, to the inquisitive reader, to know that this idiom has not only been charged upon the writer of the Apocalypse as a peculiarity, but also as a barbarism, or even a solecism. Yet the New Testament is full of the same idiom. And not only so, the Septuagint exhibits it even still more frequently; yea, the Greek Classics themselves—I mean such writers as Xenophon, Plato, Sophocles, Ælian, Diodorus Siculus, and others—exhibit it, especially when a participle precedes the demonstrative pronoun, as in the case before us. We need not resort to the *Hebrew*, therefore, as most have done, for the sake of explaining and defending the idiom of John; for it is no unusual thing even in the best Greek. But the frequency of it in John, I suppose, may be Hebraistic. The לוֹ ... אֲשֶׁר and the שָׁם ... אֲשֶׁר (*to whom*, *where*) of the Hebrew must be very familiar, even to a mere beginner in the study of it. The apparently pleonastic pronoun, in such a case as וַתִּרְאֵהוּ אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד, *she saw him—the child* Ex. 2, 6, is so common, not only in Hebrew, but in all its sister-dialects, that there can scarcely be a doubt, that the New Testament writers were influenced by this, as to the frequency with which they have resorted to the idiom in question.

The reader, who may have any special interest in inquiries that respect the particular idiom of the New Testament, may find abundant evidence in regard to the subject now presented, in Winer's New Testament Grammar, § 22. 4. § 23. 3; to which he may add Gesenius's Lehrgeb. § 192. 2 sq. The simple truth in regard to this idiom seems to be, that either emphatic *intensity*, or else designed and peculiar *specification*, is in all cases the object of it. If now John had simply said in Rev. 2, 17, τῷ νικῶντι δώσω τοῦ μάννα κ. τ. λ. the Greek would have been perfectly classic, and the meaning altogether plain. But when John says: τῷ νικῶντι, δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα, i. e. 'to the conqueror—to the very same, will I give of the manna,' he makes his expression specifically

emphatic. We may well illustrate this by our own English idiom. Should I say: 'To Andrew M. to that very man, or to this same individual, will I make application, or give reward,' every one would understand me as increasing the intensity of my promise, and minutely and certainly designating the particular individual to whom the promise was made. So too when we say: 'That very man,' 'That man there,' etc. In common parlance, the latter mode of expression is frequent to a degree that can hardly be estimated. For substance, it illustrates at once, to the considerate reader, what is achieved in Greek when the pronoun demonstrative is inserted after the noun to which it belongs, and in cases where, strictly speaking, it might be dispensed with. It is not grammar, but rhetoric, which demands the employment of it in any case.

I should not have dwelt thus on so minute a particular as the idiom in question, had it not been the fact, that every thing which could be brought to bear upon the Apocalypse, either as to idiom, style, object, or design, has of late been adduced, in order to overthrow the credit of the book, or at least, among one class of writers, to show that John the Apostle and Evangelist could not have been the writer of it. It turns out in this case, however, as it does in respect to nearly all other *anomalies* which have been charged on the Apocalypse, that John had exemplars, as we have seen above, among the classic Greek writers; and although he might have read, and probably had read, but little of the heathen Greek when he wrote the Apocalypse, he had still so learned it as rarely indeed to make a misstep in the use of it. He has, we may readily concede, written it as a Hebrew would and must write it, viz. he has often exhibited Hebrew modes of thought and expression. Often, and indeed almost everywhere, in the pictures which he presents, the *person* is Hebrew while the *costume* is Greek. It has been a charge against the Apocalypse, made so long ago as the days of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, (fl. A. D. 250,) that the Apocalypse is full of barbarisms and solecisms, and therefore cannot belong to John the Evangelist. Among these anomalies were doubtless reckoned the modes of expression which we have just now examined. It turns out, however, after these charges have been hundreds of times repeated, and all the changes rung upon them that were possible, that there is very little, if any, substantial ground

on which one can rest them. Winer was the first, I believe, in recent times, who has, with any good degree of success, vindicated the character of the Apocalypse in regard to its grammatical style, and especially in regard to its alleged anomalies and barbarisms. This he has done in his Programm, *De Solœcismis, qui in Apocalysi Joannea inesse dicuntur*, Exeget. Studien, Heft I. S. 144 sq. The writer of these remarks has had occasion still more minutely to examine this subject. He has found, (and to his great surprise after all that has been said about the anomalous Greek of the Apocalypse,) that there are not more than two or three expressions in the whole book, which have not their exemplars in the Greek classics, so far as the principles of grammar are concerned. Such a Greek syntax as Kühner has exhibited, although it was composed without any reference to the New Testament, will enable any man of diligence and accurate observation to verify all which I have now said. It is easy to see, therefore, how much of mere empty and groundless declamation there has been among a certain class of critics, respecting the style of the New Testament writers, and particularly of the writer of the Apocalypse. Indeed, the time seems to be near, in which the alleged rudeness and unskilfulness of the New Testament writers in Greek, will cease to be descanted upon; for such writers as Kühner and Winer must speedily put questions of this kind to their final rest.

I must beg the reader to indulge me in one more remark, kindred to what has already been said. Another allegation against the Apocalypse has been, that 'the writer does not appear to have understood the nice and more exquisite use of the oblique cases (Genitive and Dative) in Greek, and consequently that he very rarely, or almost never, employs them.' Yet a minute examination of the Apocalypse will go far towards rebutting the force of this allegation. For example, in the case before us, we have δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα, i. e. *I will give him of the manna.* Here is one of the very nicest of the Greek idioms. If a Greek writer or speaker meant to convey the idea that the *whole* of any thing was given or imparted to any one, he would put the noun designating that thing in the *Accusative* case, and the person to whom it was given in the *Dative.* But if he meant (as in the present case) to speak *partitively*, i. e. to designate the idea that a person was merely made partaker

of a *part* or *portion* of any thing, then he would put that thing in the Genitive case, and the person in the Dative. This belongs to Attic writers of the nicest idiom. Yet here in the verse before us, we find this very idiom, and find it most properly and appropriately employed. It is only a portion of the heavenly manna, that any one conqueror receives. There are other conquerors, and very many of them too, who are also to have their portion. We may easily express the like idea in English by saying, 'I will give him of the manna,' or 'I will give him some of the manna.' The first phraseology is quite good English, and perfectly intelligible; and it corresponds, moreover, very exactly in all respects to the Greek of the Apocalypse.

The reader, who feels an interest in refuting such allegations as those just mentioned against the style of the Apocalypse, may easily find material for refutation in the book itself. Thus, in respect to that use of the Genitive which is nicer and more idiomatic, we find the Genitive of *price* or *value* twice in Rev. 6, 6, the Genitive of *time when*, in 7, 15. 12, 10. 14, 14. 20, 10. Even where *length of time* is designated by the Genitive, as in Rev. 2, 10, we may vindicate this on classical ground; for which I would refer to examples in my New Testament Grammar §107. 7; comp. §106. 4. Other examples of a nice classical use of the Genitive, may be seen in c. 4, 6. 8. 5, 8. 15, 7. 8. 17, 4. 21, 9; the Genitive even after the werb ἀκούω is frequent, notwithstanding Ewald and others have asserted that this idiom is not employed in the Apocalypse, e. g. 6, 1. 3. 5. 14, 13. 16, 1. 5. 7. 21, 3. And the like of the *Dative* case. 'John,' it has been said, 'was not acquainted with the proper and idiomatic use of the Dative, viz. to designate manner, means, material, time, etc. without prefixing any preposition before it.' Yet it is easy to refute this, by a reference to c. 5, 1. 12. 6, 10. 7, 2. 10. 8, 3. 4. 8. 13. 10, 3. 14, 18. 15, 2. 8. 17, 4. 18, 10. 16 (bis). 19. 21. 19, 17. 21, 8. 16. 19. 22, 14. So after all verbs signifying to show, tell, declare, impart, give, belong to, etc. i. e. all verbs which require an indirect complement as well as a direct one, the Dative is employed in the Apocalypse times almost without number. No one in carefully reading it feels, in respect to this idiom, that he is in a different element from that of common Greek. So too we find the Dative, after such verbs as on other grounds require, or rather very commonly admit, the Dative; e. g.

προσκυνέω, 4, 10. 5, 14. 7, 11. 11, 16. 13, 4 (bis). 16, 2. 19, 4. 10 (bis). 20. 22, 9; ἀκολουθέω 14, 4. 9. 19, 14; λατρεύω 7, 15; συγκοινωνέω 18, 4. Generally speaking, the oblique cases are employed as often in the Apocalypse, as elsewhere in the New Testament. That the later Greek made more frequent use than the earlier of prepositions before the oblique cases, is conceded by all well-read Greek scholars; and why may not the New Testament writers be supposed to follow the idiom of the later Greek, since they lived and wrote in the midst of its most blooming period?

The subjects thus introduced by the modes of expression in our text, evidently possess more interest than what belongs to a simple grammatical inquiry. The discussion of matters like those before us, takes deep hold on the higher criticism of the Apocalypse, and may help to remove some of the obstructions that have industriously been thrown in the way, against the fair and proper claims of this deeply interesting book.

But I must not delay for a moment longer upon mere topics of style, lest I should lose sight of my main object, or weary the patience of the reader, before I come to that part of my exegesis where I must make the strongest appeal to it.

The verse before us consists of two clauses, which exhibit two promises that are in some respects quite distinct, while at the same time there is a general bond of connexion between them. The first promise runs thus:

To the conqueror, to him will I give of the manna which is laid up.

The word *conqueror* (*νικῶντι*), in this case, has a relative meaning. From the commencement of the Apocalypse down to the passage before us, the writer everywhere exhibits manifest tokens, that a violent persecution or war against Christians was going on at that period. Hence the idea of a *struggle*, a *combat*, and in the sequel, that of a *victory*. The great object of the writer of the Revelation, is to confirm and encourage the professors of Christianity to continue steadfast in their profession, although it might be at the sacrifice of liberty, property, and even life. He who should persevere in the course of fidelity to his Lord and Master, come what might or could, is the one whom John calls *νικῶν conqueror*. He has fought against the world, the flesh, and the devil, "against the rulers of the darkness of this world and spiritual wickedness in

high places," and has *overcome* them all. This is the conqueror—this the very man—to whom is made the promise of the *manna which is laid up.*

But what is this? The literal sense of the words in question, we may presume, no one will contend for; but what is the source of the imagery or symbol which the writer here employs? It may doubtless be found in Ex. 16, 32–34. The children of Israel had murmured against Moses and Aaron, because they lacked bread in the wilderness, and the Lord had promised to Moses that he would "rain bread from heaven" for them. This promise was accomplished by sending down the manna; which fell upon the ground like the dew of evening. On this the people fed; and in commemoration of this signal event, the Lord directed Moses to "fill an omer of it to be kept for their generations, that they might see the bread wherewith they had been fed in the wilderness," v. 32. Moses then directed Aaron to "take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for their generations," v. 33. Accordingly Aaron "laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept." In accordance with what was done on this occasion, we find the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expressing himself in 9, 4; where he says, when speaking of the inner sanctuary, or most holy place, that it contained "the ark of the covenant overlaid with gold, *wherein was the golden pot that had manna*, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant."

Whether the apostle speaks, in this passage, of the condition of the ark as it was known to be while in the second temple, and during the time in which he lived, or merely of its condition in the original first tabernacle, has been thought a matter of difficulty to decide. In 1 K. 8, 9 it is said, when the ark was deposited in the temple built by Solomon, that "there was nothing in it save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb;" and the very same words are repeated in 2 Chron. 5, 10. Paul then, as it would seem, is rather speaking of what *belonged* originally to the ark of the covenant, than of what was actually in it at the time when he wrote. Yet the Rabbins seem to have held, that the ark of the covenant was with all its contents transferred to the first temple, and even the tabernacle also along with it; for they tell us

that Jeremiah, being divinely warned, commanded the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense to follow him to Mount Sinai, when the army of Nebuchadnezzar were about to destroy the temple. Thither, according to the same authority, they did follow him, and there he found a subterranean depository for them, and hid them, so that no man knows the place of them, even unto this day. There too, as they go on to teach us, they will remain, until the days of the Messiah, when Jeremiah, who will re-appear with him, will bring them out and deposite them in the new Messianic temple at Jerusalem. This story, moreover, is not of recent invention. It may be found for substance in 2 Macc. 2, 4–7.[1]

But, dismissing the conceits of the Rabbins, let us return to our interpretation. In Ps. 78, 24. 25, manna is called *the corn of heaven*, and *the bread of the mighty* or *of the mighty ones*, לֶחֶם אַבִּירִים, or, as our English Bible has it, *angels' food*. Obviously these appellations are given to the manna, in order to show forth or enhance the excellence of the gift, or of the nourishment. And we are now brought near to the final illustration of the matter before us. The happiness of a future world, or the joys of the blessed, are often represented in Scripture under the imagery of a *feast*. Thus Lazarus, in a world of blessedness, is exhibited as reclining in Abraham's bosom, i. e. reclining at the table of heavenly repast, Luke 16, 23; and our Lord represents his followers as coming from the east and the west, from the north and the south, and sitting down (reclining ἀνακλιθήσονται) at the divine feast in the kingdom of God, Luke 13, 29. So in Revelation 3, 20, the Saviour represents himself as *supping* with the true and faithful believer; and in Revelation 19, 9, we are told of those "who are invited to the marriage-supper (δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου) of the Lamb."

All these modes of speech were familiar to the minds of John's readers. Hence the idea suggested in our text, of *manna in reserve* for the feast of the blessed. At that feast, the bread is not to be like that which sustains us here on earth, but to be like *the corn of heaven, the bread of the mighty ones*, or angels' food. In fact, our

[1] The curious reader will find more on this subject, in Fabricius, Cod. Apoc. Vet. Test. p. 1112 sq. Abulpharagius, Hist. Dynast. p. 57. Also an abundance in Eisenmenger Entdeckt. Judenthum, II. p 856 sq. Wetstein in loc. and Schoettgen, Horæ Heb. in loc. Apoc.

Lord has said, that "in the resurrection we shall be made like to the angels." Of course angels' food, so to speak, will be appropriate for all true believers. And so the declaration of John is, that *he who overcometh* shall sit at the table of heavenly refection, and there eat the bread of the mighty ones. In other words, he shall have full admittance to the joys of paradise, and partake of its splendid and precious entertainments; he shall eat the bread of heaven, and eating live forever. The manna rained down from heaven upon the Israelites, was but a type and shadow of the true and heavenly manna *reserved* for believers.

But this last word, *reserved* or *hidden*, (*κεκρυμμένον* in our text,) needs a passing notice. We have seen how the manna of the desert was *laid up* (צָפוּן *κεκρυμμένον*) in the inner sanctuary. This was an image of that which was in reserve, in the eternal sanctuary of the heavens, in reserve for all who are permitted to enter there. As to the earthly tabernacle, none was permitted to enter the most holy place, except the high priest once in a year, in order to make atonement for the people. Under the new dispensation, on the contrary, *all* are to be made *kings* and *priests;* yea, as we shall soon see, to have the dignity of *high-priests* bestowed upon them. This of course will entitle them to enter the inner sanctuary. In fact, the death of Jesus rent the vail which concealed the inner sanctuary on the earth, and Jesus showed to the world, that all men who will accept them, are without distinction to be admitted to the privileges and honours which the gospel proffers. The *white stone* and the *new name* designate them as of a rank equal to the high-priest of old, and as possessing a *right* to enter the innermost sanctuary of the heavenly world, and feed on the manna which is laid up for all who overcome, in the great contest between Christ's kingdom and the powers of darkness.

In a word, the true heavenly bread, kept in reserve for the faithful, and sustaining life without end, shall be given to them, when the contest and the sorrows of life are past, and they enter upon their final reward.

This brings us to the second promise, differing, as has been said, specifically from the first, but still connected with it by the bonds of a general relation:

I will also give him a white stone, and on the stone a new name

inscribed, which no one understandeth excepting him who receiveth.

This passage has long been a *crux interpretum*, and a great variety of solutions have been proposed. It is not my intention to examine them in detail, for this would occupy much time, and be little to my present purpose, or to that of my readers. The principal ones, however, which have been proposed by interpreters of note, ought to receive our respectful, although brief attention. Greek and Roman sources of explanation have been sought out here, and a solution of the difficulty by means of them often attempted. It is somewhat improbable, however, that John, who almost never appeals to Grecian objects and modes of representation, should have made such an appeal in the present instance. The more respectable attempts of this nature may be divided into two classes.

I. Vitringa, Lange, and many others, have referred here to the usage among the Greeks of absolving those who were tried on the ground of any accusation, by the use of *white* balls or stones, and condemning them by *black* ones. The balls, which symbolized the sentence of acquittal or condemnation, were thrown together into one common urn, whence they were drawn and counted. A majority of the white balls acquitted the party accused. There was no inscription on them. The mere colour indicated the nature of the sentence. But in the case before us, there are no corresponding resemblances. The *white stone*, whatever it is, is given to the party himself who is conqueror. It is the new name inscribed upon it, which imparts to it its principal value and influence. The individual who receives it, is not represented here as being under trial, or as having any accusation preferred against him. And indeed we may ask, with Paul, " Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?" It is not the object of John to present the victor, in this case, as tried and absolved merely, but as crowned with a diadem of glory. The illustration from this source, then, is altogether inapposite and unsatisfactory.

II. Grotius, Eichhorn, and others refer to a different usage among the Greeks and Romans as a source of illustration. The victor in the Olympic games was presented with a *tessera*, on which was inscribed the reward to which his victory gave him a title, and

which was to be bestowed upon him usually by his native city. This reward might be a sum of money, public support, presents of value, special honours, and the like. Similar to this was a custom at Rome. The emperors there, on certain festive occasions, scattered *tesseræ* among the mass of the people who were assembled, on which were inscribed pledges to bestow certain favours on those who obtained them. But in both these cases the white stone of our text is wanting. The inscription, moreover, contained nothing which any one was unable to read. No mention is made of *mystical* characters. It is not a *name* which is inscribed, but some honorary stipend is designated. And in the latter case, it was the mere successful scramble of an individual to obtain a tessera in spite of his competitors, which entitled him to receive his reward. How can we suppose John to have referred, in our text, to things so dissimilar as these? Still less can we suppose, with Vitringa, that John had in view both of the customs which have been mentioned above, and amalgamated both in his representation.

Greek and Roman sources of illustration, then, do not promise much. Let us see whether Hebrew sources will not afford us better satisfaction.

We have already seen, that the first promise contained in our text exhibits an indication that the conqueror will be admitted into the most holy place, to eat of the manna which is laid up there. It follows, of course, that there is here an indication of a dignity and privilege which is equivalent to *high-priesthood*. We must further remark, also, that there is frequent intimation in the Old Testament and in the New, that the people of God will eventually be made *kings* and *priests*. Let the reader compare, among other passages, in respect to their *kingly* dignity, Ps. 49, 14. Dan. 7, 22. 27. Matt. 19, 28. Luke 22, 29. 30. 1 Cor. 6, 2. 3. 2 Tim. 2, 12. Rev. 2, 26. 27. 3, 21. In regard to their *priestly* dignity, he may consult Is. 61, 6. 1 Pet. 2, 5. Rev. 5, 10. 20, 6; comp. Ex. 19, 5. 6. *Literally*, indeed, these texts are not to be interpreted; for if *all* are to be literally kings, who are to be the subjects? And if *all* are to be literally priests, who are to be those for whom they are to officiate? It is the honour, the dignity, the privileges of the saints, which are represented by such language figuratively employed. And when they are called *priests*, there is an intimation of something

more than what the word *kings* designates, viz. the idea of consecration to God, of devotedness to his service, as well as of personal holiness. Indeed the whole compass of language discloses to us no words of greater and more intense significancy, than those now in question.

Our text may be regarded as indicating still more than the simple declaration, that the redeemed shall become *priests* unto God. It conveys the idea that they shall be *high-priests*; than which no situation can be more elevated as to dignity and honour, especially as it was regarded by the mind of a Hebrew.

Let us see how this can be made out. In Ex. 28, 36 sq. the mitre of the high-priest is described, and it is enjoined among other things, that a plate of pure gold shall be put upon the front of this mitre, and on this shall be engraven HOLINESS TO THE LORD. In Hebrew, it is קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה, i. e. *holiness to Jehovah;* which means, that he who wears the mitre is consecrated to the service of Jehovah, and is to be regarded and honoured as his consecrated or holy one. The mitre, made of sumptuous materials, decked with blue lace, and having the frontlet already described, was truly a magnificent piece of attire, and must have been regarded by every devoted Jew with feelings which it would be difficult adequately to describe.

What resemblance, now, is there between our text and this description of the most striking part of the high priest's attire? Both, I answer, are substantially of the same nature; with the exception, however, that when the passage in Exodus was written, the *future* construction of the high-priest's mitre was circumstantially prescribed. But in our text, all that pertains to the mere fashion of the mitre is regarded as being already familiar to the readers. Already had John declared, in Rev. 1, 6, that Christ would make his devoted followers *kings* and *priests* to God. In the first part of the verse under examination, a promise is made that the same followers should have access to the most holy place, and partake of the manna laid up there; which of course implies, that they should enjoy such a privilege of access to the holy of holies as belonged only to *high-priests*. And now, in the clause at present before us, the speaker adds a brief description of the splendid attire in which the faithful disciples of Christ shall enter the

inner sanctuary. Instead of a mitre, with a gold frontispiece on which is the inscription HOLINESS TO THE LORD, he shall wear a mitre with a *pellucid precious stone*, on which shall be engraved the *new name* which belongs to the new Lord of the new kingdom; a name equivalent in value to that of JEHOVAH under the Old Testament, which no one but the high-priest knew how to utter.

It will be conceded, that if I am in the right, this is a splendid description. But it needs to be more fully illustrated and confirmed by the explanation of a few particulars.

The epithet λευκή, which is rendered *white*, means much more than our simple word 'white.' Hesychius has hit nearly the exact sense which it usually has in the New Testament, when he defines it as equivalent to λαμπρός, i. e. *splendid*, *shining* or *glistening*. Thus, it is said of Jesus' raiment at his transfiguration, that it was λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς, i. e. splendid as the sun-light, Matt. 17, 2; or, as Luke has it, his garment was λευκὸς, ἐξαστράπτων, i. e. splendid, glittering or shooting forth lightnings. So says Virgil, of a glittering polished sword: *ensis candens*, Æn. XII. 91; and Pliny speaks of a comet as adorned *argenteo crine*, Hist. Nat. II. 25. In Daniel 7, 9 the Ancient of Days is said to be clothed in a vesture *white as snow*, i. e. of a perfectly pure brightness. In the book of Revelation the epithet λευκός is frequently employed to denote the pure splendour of vestments worn by saints in glory, or by angels; once or twice it is spoken of *pure* vestments as the emblem of innocence and purity of character; see Rev. 3, 4. 5. 18. 6, 11. 7, 9. 13. 19, 14. Once it is spoken of a radiant cloud, Rev. 14, 14. In all such cases, I think we may trace the original conception to the *white heat* of metallic substances, when subjected to a glowing furnace, or to the appearance of the sun when not discoloured by the atmosphere. There is a perfect union of splendour or effulgence and purity of colour, which we name *dazzling white*. And like to this, is the reflection of many of the pellucid or diaphanous gems. The splendour of some of them, it would be difficult indeed to describe in an adequate manner. The word ψῆφος means, when generically considered, any small smooth polished pebble or stone, and may well be employed to designate any of the precious stones.

Such a gem, then, constitutes the frontispiece to the mitre or diadem, given to the new order of priests under the new dispensa-

tion. Gold is not rich or splendid enough for the frontispiece. A precious stone is put in its place. And on this stone, as the case requires, is graven a new name, significant of a new order of things and of new relations.

Two particulars in respect to this engraved name deserve to be considered. The first is, that it is *new*. The name anciently graven on the high-priest's mitre was that of JEHOVAH. The great Mediator between God and man had not then made his appearance. The temple-services and all the Jewish ritual foreshadowed him, or were in some way emblematic of him, or of some part of his work. But the fulness of time for his manifestation had not yet arrived. The Jews, therefore, were placed under a law-dispensation; and to God as their immediate law-giver and judge they owed their homage and allegiance. Consequently his name was inscribed on the mitre of their high-priest. But when a new covenant was introduced, "established upon better promises than the old;" in a word, when "all things were created anew;" then came in person a Mediator between God and man, who was placed at the head of this new order of things. God no longer communed or treated with his people directly and without any medium of access, but chose to be henceforth approached only through and by this new Director and Disposer of all things. Henceforth there was a Vicegerent, wielding the concerns of all creatures and worlds by the word of his power—a new Head over all things for the sake of the church—an Heir of his Father's throne and dominion—a newly constituted Lord of all. In his name, by his authority, by his power, and at his word, all the concerns of the universe are managed and directed. The elders around the throne of God fall at his feet and reverently worship; before him angels and archangels bow; and at his presence devils tremble.

This new and delegated dominion is to continue, so long as the work of redemption goes on. When it is completed, "then cometh the end." Then will his delegated power—delegated to the God-Man for the sake of completing the work of redeeming grace—be given up to God the Father, and God will again resume his immediate and universal dominion. So says the apostle, in 1 Cor. 15, 24–28; and the nature of the case would seem to indicate that it must be so.

Here then is a *new* power, a *new* office, a *new* personage, and of course a *new name*. That the Logos is specifically meant or supposed by John, as the name in question, I would not positively affirm. His writings, however, seem to favour the supposition. His Gospel introduces us, in its first sentence, to the Logos, as becoming the incarnate Redeemer; and when, in holy vision, he sees him at the head of his great army, he tells us that his name was called the WORD OF GOD, Rev. 19, 13.

Perfectly natural and congruous is it, therefore, that this new name should be inscribed on the mitre of his followers, when they are advanced to the dignity of the high-priesthood. Indeed, what less could be expected, than that the subjects of the Prince of Peace should wear his livery, and have his name upon their frontlets? Yet this is a *new* name. It is not *holiness to Jehovah*, but קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה, or *ἅγιος τῷ Λόγῳ*! Such will be the frontispiece of their mitres, so long as the mediatorial dominion shall continue.

One circumstance more, and I have done. What means the clause, *ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων, which no one understandeth excepting him who receiveth?* This can be explained only by a reference to a Jewish custom in regard to the word יְהוָה, i. e. as we pronounce it, *Jehovah*. But every Hebrew scholar well knows that the Jews have never pretended to give the true sound of this word. The vowel points attached to it belong to the word אֲדֹנָי; and so the Jews have read it always, excepting that in some cases of duplicate appellations they read it as אֱלֹהִים, and pointed it accordingly. Hence, among the more than fifteen hundred times in which the word Jehovah occurs in the Old Testament, we find no example of any attempt on the part of the Seventy ever to make out the sound of the word יְהוָה. Always do they translate it by *κύριος*, when it is read as אֲדֹנָי, or by *θεός* when it is read אֱלֹהִים. Hence we know, that the custom of never attempting to sound the word יהוה in common parlance, preceded the date of the Christian era; how much older than this date it is, it would be difficult to say. But be this as it may, when the Apocalypse was written, the word יהוה was regarded by the Hebrews as something too sacred and awful to be uttered. None but the high-priest knew how it should be uttered, and he could utter it only in the most holy place. So says Philo, in his book *De Vita Mosis*, when speaking of the high-

priest's mitre: "A golden plate was made like a crown, having four engraved characters of a name [i. e. יהוה], which it was lawful only for those whose ears and tongue were purified by wisdom to hear and to utter in the sanctuary, but for no one at all in any other place." To the same purpose Josephus speaks in Antiq. II. 12. 4. Thus run his words: "And God made known to him [Moses] his own name [יהוה], which before had not been disclosed to men; respecting which it is not lawful for me to speak." Josephus, being himself a priest, might possibly have heard the name in the temple; and therefore he does not say that he had no knowledge of it, but only that he cannot lawfully utter any thing respecting it. Besides this, Theodoret, in his Greek commentary upon Exodus, Quest. XV, says: "This name [יהוה] is not uttered by the Hebrews, nor do they attempt to pronounce it with the tongue." He speaks, of course, respecting common usage among them. And to the like purpose Eusebius speaks, in Præp. Evang. XI, when he says: "It [this name] is something which cannot be spoken or uttered by the multitude." That he means the name *Jehovah*, is plain; because he says, that it was "an appellation which the Hebrews designated by four letters." In the same chapter he says again: "The proper name of God is unutterable and not to be spoken, nor is it even to be ideally conceived by the mind."

From all this it is very apparent, that none but the high-priest, or those on whom his functions might devolve, had knowledge respecting the true pronunciation of the word יהוה on his mitre. But he was himself an exception. In the sanctuary he might and did utter it. The privilege, therefore, was high and exclusive.

Twice does the writer of the Apocalypse refer to this distinctive privilege and peculiarity; once in the text under examination, and again in chap. 18, 12, where he represents the Logos as wearing a diadem, "on which was inscribed a name that none understood but himself," viz. the wearer. We cannot doubt therefore to what source we are to apply, for an explanation of the phraseology before us.

The sum of the meaning is, that the *conqueror* in the Christian warfare will not only be admitted to partake of the manna in the most holy place, but that he will wear a diadem on which the unknown and unutterable name is inscribed. In other words: The conqueror shall be advanced to the dignity, honour, and privilege

of the high-priest of the sanctuary—not on earth, but in heaven. The *new name* which he shall bear in his mitre, shall designate him as the consecrated servant of the *new Regent* of the universe, the Lord of all; and be the token of admission to all the privileges and honours conferred upon those who held such a rank.

One thought more must not be omitted. The awful, adorable, unutterable name of the ancient יהוה should be commuted for one under the new dispensation, which was an EQUIVALENT. In other words, this new name should be equally significant, equally honourable, equally adorable. This is the substance. The idea, that it was not to be known or ever uttered, is not the necessary essence of the matter. Awful silence is only a token of the profoundest reverence. The new dispensation is one of revelation and light, rather than one of concealment and mystical secrecy. But all which belonged to the unuttered and unutterable name of ancient days, is to belong to the new name in the latter day—the times of the Messiah.

Here, in an indirect way, but still in a very striking one, and which does not easily admit of a refutation, the claims of the Messiah to the full honours and dignity of the Godhead are plainly conceded and declared. The Apocalypse abounds in similar intimations with regard to this most important subject. This book deserves a fuller investigation, with respect to this matter, than it has yet received. Few readers are well acquainted with the variety of ways in which it recurs to the transcendent glory and excellency of the Redeemer; fewer still, with the overpowering arguments which it supplies, to prove that he is GOD OVER ALL AND BLESSED FOR EVER.

III.

A VISIT TO ANTIPATRIS.

By the Rev. Eli Smith, Missionary in Palestine.

Beirût, 10th May, 1843.

Prof. E. Robinson, D. D.

My Dear Sir:

The American steamer Bangor having touched here last month on her way to Yâfa, I availed myself of the opportunity, and, in company with the Rev. S. H. Calhoun, who was here on a visit, made a hasty excursion to Jerusalem. On our return to the coast we conceived a desire to follow Paul's track to Antipatris, instead of taking the direct road to Yâfa. His route, we imagined, inasmuch as Gophna was then so important a town, must first have taken him thither, between which place and Bîreh we, in 1838, found so many traces of a paved Roman road; and thence down the mountain by a course not yet taken by modern travellers. We therefore chose that direction towards Kefr Sâba, which is supposed to be the modern representative of Antipatris. This course would at least lead through a region, which in our map is left nearly a blank, for want of previous observation; and might conduct us in the very track of the Roman road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and thus give us opportunity to make some new and valuable observations.

We engaged animals for the 25th of April, intending to take three days for the journey. But through the faithlessness of Jerusalem muleteers, of which you are not ignorant, we were disappointed, and did not leave until the 26th. Thus we were obliged to crowd our observations into two days, in order to reach Yâfa on the 27th by the time the steamer was expected to leave.

I often thought of you, as we rode hastily to Bîreh, over ground which you and myself had repeatedly trodden together. The fields were better cultivated than then, and had an aspect of more fertility. We reached Bîreh in two hours and twenty minutes, and just beyond took the usual road to Jufna. The Bâlû'a was again

dry, and the land on the water-shed beyond we found extensively cultivated with vineyards, and fig and olive orchards. The first valley that commences beyond, runs into Wady Ludd. In it, thirty-five minutes from Bîreh, we came to ruins, perhaps of a church, shaded by two or three oak trees, and called Salemîyeh.[a] Here we found that in descending into the valley, we had mistaken our path. So, ascending its bed, through fields of grain, we regained our road, and soon crossed a ridge, beyond which rises the beginning of the Wady that passes by Jufna and becomes the Wady Belât. Our road lay along the right side of it, and opposite to us was the Muslim village of Surda, whose inhabitants cultivate nearly the whole of the soil on each declivity. After a while a summit projected into this valley to the left of our path, and ascending it thirty minutes from Salemîyeh, we took the following bearings :[1]

Kefr 'Âna,	61½	New Bîr Zeit,	327
Sheikh Husein,[2]	63	Surda,[c]	279
El-Kûtrawâneh,[b]	353	Road back on water-shed,	195
Old Bîr Zeit,	343	Râm Allah, (?)	213

While we were engaged in these observations, our luggage passed on, and we were left alone. A shepherd came near us, armed with a musket, as was almost every body we met in the mountains, and in a peremptory tone demanded what we were doing. I as peremptorily ordered him to come and assist us. This ended the parley, which, had we shown any fear, might have terminated more seriously, as there were others at hand. We returned to our road, and, following the right declivity of the "branch Wady," which commences here, reached Jufna at the bottom, in thirty minutes.

We had brought a letter from Dr. McGowan, of the English mission at Jerusalem, to Sheikh Ibrahim, one of the heads of the village, to insure the speedy procuring of such guides as we needed. Dr. McGowan spent a part of the last summer here, and attempted

[1] All the bearings were taken with a Smalkalder's compass; upon which the degrees are numbered quite around the circle, beginning at the north and proceeding with the sun.—Ed.

[2] The same, I think, as was called in our former journey, Tell 'Assûr.

[a] سلمية. [b] القطروانة. [c] سُرْدا.

forming an establishment to make his own wine. The Pasha at the beginning told him that he should allow him neither to buy nor build in the village; and at length, by imprisoning under other pretences the men with whom he had dealings, made his situation so uncomfortable, that he was constrained to leave. We were now told that Jufna contains ninety men, more than double the number confessed when you and I were here together. They are all Christians of the Greek church. The valley in which the village stands, seemed to have increased in beauty. Its bottom was carpeted with verdant fields of grain, its sides clothed with vines and fig-trees, and its summits crowned with villages. Under the hand of industry, fostered by true religion and a good government, it might become a little paradise.

Sheikh Ibrahim gave us his brother and another active mountaineer to guide us; and we soon started again, directing them to take us by the *oldest* road to Kefr Sâba. We ascended directly to the top of the hill, at the foot of which the village stands, and in 20 m. reached Bîr Zeit. In this distance, we found evident remains of the pavement of a Roman road, affording satisfactory proof that we had not mistaken our route. You will remember that there are two villages called Bîr Zeit, only one of which is inhabited. The latter is the one we visited. It numbers about ninety men, of whom seventy are Christians, and the rest Muslims. 'Atâra was in plain sight; also several other places whose bearings we marked as follows:

'Atâra,	6	Kefr 'Âna,	101
Sheikh Husein,	86	Surda,	179½
Yebrûd,	82½	Old Bîr Zeit,	252
'Ain Yebrûd,	118	Tûrfîn,[1]	28
Arnûtia,	150½		

As we passed on from the village, our road led us through luxuriant vineyards, and orchards of fig and olive trees, until in 15 m. it brought us to the brow of the mountain which overlooks the western declivity quite to the plain. Stopping here a moment upon an eminence [A] a little to the left of our road, we took the following bearings:

[1] طرفين.

Sheikh Husein,	44	Kaubar,[2]	295
El-Kŭtrawâneh,	8	Khirbet Miriam,	302
New Bîr Zeit,	165	Khirbet Jîbia,	307
Neby Samwîl,	191½	Neby Sâlih,	307
Old Bîr Zeit,	207	Beit Rîma,	310
Râm Allah,	185	Deir Ghŭssâneh,	314½
Abu Shukheidim,	243½	Ferkha,	341
Beit Illu,[1]	275	Deir ed-Dâm,	294
Deir Abu Mesh'al,	286	Sheikh Khauwâs,	313

The declivity of the mountain, as we overlooked it, seemed to be composed, not so much of ridges, as of eminences, the connexion of which with each other was not always readily distinguished, so as to enable us to trace the course of the Wadies. The same difficulty we experienced during the whole of our descent. I can say little more than that our road led us to the very bottom, on the water-shed between the tributaries of two large Wadies, which serve as drains to all the others. The one on the north, our guides knew only under the name of Wady Belât; which has its commencement, as we formerly found, near Jufna, though I suspect this may be its name only in that vicinity. Unfortunately, when we subsequently crossed it in the evening, no one was at hand of whom we could inquire. The Wady on the south was called by our guides, Wady 'Ain Tuleib,[3] from a fountain in it in this vicinity. The Wadies which unite with it seemed numerous, and the final drain of them all is Wady Ludd. The Wady Belât forms the boundary between the provinces of Jerusalem and Nâbulus, except that some places, even on its northern declivity, belong to Jerusalem. Of those in sight from the point where we stood, Ferkha is on the north side, and belongs to Nâbulus.

The whole of our way down the mountain was a very practicable, and for the most part a very easy descent. It seemed formed by nature for a road, and we had not descended far from the point where our observations were made, before we came again upon the Roman pavement. This we continued to find at intervals, during the remainder of the day. In some places, for a considerable dis-

[1] بيت إلُو a contraction for بيت اللولو.

[2] كَوْبر. [3] طُلَيب.

tance, it was nearly perfect; and then again it was entirely broken up, or a turn in our path made us lose sight of it. Yet we travelled hardly half an hour at any time, without finding distinct traces of it. I do not remember observing anywhere before so extensive remains of a Roman road. That it was the road from Gophna, and in fact from Jerusalem, to Cæsarea, there can be no reasonable doubt. We were therefore actually following the route taken by Paul, with his guard of four hundred and seventy men, when sent by Claudius Lysias by night to Antipatris on his way to Cæsarea.[1] To discover this road, and mark the region through which it passed, was the particular object of our journey.

Turning a little to the left of our path, after 35 m. we gained an eminence [B], from which the following bearings were noted:

A	148	Beit Illu	256
O. Bîr Zeit	169½	Deir Abu Mesh'al	277
Neby Samwîl	186	Deir ed-Dâm	281
Beit Ûniah	190½	Neby Sâlih	297½
Abu Shukheidim	201½	Beit Rîma	303
Khirbet Miriam[2]	218	Sheikh Khauwâs	308½
Kaubar	255	Kafr 'Îyen	320
Khirbet Jîbia	280	Ferkha	344½
Râs Kerker	237	Arûrah[3]	355
Jânieh	227	Wely on Mt. Gerizim	27

In 25 m. more we reached a small village, called Um Sŭfâh.[4] Near it, the road passes for a considerable distance over an almost unbroken surface of sloping rock, so smooth that both of our baggage animals fell before clearing it. The identity of the name Sŭfâh reminded me of the place which we supposed to be "Hormah," in the southern borders of Palestine.[5] In both cases it seems to be connected with similar naked sloping rocks, (صفاه in Arabic meaning a hard sterile rock,) except that the rock here is much less extensive than there. From just without the village we marked the following bearings:

[1] Acts 23, 23 sq.

[2] Called also بَرْعَم.

[3] On the N. side of W. Belât, but belonging to Jerusalem.

[4] صفاه not صافاه.

[5] Bibl. Researches, II. p. 591.

O. Bîr Zeit	159½	Deir Ghŭssâneh	310
Khirbet Jîbia	219		

A few minutes beyond the village, a branch of the road led off to the right, where, according to our guides, it follows the course of Wady Belât, and furnishes a more direct route to Kefr Sâba. But just at this point the Roman road was fortunately seen following the path on the left; and thus informed us very distinctly that this was the direction for us to take. A few minutes beyond, (unfortunately the exact time I do not find upon my notes,) we took the following bearings:

'Arûrah	44½	Mŭtwy	338
Ferkha	6	Kefr 'Îyen	331
Kerâwa	342		

Of these places, the four first are north of Wady Belât; but 'Arûrah and Kerâwa belong to Jerusalem.

Proceeding 15 m. further, still upon the Roman road, we noted the following bearings:

Tibneh	263½	Kaubar	143½
Deir ed-Dâm	248½	O. Bîr Zeit	139½
Beit Illu	212	Kŭtrawâneh	115

From this point we soon descended into the head of a Wady, in which at the distance of 25 m. we found a small fountain. On the right side of the Wady was a small ruin, which our guides called Wâdirîya; and on an eminence at the left, perhaps half a mile distant, was Deir ed-Dam. The valley at its beginning was broad, and covered with a beautiful growth of grain. In fact we found much of the mountain, as we descended, under cultivation, and bearing marks of fertility which at a distance do not appear; owing to the deficiency of trees, which in the United States give a rich verdure even to rocky and inarable regions. Here the whole side of the mountain exhibits very few trees, only stinted brushwood occupying the uncultivated parts. Our path led us at length up the left side of the valley, which soon contracted into a narrow and deep ravine, and passed off between precipitous banks, towards Wady Belât. Between it and our path, 15 m. from the fountain

just mentioned, there rose up a gentle hill, which was covered with the ruins, or rather foundations, of what was once a town of considerable size. On the opposite side of the road, to the south, was a much higher hill, in the north side of which appeared several sepulchral excavations. We rode up and examined the entrance of three on four. They bore a very striking resemblance to the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem. The front of each was a portico, supported by two columns, upon which rested in one instance a straight entablature, and in the others arches, the whole hewn from the solid rock. At the back of the portico, and in the middle, instead of at one end as at Jerusalem, was the opening to the tomb, which in every case was nearly filled with rubbish and earth. We had not time to excavate and enter any of them; which I regret much, as I do not recollect finding so remarkable sepulchral excavations anywhere else in Palestine, except at Jerusalem.

The name of the ruins we had thus discovered, is *Tibneh*. This, you know, is the present name of the Timnath near Zorah, on the border of the tribes of Judah and Dan.[1] It immediately occurred to me, that this must be another Timnath; and on examination, I have little doubt that it is the identical Timnath that gave name to one of the Roman divisions of Judea; and which, so far as I know, has not before been discovered. Josephus, in enumerating the toparchies into which Judea was divided, mentions Jerusalem first, Gophna second, after it Acrabata, then Thamna, Lydda, Ammaus, etc.[2] Thamna is his orthography for Timnath, and the connexion in which the name here stands, would lead one to look for it in this region. Even more marked is the connexion in another place, where speaking of certain cities whose inhabitants were sold into slavery, he mentions Gophna, Emaus, Lydda, and Thamna, as the principal.[3] A passage in the first Book of Maccabees connects it with some other places, still leaving its position here not less natural. It is said: "They built strong cities in Judea, the fortress that was in Jericho, and in Ammaus, and in Bethoron, and in Bethel, and in Thamnata, and Phara, and Taphon, with high walls, and gates and bars."[4] In narrating the same thing, Josephus

[1] Bibl. Researches II. p. 343.
[2] Joseph. B. J. III. 3. 5.
[3] Antiq. XIV. 11. 2.
[4] 1 Macc. 9, 50.

mentions Pharathon in the place of Phara,[1] which in all probability is the modern Fer'ata, some distance to the north of Tibneh, in Jûrat Merda. Moreover, in describing Vespasian's movements, Josephus speaks of his laying waste the places about the toparchy of Thamna, on his way from Antipatris to Lydda and Jamnia.[2] Compare these data, and you will see that Thamna is mentioned in connexion with Lydda, Emmaus, Bethoron, Gophna, Pharathon, and Antipatris, places which entirely surround Tibneh. Again, Vespasian's route from Antipatris to Lydda is made to touch upon the province of Thamna, which must therefore have bordered upon the plain. Further, in the Onomasticon of Eusebius, we find Bethsalisa placed in the district of Thamna fifteen miles north of Lydda; and yet it is said to be on the borders of Lydda, meaning doubtless the province of which that town was the capital. We should therefore expect to find Thamna itself, the capital of the province, at least that distance northward of Lydda. Yet it is said at the same time to be between Lydda and Jerusalem. Compare now these bearings, and place Timnath so that it shall be at the required distance northward of Lydda; far enough to the eastward to be said to be between that place and Jerusalem; and still not so far that its province shall interfere with that of Gophna, but shall border upon the road from Antipatris to Lydda; and where will it fall except about in the position of the present ruins of Tibneh?[3]

If my supposition is correct, another interesting question arises in this connexion; but on which I fear we have not data enough to answer satisfactorily. It is, whether this is not Timnath Heres, where Joshua had his inheritance, and where he died.[4] Reland has already made this suggestion respecting the Timnath which gave name to the Tamnitic region, though the position of that place was not then known.[5] In view of the location of it suggested above, the supposition seems to me quite reasonable. Timnath Heres was in Mount Ephraim, and this place must have been within the borders of that tribe. And I know not that the Bible speaks of any other Timnath in Ephraim. If it were indeed Joshua's town, then

[1] Joseph. Ant. XIII. 1. 3.
[2] B. J. IV. 8. 1.
[3] See also the notices in Bibl. Researches III. pp. 40, 42.
[4] Josh. 19, 49. 50. 24, 30. Judges 2, 8. 9.
[5] Palæst. p. 191, 1043.

new interest is attached to the hill, on the *north side* of which we found so many sepulchral excavations. For we are told that Joshua was buried "in the border of his inheritance, in Timnath Heres in Mount Ephraim, *on the north side of the hill Gaash.*"[1] Those tombs, and the ruins of Tibneh altogether, deserve a more thorough examination than we had time to bestow upon them; and I exceedingly regret that we were obliged to hurry past them so rapidly.

From Tibneh we took the following observations:

Deir ed-Dâm	133½	Deir Abu Mesh'al	262
Beit Illu	204	Ferkha	35½

Proceeding on our way, we stopped again after 10 m. upon a hill on the left of the road, and noted the following places:

Sheikh Khauwâs	381	Jemmâla	194
Beit Rîma	14	Deir 'Ammâr	182
Mejdel Yâba	306	Deir ed-Dâm	119 ½
'Abûd	292½	Kŭtrawâneh	105 ½
Deir Abu Mesh'al	258	Tibneh	99

Hastening on, and passing occasionally portions of the Roman road, we reached in 40 m. the large town of 'Abûd. It numbers about 100 Muslim men and 50 Christians of the Greek church. In the southern part were the residences of some Sheikhs, which seem to be well built. The Christians have a church. We stopped in front of it for a few minutes, and the hospitable people treated us with bread and *leben*. In a room above the church, was a school containing twenty or thirty children, in whose hands we were surprised as well as gratified to find several of our books. So true is it, that books penetrate where the preacher cannot. In this region, never before visited by a missionary, and a *terra incognita* to the geographer, we find our books assisting the poor peasant boys to acquire a knowledge of letters. The bearings of the following places were taken from 'Abûd:

Deir ed-Dâm	115	Fer'ata	20
Deir Ghŭssâneh	41	Ferkha	58
Sheikh Khauwâs	32	Deir Kŭl'ah	339
El-Kefir	20		

[1] Josh. 24, 30.

The good people urged us so hard to tarry with them over night, that we could with much difficulty break away. To this, however, they were induced in part by our guides, who had relatives in the village, and had apparently made up their minds in the morning, that we should stop here to-night. We however hastened on, and soon passed, on the left of our road, several sepulchral excavations, marking this as an ancient place. Our path led us for a considerable distance down a gentle but very rocky descent, which was the beginning of a Wady. Through nearly the whole of it, we either rode upon or by the side of the Roman road. At length the Wady became broader, and with its declivities, was chiefly occupied with fields of grain and other cultivation. Here, at 45 m. from 'Abûd, we had the small village of Lubban on a hill just at our left; and in 5 m. more, the ruins of another, called Beni Ra'îsh upon our right. In 5 m. more we took the following bearings:

Lubban 147½ Shŭkba 178½

Passing on rapidly, we reached in 10 m. a road that led to Rentîs, which village was in sight on our left, distant perhaps half an hour. After clearing the cultivation in the neighbourhood, we passed over a hilly tract, with little cultivation, and thinly sprinkled with shrubbery. In 30 m. a small ruin called Kefr Îsha lay on our left at the distance of about a quarter of a mile. In 40 m. more, we reached another ruin in our path, called Dhikrîn, from which we began to descend by a declivity on the left, toward the Wady Belât. In our descent, which was not great, we thought we could discern further traces of the Roman road. But it was nearly dark, and we may possibly have been mistaken. The bottom was reached in 20 m. and we found the Wady entirely dry. In ascending beyond, we lost our way in the dark. The acclivity was composed of horizontal strata of rock, every successive layer of which presented an edge like a high wall, and we could surmount them only by searching for some fracture or irregularity in their form by which our animals could pass; and this in the darkness of the night was a task not easily accomplished. At length, 20 m. from the point where we reached the bottom of the Wâdy, and at 8 o'clock in the evening, we entered the village of Mejdel Yâba, having rode about 30 miles since the morning.

The town stands on the top of a hill, with the valley of Belât on the south, a branch Wady running into it on the east, and the great plain of Sharon coming quite up to its base on the west. So late an arrival would, in any village, have been unfavourable to procuring lodgings; but here the people appeared particularly inhospitable. Some time was spent in stumbling over walls, rocks, and dunghills, before we could find any one willing to conduct us to the Sheikh's house. Having reached his door, a cry brought a reluctant answer from a lofty chamber, which appeared like a tower, overlooking the whole village; and by and by a man appeared coming slowly down a flight of forty or fifty steps, to ask what was wanted. It appeared that the Sheikh was not at home, and that the personage we had roused was his servant. Some time was spent in going from house to house to find some one who would admit us, before his reluctance to lodge us himself was overcome. At length, after following him through a stable and up a succession of stairs, we were shown into an unfinished room, without floor and full of filth, as a place where we could sleep. A positive refusal on our part, and a few words of reproof, brought him to his senses, and he conducted us to an adjoining room. It was the one from which he had come, and seemed the only finished apartment in the building. In it were several ruffian-looking fellows, engaged in the evolutions of Muslim worship, who promised not to be very comfortable room-mates for the night. Our principal objection, however, to lodging with them, was the vermin with which we doubted not the place abounded. So, having brought the fellow to offer us the best accommodations he had, we now set to work, and levelling some heaps of earth in front of the door, spread our carpets in the open air for the night. Having once found a lodgment, however great the difficulty, in the house, I was not surprised to see our host assuming the characteristic hospitality of his race. He declared himself our servant, and the house at our disposal; brought and set before us his own supper, consisting of a boiled fowl and soup; and stood by to wait upon us.

The next morning, we found that the building, at the top of which we had slept, was the remains of an ancient castle. Its extent was very considerable, and the structure solid; but every part had

recently been more or less demolished. The chamber in front of which we had slept, had only lately been reconstructed in connexion with other repairs that were going forward. As I was seeking an elevated corner from which to take some bearings, one of our guides interrupted my inquiries about the different villages in sight, by saying that the ruins around us were all the result of an affair of love. One of the powerful and rich, but new family of 'Abd el-Hâdy, had demanded the daughter of the owner of this castle, as a wife for his son. The old Sheikh was of the ancient family of Jemmâ'îny, and disdained to contract relationship with an 'Abd el-Hâdy, whose grandfather was only a Fellah. The girl, said our informant, was *so* tall, (raising his hand seven or eight feet from the ground,) and a great beauty, and withal had no objection to her young suitor. For an Arab, rich, powerful, in love, and sure of his mistress's affection, to give up a suit on grounds that implied contempt for his family, was no easy matter; and means were soon found to overcome the father's obstinacy. Old 'Abd el-Hâdy, under the Egyptian government, was so wealthy, that he and his brothers sowed nearly the whole of the plain of Jezreel. He was governor of the province of Nâbulus, to which Mejdel Yâba belongs, and in favour with his superiors.[1] Soon an opportunity was found to accuse the Jemmâ'îny of insubordination to the government; troops were marched against him, and his castle almost razed to the ground. Such arguments were effectual, if not indeed satisfactory; for the parties were soon married, with all the wonted appearances of joy and mirth.

Such was the story of my informant, and it is characteristic enough of the people; but for the truth of the whole of it I do not vouch. For I found in the course of the morning, that our guide himself was in circumstances not to deal wholly in matter-of-fact statements on such topics. I had observed him yesterday, as he walked before me, in almost uninterrupted conversation with his companion, the nature of which was betrayed by broken sentences that occasionally reached my ear. This morning, as we were riding over the plain of Sharon, he drew up close to my horse,

[1] See Bibl. Researches III. pp. 155, 157. On p. 155, instead of *Hâdy*, the name is by mistake printed *Kâdy*.—Ed.

and said that in a short time he intended to come to Beirût, when he hoped I would condescend to exert my influence with the Pasha in his favour. On my inquiring the nature of his business, he said that he was some time ago espoused to a girl, who, before they were married, sickened and died; and thus it had happened, that though now some thirty-five years of age, he was still a bachelor. But at last he had found another young bride, only twelve years old, beautiful, and altogether such a person as one would like. But his relatives and the priesthood had all risen up and declared that he should never have her; because, forsooth, her mother had married his uncle for her second husband, which had brought about a degree of affinity, forbidden by the Greek church. I suggested, that while he remained in that church, an appeal to the Pasha would do no good. He must give up either her or his church. But such an alternative was no consideration with him. He would marry her, he said, in spite of relatives, priests, bishop, and Pasha. And then he broke out into an Arab love-song, with which he made the vale of Sharon resound, throwing in between every line or two a commentary of his own to add force to the sentiment.

I was disappointed in not procuring so many bearings from Mejdel Yâba, as I had hoped. The rising sun shooting his rays down the side of the mountain, prevented our seeing much in that direction. With the plain our guide was not well acquainted; and the people about us were too stupid or too lazy to point out the places with any degree of accuracy. What we took are as follows:

Deir Abu Mesh'al - - - - -	137½	Râs el-'Ain- - - - -	322
Ferkha - - - - - - - -	99	Jiljûlieh (?)- - - - -	9
Ludd - - - - - - - -	207	Rentieh - - - - - -	236
Ramleh (tower) - - - - -	213	el-Yehûdîyeh - - - -	236

Mejdel Yâba must have been an ancient town of considerable importance. Your attention will be called to it more fully in the sequel.

Instead of taking the direct road to Kefr Sâba, which would have led northward, probably in the direction of the Roman road, we proceeded first more to the west toward Râs el-'Ain. A few minutes brought us to the bottom of the hill, and then advancing

in a straight course toward the middle of the plain, we reached Râs el-'Ain in forty minutes. A mound rises from the level surface, upon which is a quadrangular structure, covering nearly the whole of it. At a distance I supposed it to be an old Khân, corresponding to the one at Ramleh; but embrasures for guns, and towers at the corners, with the absence of any traces of a minaret, convinced me that it was built rather for a fort. At the western foot of this mound, in a small marshy tract, covered with reeds and rushes, commences the river 'Aujeh. I think it decidedly one of the largest fountains I have ever seen; if indeed it may be called *one*, occupying as it does so considerable a tract. Here and in some other places in the course of the 'Aujeh below, springs out of the ground all the water that river at this season of the year contains; the Wadies from the mountains being at present entirely dry. And yet the 'Aujeh is even now almost as large as the Jordan at Jericho, being apparently fordable in only a few places. There is little, however, in the river that is inviting; as its water is of a bluish colour, and its current sluggish. Yet its fall is sufficient to turn mills in several places.

We now took a northward course along the middle of the plain. On the east were the mountains of Samaria rising gradually above each other, and bounding the plain of Sharon in that direction. On the west lay a line of low, wooded hills, shutting it in from the sea. Its soil is an inexhaustible black loam, and nearly the whole of it was now under cultivation, presenting a scene of fertility and rural beauty rarely equalled. Immense fields of wheat and barley, waving in the breeze, were advancing rapidly to maturity. Here and there was a patch of millet, which the peasants were busy in hoeing; and more rarely appeared a cotton plantation, in which the shoots of this year were interspersed with the stalks that had survived the winter. After twenty minutes, we took the following bearings.

Mejdel Yâba	160	Kefr Sâba	9
Kefr Kâsim	105	Bîr 'Adas	349
Zâkûr	70½	Râs el-'Ain	193
Hableh	48	Deir Abu Mesh'al	143½
Jiljûlieh	29	Mesha	124

Of these, on the east are Kefr Kâsim on the nearest range of

hills overlooking the plain, Zâkûr a little beyond, and Hableh on the border of the plain; on the west is Bîr 'Adas, also on the border of the plain.

In forty minutes more, just after crossing the shallow bed of a Wady running westward from the mountains, we reached Jiljûlieh. It stands on a very low and broken range of hills, extending from the eastern mountains more than half across the plain. Its present population, which is wholly Muslim, must be considerable; and yet there are marks of its having been once decidedly larger. In the skirts of it on the south is an old Khân, evidently of the age of that at Ramleh, and forming one of the line that once extended northward quite through the country. In the place of subterranean rooms in the centre of the quadrangle, there is a large circular well now dry; and near the entrance are the remains of a minaret, forming an integral part of the wall. That a Jiljûlieh somewhere in this region is the Gilgal mentioned in Joshua,[1] there can be little doubt. It is spoken of as such in the Onomasticon, under the article *Gelgel*. Only the Galgulis there mentioned, s said to be six miles *northward* of Antipatris; whereas Jiljûlieh is E. S. E. of Kefr Sâba, and but about two miles distant. A very little north ofeast from Kefr Sâba, and somewhat more distant, is a village called Kilkîlia; but the orthography of this name will hardly allow it to be the Gilgal of Joshua, or the Galgulis of the Onomasticon. I shall direct your attention to this discrepancy of distances again. We here took the following bearings:

Kefr Kâsim - - -	152½	Bîr 'Adas - - - - -	283

On leaving Jiljûlieh, we turned to the left from the great northern road, and took a direct course to Kefr Sâba. After fifteen minutes, the following bearings were taken:

Hableh - - - - - - -	102	Neby Yemîn - - - - -	3
Kilkîlia - - - - - -	41	Kefr Sâba - - - - -	342
Neby Shem'ôn - - - - -	23	Bîr 'Adas - - - - -	252

In five minutes more, having left the low hills, we crossed a shallow Wady running southward through the plain; and then, after fifteen minutes riding through the fields, we reached Kefr Sâba.

[1] Josh. xii. 23.

The present Kefr Sâba is a Muslim village of considerable size, and wholly like the most common villages of the plain, being built entirely of mud. We saw but one stone building, which was apparently a mosk, but without a minaret. No old ruins nor the least relic of antiquity did we anywhere discover. A well by which we stopped, a few rods east of the houses, exhibits more signs of careful workmanship than any thing else. It is walled with hewn stone, and is fifty-seven feet deep to the water. The village stands upon a slight circular eminence, near the western hills, from which it is actually separated, however, by a branch of the plain. In that direction we could trace the bed of a small Wady coming down from the hills, and running, like the one just mentioned on the east, toward the 'Aujeh. The soil around, though somewhat more elevated, seemed as fertile as the rest of the plain, and was in almost every part under cultivation.

The only circumstance to give special interest to the place, is the supposition that it represents the ancient Antipatris. And the mention of that place in the account of Paul's journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea,[1] was what had induced us to visit it. In reference to this passage, my feeling on descending the mountain was, that the natural spot at which to look for Antipatris, was Mejdel Yâba. That place is fitted by nature for a town of some strength. There, also, Paul's road would leave the mountain, and all danger of ambush would cease. Besides, even to Mejdel Yâba, which must be full thirty miles from Jerusalem, would be a hard night's march; while, if Antipatris were at Kefr Sâba, the journey would be some eight miles longer. And that the party should reach it in one night, would seem almost impossible; if indeed the narrative necessarily implies that the journey was ended before the morning.[2] The assertion of the Onomasticon, moreover, that Galgulis is six miles *north* of Antipatris would be literally true of Mejdel Yâba; and also that of the Jerusalem Itinerary, that Antipatris was ten miles from Lydda. And further, to draw a trench some fourteen miles, across the hills from Kefr Sâba to the sea, as Josephus says was done by Alexander from Antipatris, to prevent Antiochus's marching from Damascus into Arabia,[3] would be apparently an

[1] Acts xxiii. 31. [2] Such, however, is by no means the case.—Ed.
[3] Joseph. Ant. XIII. 15. 1.

unnatural and very difficult operation; and above all would be of no use, as the trench might easily be turned by marching down the plain on the east, which would be left entirely open, and through which the great road from Damascus to Gaza has from time immemorial passed. But if Antipatris were at Mejdel Yâba, then it would be near the mountain, as Josephus, in repeating the account, says it was.[1] A trench of not more than two miles would then reach Râs el-'Ain, from which the 'Aujeh forms a natural fosse to the sea; and thus the whole distance from the mountain to the sea would be fortified.

Other circumstances, however, in Josephus's account of Antipatris, do not suit the position of Mejdel Yâba.[2] He says it was built *in* a most beautiful plain, which is true of Kefr Sâba, and not of Mejdel Yâba; for the latter is only on the border of the plain. Antipatris was well wooded, which is true of the hills west of Kefr Sâba; while around Mejdel Yâba there are now not many trees. It was well watered, being surrounded by a river. The former remark might perhaps be applicable to Kefr Sâba in winter; but to call the two little brooks on each side of the town, a river surrounding it, is an inaccurate use of language. At the season of our visit, there was no water near the town, except in a well fifty-seven feet deep; and at a Wely called Neby Yemîn, a quarter of a mile distant, where it is also in a well, but nearer the surface. At Mejdel Yâba, though there are torrents in winter on the south and east, as already mentioned, the inhabitants, we were told, depend for water upon Râs el-'Ain, some two miles distant.

But the strong argument in favour of Kefr Sâba, is its name. Josephus mentions it twice. Once indeed it appears as the name of the plain in which Antipatris was built,[3] and this would not be decisive; but again it is mentioned as the original name of the town itself, which, after rebuilding it, Herod called Antipatris.[4] In the first instance it is written *Καφαρσαβα*, and the second *Χαβαρζαβα*, but both are evidently the same word. One might indeed imagine the name Mejdel Yâba to be derived from it, by a very natural substitution of Mejdel (a tower) for Kefr (a village), and some accidental change

[1] B. J. I. 4. 7.
[2] An. XVI. 5. 2. B. J. I. 21. 9.
[3] Antiq. XVI. 5. 2.
[4] Antiq. XIII. 15. 1.

of *s* into *y*. But the existence now of a place bearing the very name of Kefr Sâba, makes this supposition highly improbable; and so much weight is due to the simple name, that I can, after all, bring myself to place Antipatris nowhere but at the modern Kefr Sâba.

From the well where we stopped, we took the following bearings:

Kilkîlia	80	Mejdel Yâba	178
Hableh	122	Râs el-'Ain	192
Zâkûr	140	Ramleh (tower)	200
Deir Abu Mesh'al	155½	Bîr 'Adas	221
Kefr Kâsim	159	Neby Yemîn	120½
Jiljûlieh	168½		

We now dismissed our guides, and directed our course to Yâfa, at a rapid pace, fearing to be too late for the steamer. A ride of 25 m. across the plain brought us to Bîr 'Adas. It is a small Muslim village, just at the foot of the western hill. Here for some distance we had on our left the bed of a Wady descending toward the 'Aujeh, with a little standing water in it in a few places. It seemed to be formed by a union of the three Wadies we had crossed; viz. the two on each side of Kefr Sâba, and the one just south of Jiljûlieh; though of the latter I am not quite sure. On our right, we had the low hills repeatedly mentioned, spurs of which we occasionally crossed, as our course turned westward. The soil was rich, bearing luxuriant fields of grain, or recently ploughed for melons, a fruit for which Yâfa is celebrated throughout Syria, and which was now just coming up out of the ground. Over the whole were scattered numerous trees, giving to many parts the appearance of beautiful lawns. After 50 m. we took the following bearings:

Yâfa	240½	Râs el-'Ain	122½
Mejdel Yâba	130	Kefr Kâsim	105

In 45 m. more we reached the bridge, by which the road along the coast northward crosses the 'Aujeh. From it Mejdel Y ba bore 107½, and el-Mu'ennis 282. The latter is a small village on a hill in the direction of the sea, upon the northern bank of the river. Crossing a hill, we reached in 35 m. a deep gully, through which a small stream was running towards the 'Aujeh. It rises,

we were told, from a fountain in the immediate neighbourhood. The tract around is a basin of beautiful land, chiefly covered with grain, which promised a very abundant harvest. Another hill brought us in sight of Yâfa, which we reached in 35 m. more.

I ought to remark before closing, that throughout this ride, whenever the nature of the ground would allow, we rode faster than the ordinary rate of travelling with common horses. Especially is this true of our progress after leaving Kefr Sâba. Our observations were made with a Smalkalder's compass, and our guides were about the best I have ever seen. But in the hurry of so rapid a journey, it is quite possible that some mistakes may have found their way into my notes.

I am ever truly yours,

ELI SMITH.

Note by the Editor.

Three results of great importance for Biblical Geography and Antiquities, are brought out for the first time in the preceding communication.

I. The existence of the Roman military road between Gophna and Antipatris, forming doubtless the great channel of communication between Jerusalem and Cæsarea. It is true that the pass of Beth-horon was sometimes used; as by Cestus Gallus on his march from Cæsarea by way of Lydda to Jerusalem;[1] but the road here first brought to light was more direct, and the ascent of the mountain far less difficult. There can therefore scarcely be a question, that this was the route pursued by Paul and his escort; although, as this road was then unknown, I have elsewhere assumed, that they passed by the way of Beth-horon.[2]

II. The existence and position of *Tibneh;* beyond all doubt the ancient *Thamna* of Josephus, which gave name to a toparchy lying

[1] Joseph. B. J. II. 19. 1.

[2] Bibl. Researches III. p. 46, 60.

between those of Lydda and Gophna.[1] Whether it is the same with the Timnath-Heres and Timnath-Serah of the Old Testament, which Joshua chose for his own possession, and where he was buried,[2] is indeed less certain; yet every probability is in favour of this hypothesis. But it would perhaps be going beyond the legitimate bounds of probability, to refer the present sepulchres found there to an antiquity so very remote as the days of Joshua.

III. The site and character of Kefr Sâba, the modern representative of the ancient Antipatris. The existence of this name was already known, but the place has now been visited for the first time.[3] The difficulties with which the question of its identity is still encumbered, are well stated by Mr. Smith. In this case, however, as it seems to me, the name is perfectly decisive as to the general identity; and must outweigh all other arguments in favour of any other place, and even those few physical features which seem not to correspond with the description of Josephus. Indeed, it is not impossible, that there may have been in the course of ages a removal of the village and a transfer of the name to a different though neighbouring site; as in the case of Sŭrafend, the ancient Sarepta, which was formerly on the sea-shore, but is now at some distance on the heights above.[4] So too with Jericho. This suggestion would seem, at least, to be worth further inquiry.

Thus it is, that every year unfolds new facts in the geography and archæology of the Holy Land. The preceding discoveries all arose out of an excursion of only two days, by a new route, varying not very greatly from those usually travelled. Since that time and during the present summer, Mr. Smith has been exploring very extensively various districts of Mount Lebanon; and it is hoped that some of the results of his inquiries may hereafter be laid before the readers of this work.

As there exists in certain quarters, a disposition to call in question many of the results at which Mr. Smith and myself arrived in our former journeys, I venture in this connexion to subjoin the following passage of a letter recently received from Prof. Ritter of Berlin, the celebrated Geographer. "To this so highly important

[1] Ibid. III. p. 40, 42.
[2] Josh. 19, 50. 24, 30; comp. Judg. 2, 9.
[3] Bibl. Researches p. 45–47.
[4] Ibid. III. p. 412–414.

study," he says, meaning Biblical Geography, "you have imparted a wholly new life; and have thus indirectly rendered great service to the science of Theology in general, and done more to illustrate and enforce the truthfulness of the Bible, than all theological controversies and subtleties could ever do. God's truth is not the exclusive property of a single science; it must penetrate and pervade *all* sciences, if they would claim to have any participation in it. And this you have clearly exhibited in respect to the Promised Land, beyond any of your predecessors."

Another extract will show the opinions and expectations of other European scholars. It is from the close of a notice of the first Number of the present work, by Professor Rödiger of Halle, published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of Halle, for June, 1843, Nos. 110, 111. "If we now look back," he says, "upon the results and advances which the work of Robinson and Smith on Palestine has called forth within a single year,—how on the one side it has kept alive discussion upon points yet doubtful, and on the other has occasioned further investigations and the renewed confirmation of what had been already won,—we certainly are of right entitled to cherish high expectations in behalf of the further illustration of Biblical Geography, which for a long interval has not made such rapid and successful progress, as within these last few years. We would not forget the merits of those who have prepared the way; nor of those who have been co-workers, as a Ritter, a Raumer, a Crome, and others. We know, too, how to estimate the fortunate circumstances, under which the American travellers accomplished their journey. Nevertheless, it is as clear as the day, that their labours have given a new impulse to scientific investigation in this department, which promises to be so much the more permanent, the more the Protestant interests gain a firm footing in the Holy Land."

IV.

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH.

Remarks on 1 Corinthians, XI. 17–34.

By M. Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover

TRANSLATION.

17 Moreover, while I give these directions, I praise you not
that you come together not for the better but for the worse.
18 For, first, when you come together in public assembly, I hear
19 that schisms exist among you, and in part I believe it; for
there must needs be even heresies among you, that they who
are approved may be made manifest among you.
20 Moreover, when ye come together in the same place, it is
21 not to eat the Lord's Supper; for each one takes beforehand
his own supper at the time of eating, and one is hungry, but
22 another drinks freely. For have ye not houses to eat and to
drink in? Or do you think lightly of the church of God,
and put to shame those who have not? What shall I say to
23 you? In this matter I do not praise you. For I received of
the Lord that which I also communicated to you; that the
24 Lord Jesus, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took
bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it and said:
[Take, eat,] this is my body which is broken for you; this do
25 in remembrance of me. In like manner also [he took] the
cup, after supping, and said: This cup is the New Testament
in my blood; this do, so often as ye shall drink it, in remem-
26 brance of me. For so often as ye shall eat this bread and
drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death until he
27 come. Wherefore, whosoever shall eat the bread or drink
the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty in respect to the
28 body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself,
29 and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup; for he

who eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh condemnation to himself, making no distinction in respect to the body of the Lord.

30 On account of this, many are weak and sickly among you,
31 and some have fallen asleep. For if we would pass judgment
32 upon ourselves, then we should not be judged; but being judged of the Lord, we are chastened in order that we might not be
33 condemned with the world. Wherefore, my brethren, when
34 ye come together in order to eat, wait for each other. If any one is hungry, let him eat at home, so that ye may not come together unto condemnation. As to other matters, I will set them in order when I come.

My object is not to write a minute commentary on this passage throughout. I have translated it anew, because I thought, in some instances, that the sense might be made more perspicuous, and somewhat more true to the original Greek, than it is in our common English version; and thus the necessity of a more particular commentary, for my purposes, might be superseded. Very few remarks are necessary in the way of vindicating and explaining my version; and those few I shall immediately subjoin, in order that the strain of remark in the sequel may not be interrupted by any thing of this nature.

I have followed the text of Hahn's edition of the New Testament, recently reprinted in New-York. This of itself occasions some slight variations from the English Version. In v. 24, the words, *take, eat*, it will be perceived, are included in brackets; and the reason of this is, that the authority of the text in relation to these two words is not clear. The probability is, that they ought to be omitted. The sense is not materially changed by the omission.

In respect to v. 17, the words *τοῦτο παραγγέλλων while I give these directions*, seem to me plainly to refer to what the apostle had been saying in the context which precedes; and not, as even several recent critics interpret it, as referring to the sequel. *Schisms among you*, v. 18, refers to divisions of a party nature, which developed themselves in the public assemblies of the Corinthian church; which we can readily assent to as a fact, after reading what the apostle has said in chap. 1–4. The *heresies* mentioned in v. 19, seem to be something different from these, and of a more ag-

gravated nature; although, as the sacred writer suggests, *δεῖ εἶναι*, i. e. they must take place, on account of the corruption of the human heart, and in order that the truly faithful may be distinguished. They seem to involve some error in doctrine or practice, or perhaps in both, more serious than what is designated by *schisms*.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the word *πρῶτον first*, in v. 18, is nowhere followed by a *δεύτερον secondly*, in the context. In the room of this I suppose the *οὖν* to be employed in v. 20, which, in its original meaning, designated some kind of *separation* or *exclusion;* but by later usage it seems at the same time to denote also a connexion in some sense with what precedes. What belongs to one *genus*, but differs as to species, so to speak, may be connected by *οὖν*, as in the present case. The first thing which the apostle blames, is the *schisms* among the Corinthians; the second is the irregularity and undue behaviour which were exhibited on sacramental occasions. The first he merely glances at here; the second is the subject of the whole remainder of the passage which we have quoted above.

We come now to consider some of the leading topics in this latter and principal part of the passage.

Paul first complains, that *they do not come together to eat the Lord's Supper*. The meaning plainly is, that they do not come together to eat it in a becoming manner, viz. as the principal or leading object of assembling together. What then hinders this? The sequel tells us: "Each takes beforehand *his own supper*, at the time of eating," i. e. when supper-time arrives. But what was his own supper? Unquestionably it was a supper which was eaten antecedently to the proper Lord's Supper, and which was so familiarly known to all the ancient churches under the name of *ἀγάπη*, or more usually *ἀγάπαι*, *love-feast*. This was furnished by each member of the church according to his ability. The natural consequence was, that the rich furnished themselves with a sumptuous meal, while the poor were destitute. Of course, this naturally gave rise to irregularities of several kinds. First, a great inequality between the members of the church was manifested in this way; some feeding sumptuously and drinking freely, while others were hungry and destitute. Feelings of pride and contempt on one hand, and

of envy and repining on the other, would be the inevitable consequence. Secondly, both parties, in consequence of this, were placed in a very unfit condition to celebrate the memorials of a Saviour's dying love. The full and perhaps surfeiting meal of the rich, and the scanty portion of the poor, or in many cases their entire destitution, while they looked on and saw others feasting, was very unpromising preparatory discipline for one of the most solemn of all ordinances, one which above all others ought to be celebrated with the spirit of humility and brotherly love.

Beyond these natural consequences of such a state of things, it appears that there was much incivility among the more wealthy members of the church. Paul complains, that one προλάμβανει *takes beforehand* (i. e. before the proper time) *his own supper*, v. 21; and again, in v. 33, he directs them *to wait for each other*, i. e. to wait until all can sit down and take the supper in question together and at the same time; as it became Christian brethren to do. In other words, if this *fore-meal* must be allowed and practised, he insists that it shall be so regulated as not to give rise to the evils of which he complains.

But does Paul in fact approve of this *fore-meal* at all? It strikes me quite in the opposite way. What says he? "One is hungry, but another drinks freely. Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?" In other words: What has all the manifestation of this difference of condition and treatment, this hunger of one and full-feeding of another, to do with such an occasion? If ye must feast, why not at your own houses? The church is not the place for common meals. Refection to gratify the senses is utterly foreign to the nature of the occasion, and even alien from it.

That the eating or drinking to excess on this occasion, was not the immediate result, or did not form any part of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, strictly and properly so named, is quite plain from the question which the apostle puts: "Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?" He did not intend to say, that it was a matter of propriety that they should celebrate the *Lord's Supper* respectively and separately, in their private houses; but he means that they ought to take their *meals of refection* in their private dwellings. The Lord's Supper is, from the very nature and design

of the original institution, a public and common ordinance; common, I mean, to the society of believers or disciples. It is not only emblematical of the sufferings and death of Christ, but also of the union of believers in him, and of their communion with each other in and through that union in their common head. In order to attain the full measure of its significancy, it is necessary that it should be celebrated socially and communicatively. And although I do not hold this idea in such a shape as would interdict, on all occasions and in all circumstances, what might be called private communion by particular individuals or families, yet the ordinary celebration of it should be by "meeting together to break bread," as was the case with the disciples of old.

To most Christians of the present day it seems somewhat strange, that the ancient churches should have ever introduced a usage so replete with dangers, as that of taking any thing like a festive meal on an occasion like that of celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Indeed, the origin of such a custom has never yet been satisfactorily explained, and is not fully known. To me, however, it has always seemed and still appears most likely, that the Agapæ were in imitation of the passover meal, which followed indeed the eating of the passover proper, but *preceded* the institution of the Lord's Supper at its first celebration by Christ and his disciples. But let this be as it may, one thing is quite plain, which is, that a festive meal, taken on a religious occasion like this, must naturally give rise to many indulgencies, or at all events must present many temptations, which would be dangerous in their tendencies.

Facts early showed the state of the case to be as now supposed. Even in Paul's day, the most gifted, perhaps, of all the churches planted by his hand, had begun to degenerate and to become prone to sensual indulgence, by means of such a custom. The love of superiority, the pride of riches, the attractions of luxury, were all fostered by display at the festive meal in question. Perhaps we might say even more. Some, it has been usually thought, were accustomed to intoxicate themselves on the occasion, by excessive use of the wine which was exhibited. Yet this is not quite certain, even from the literal interpretation of the words which Paul employs. The verb μεθύω does not necessarily and of course mean

to become intoxicated. It means also *to drink freely* or *largely.* The natural or usual consequence of this, indeed, would be intoxication in a greater or less degree. The noun, τὸ μέθυ, means *wine*, and μεθύω naturally has a like sense; so that, if it were lawful to coin a new English word, we might render the Greek phrase, ὃς δὲ μεθύει, in the following manner: "Another *bewines* himself." Less than some kind of unlawful excitement arising from wine cannot be meant by Paul; but that intoxication in its higher stages and grosser developments, was intended, can hardly be credited. It is scarcely possible to suppose, with any good degree of probability, that a church, gathered by Paul, so long instructed by him, and furnished with such distinguished gifts of the Spirit, could have come together in connexion with making deliberate provision for a real drinking-bout or a season of beastly intoxication. I acknowledge that the word μεθύω might be employed to designate intoxication in any degree; but the circumstances of the present case naturally forbid us so to interpret it in the passage before us, unless we are actually obliged so to explain it. But inasmuch as we are not, let us, for the honour of human nature and of the church at Corinth, take it in the most moderate sense which it will fairly bear. It is evident that Paul's indignant feelings give a strong impetus to his mode of expression. He has employed μεθύω in the present case, because it places the indecorum of that which he blames in the strongest light. Foundation for his expression, in point of fact, was not wholly wanting. Free drinking of wine at the antecedent festive meal must of course have given rise to a state of feeling, which at least must have bordered on intoxication. The holy indignation of the apostle could scarcely call this by a softer name than he has given it.

It is easy to perceive from what has been said, that by the clause now before us Paul does not characterize the manner in which the Corinthians celebrated the Lord's Supper itself, when he speaks of drinking freely; but the state in which they approached the Lord's table, in consequence of the antecedent festive meal, or the Agapæ. It was the sensual indulgence of the communicants beforehand, and the improper condition that followed this, which Paul severely reprehends. How could any person approach the table of the Lord in such a state, and there eat and drink, "discerning the Lord's body

aright;" or, rather, how could he be said "properly to distinguish the Lord's body?" It could not be done. Sobriety of mind, humility, gratitude, devoted piety, are the requisites of a worthy communicant. The festive meal and much wine are no right preparatives for such a state, and the exercise of such graces.

Most readers, perhaps, are liable to some mistake in putting a proper estimate on the passage under examination, because Paul has not definitely separated the *fore-meal* from the Lord's Supper itself. He had no need of so doing, for the sake of those whom he originally addressed. All was plain to them. Paul has spoken of both suppers, if I may so express myself, in such a way as if they were but one, merely because the celebration of both was in continued and uninterrupted succession; just as the passover-meal was followed by the Holy Supper, when this last was instituted by Christ. But still, when Paul asks whether the Corinthians have not houses to eat and to drink in, he furnishes us at once with the means of deciding, that the excess complained of was at a festive meal, or at least a meal for refection, and not properly during the appropriate celebration of the Lord's Supper. A knowledge of the customs of the ancient churches enables us fully to dissipate any obscurity, that may at first seem to rest upon the apostle's language.

It may be proper to add a few words more, in relation to the *Agapæ*. The inconveniences and indecencies of which Paul complains, were soon felt by the churches. At an early period, they began to *postpone* the Agapæ to the Lord's Supper, so that the communicants might approach the table of the Lord in a fasting and sober state. Even this was insufficient to forestall the mischiefs that might so easily arise. Clement of Alexandria complains much of the irregularities occasioned by them.[1] In like manner, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen speak. No wonder then that we find the pious Ambrose very intent upon abolishing the custom of holding the meal in question. The Council of Carthage (A. D. 397) forbade it. So did the Council at Laodicea, about 364; and in the same manner decided the Council Aurel. and the Council of Trulla at a later period. Mostly,

[1] Pæd. II. c. 1.

however, these Councils merely expelled the feast from the churches. But of course, by such a measure, it soon lost its good reputation, and went into desuetude. In modern times, the Moravians, the Methodists, and some others, have revived the custom; yet it is partial only, and with strenuous caution against the ancient abuses.

Another question has been agitated in respect to this excess of the Corinthian church. *What kind of wine was employed, on the occasion of celebrating their sacrament?*

At first, it seems as if no question could be made about the answer that must be given. All would naturally be prone to say: Intoxicating wine. Yet the words of themselves will hardly render this quite certain. It is clear that *μέθυ* means *wine* of all sorts; for it embraces every kind of liquor, at least every kind in a drinkable state, which is made from grapes. Its predominant sense is that of *strong wine*. If, however, a liquor had been made from grapes but a short time; if it had been made from dried grapes; in a word, if it were in this state or that, of this quality or that, in case it had any intoxicating quality, it might be called by the generic appellation of *μέθυ*. In fact, even *mead*, or any other intoxicating liquor, might be called *μέθυ*. The verb which Paul employs, and which has already been the subject of remark, merely shows that the persons concerned drank freely of *μέθυ*. On the strength of this, and on the state or condition of respective individuals, depended of course the greater or less degree of excitement that was consequent.

Still, the impression from the whole account of Paul is, that the Corinthians rendered themselves unfit to approach the table of the Lord by their indulgence in *μέθυ;* and the conclusion from all this must of course be, that it was more or less an intoxicating liquor.

It is not absolutely certain, indeed, that the same kind of wine which was drunk at the Agapæ or fore-meal, was also drunk at the proper Lord's Supper. Yet I think no one can well doubt this. Had there been any distinction made by the Corinthians in this respect between the two suppers, one can hardly see how some kind of reference to it could be avoided. Certainly, if any thing important depended on a particular sort of wine at the communion

proper, some precept must have been given in some part of the New Testament, if not in the passage before us. But as there is none, so it would seem that nothing important was regarded as being dependent on the sort of wine employed. In this respect, therefore, the churches seem to be left to such liberty as circumstances may render necessary or desirable.

Still the question is not without some interest: *What sort of wine was probably used by Jesus, when he instituted the Last Supper?*

It is not my main object, at present, to discuss this question. I will therefore only make a few suggestions here, of results to which my examination of this matter has brought me.

The well known custom of the Jews, from the first institution of the Passover, of excluding every kind of leaven or fermented bread from their dwellings, when the season for this festival arrived, needs nothing more, in this place, than a bare mention. It was strictly a matter of divine command to do this. But when the days of "tithing mint, anise, and cummin," came, an over scrupulous attention to this command, like that to all others which had regard to external rites, was naturally to be expected. Not only leavened bread (חָמֵץ), i. e. bread *fermented*, but other things which had undergone *fermentation*, were, as we know, excluded from the passover-meal. Perhaps, however, the usage which was carried so far by the Jews, arose mainly from strict regard to the supposed real meaning of the command in Ex. 12, 15. 13, 3. 7. al. which is not expressed by declaring that the Hebrews should not eat *fermented bread* (לֶחֶם חָמֵץ), but by declaring that they should not eat חָמֵץ i. e. *any thing fermented*. Now as the word *eating* is, in cases without number, employed to include a partaking of all refreshments at a meal, that is, of the drinks, as well as the food, the Rabbins, it would seem, interpreted the command just cited as extending to the *wine*, as well as the *bread*, of the passover. Wine is not only capable of fermentation, but in fact is not properly *wine*, in the usual and strict sense of the word, until it has been fermented. The Rabbins, therefore, in order to exclude every kind of fermentation from the passover, taught the Jews to make a wine from raisins, or dried grapes, expressly for that occasion; and this was to be drunk before it had time to ferment.

Superstition, some may call this; and perhaps it is. I am dis-

posed to believe that the original precept of Moses had reference only to the bread of the passover, and not to any drink that might be used. In fact, not one word is said about any drink on that occasion, when it was first instituted. We know not whether wine was drunk at all; although it is not improbable that it might be, at least by many families. But there is no prescription respecting it.

When the Jewish custom began of excluding fermented wine from the passover-feast, is not known. That the custom is very ancient; that it is even now almost universal; and that it has been so for time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, I take to be facts that cannot be fairly controverted. I am aware that Professor Maclean, in his sharp-sighted criticism on some productions of our English brethren respecting temperance, has avowed different convictions on this subject, and vouched for the contrary of these propositions. But I am fully persuaded, that he has, on this point, been misled by partial testimonies, and that only loose and half-Jewish synagogues or societies of Jews, are accustomed to use fermented wine at the passover. I take this to have been as rare among strict and conscientious Jews, for time past indefinite and unknown, as the use of *water* only at the sacramental table among churches. I do not say this in order to disparage his criticisms; which are evidently the fruit of much labour and great acuteness. I say it merely to correct what I must believe to be a mistake, in this part of his critical essay. For the rest, he has shown that not a few errors in both classical and sacred exegesis, have been committed by the English writers in question. Pity that so good a cause had not been more guardedly and skilfully and philologically defended, than it has been by those writers!

I cannot doubt that יין, in its widest sense, was excluded from the Jewish passover, when the Lord's Supper was first instituted; for I am not able to find evidence to make me doubt, that the custom among the Jews of excluding fermented wine, as well as bread, is older than the Christian era. I am aware that the Rabbins themselves have had dispute at times in respect to this point. But as the case stands before my mind, it seems quite certain that Jewish *orthodoxy* demands exclusion of *fermented* wine.

What then is the natural deduction from this? It must be, that at the institution of the Lord's Supper *newly made* wine was em-

ployed. We cannot well suppose, that Christ himself would have deemed this important. But when he bade his disciples prepare for the feast of the passover, he gave them no special directions. Of course they would make the usual and common preparations. It follows then, unless I am wholly in error with regard to the Jewish usage, that *new* wine was used at the original institution of the Lord's Supper. There is no probability that two different kinds of wine were provided for the occasion; for the disciples, who had made the requisite preparation, knew nothing as yet of the Lord's Supper.

There is a passage in Matt. 26, 29 and Mark 14, 25, which seems to me to allude to the kind of wine employed on this occasion; which passage, because this has been overlooked, has long been a *crux interpretum*. After distributing the cup, the Saviour says to his disciples, that he shall "no more drink with them of *the fruit of the vine*, until he shall drink it καινόν, NEW, with them in the kingdom of his Father." Whether it means to drink *new* wine in the kingdom of God, is the question before us. Let us hear Kuinoel: "Many interpreters explain it by *vinum præstantius, excellentius*," i. e. wine of the better sort. But, as he well adds: "Vix probari poterit," this cannot well be proved. Indeed there is no foundation at all for such an exegesis. But how shall we expound, if not in this way? "I am more pleased," says he, "with Theophylact's exposition, καινῷ τρόπῳ, i. e. in another way, under different circumstances; so that καινόν is put for κατὰ καινόν, and καινόν means the same as ἕτερον, i. e. different." Sic! But the difficulty here is, that καινόν does not stand *adverbially*, and so cannot stand for κατὰ καινόν; but, in Matt. 26, 29, it agrees with αὐτό which refers to γέννημα ἀμπέλου; that is, *new* refers to the *fruit of the vine*, and to nothing else. The question then remains in *statu quo:* What is *new wine* in the kingdom of God?

De Wette solves the difficulty, by saying that 'it is called *new* here in reference to the future renovation of all things at Christ's coming. It refers to an ideal celebration of the Supper in a glorified state.' This is hitting the point with more dexterity; but still, even this does not quite satisfy the curious inquirer. Why is the *wine* to be *new*, on the future occasion suggested, any more than the bread, and all things else which belonged to the apparatus for

the occasion? There seems, then, to be no special point in this exegesis? Such an explanation leaves, after all, the main and distinctive difficulty still untouched.

What now if the wine was made *new*, on occasion of the passover, and the epithet *new* refers to this? It is no objection to this view, that the Saviour has said, in Luke 5, 39, that 'the *old* wine is better than the new;' for this has reference merely to the gratification of the taste. It was no object, at the passover-meal, to gratify the taste. Unleavened bread and bitter herbs were the appropriate viands, on that occasion. The sort of wine, therefore, which would least gratify the taste, would seem to be much better in keeping with these. Why may we not understand Jesus then, as saying, that he should no more celebrate a passover or supper with his disciples, until he should sit down with them at the feast which divine love will prepare, in his Father's house which has many mansions? There he is, according to other passages of Scripture (Rev. 3, 20), to *sup* with his followers. It is not the excellence of the viands to which we ought to suppose a reference here to be made. On another occasion, that might be very appropriate. But here something in the heavenly world is referred to, which bears an analogy to the passover and the supper on earth. And what did these celebrate? The first celebrated the deliverance of God's people from the destroying angel who smote the Egyptians, and their deliverance too from the yoke of bondage; the second the deliverance from eternal death and from the bondage of sin, through the death of Christ. How natural now to refer to the renewal of such a celebration in the world of glory! To speak of the wine exhibited at that feast as new, was as much according to the usages and views of the time when this was uttered, as to characterize the nature and object of the feast to be renewed in the world of light and love. The circumstance that the wine was more or less grateful to the taste, is here left out of the question. It is a renewal of the glorious jubilee of freedom—of eternal deliverance, which constitutes the main point in the discourse. And the simple fact of saying that the wine was to be *new*, at once pointed out to the disciples the nature and object of the future feast.

All literal eating or drinking I understand, of course, is to be

excluded by the nature of the case. But the diction assumes its particular hue, because it is borrowed from literal usages. The whole becomes, when thus understood and interpreted, fraught with significant and beautiful sentiment. Construed in the usual way, it either violates the common principles of philology, or else has but an imperfect and one-sided meaning, which is incapable of any satisfactory explanation.[1]

So much for the *new wine*, most probably drunk at the first Lord's Supper. *Is it obligatory on Christians to employ it now?*

I think not. I am fully persuaded, that the use of it at first was merely accidental, that is, merely because on that occasion no other was at hand. Any other would have been equally significant, and is so now. Enough, that an element which may fairly and appropriately symbolize *the blood of Christ*, is used. This is the essence of the celebration by this element. Where the essence is well provided for and fairly exhibited, the Lord's Supper is duly celebrated, so far as its material symbols are concerned. The ordinance of the supper is designed to show, that what the bread and wine are to the body for refection and the imparting of strength, the like is the body and blood of Christ to the soul for its spiritual nourishment and growth. This is the sum. It is a great truth which is to instruct, to edify, to exhort, to rebuke, to comfort. It is this, applied by the Holy Spirit, and blessed by him, which makes the sacrament profitable, in a spiritual way, to the worthy partakers.

If any one is still scrupulous about the *kind* of wine, and thinks that we must copy exactly the original model, because the Saviour has said, "This do in remembrance of me;" then why does he not reason in the same way with respect to the bread? It is clear that *unleavened* bread only was used in the first celebration. No other could be had. And why does he not extend this to the kind

[1] Perhaps, after all, the curious inquirer might ask, Whether the future *new wine* here spoken of, may not rather imply distinction and antithesis in respect to that which was then present? Or, he might ask, If the epithet *new* is to be urged as in the text, and cannot be understood in some such way as that which De Wette above suggests (p. 509), how are we then to understand the *new song* of Rev. 14, 3? or the *new name* of Rev. 2, 17? See above on p. 475. —Ed.

of room in which the Supper is to be celebrated, viz. in an upper loft? Why not to the form of the table or triclinium; to the position, lying down on the left arm; to the dress of the guests; to the kind of furniture; to the season of the celebration, at evening? The scrupulous man, who perplexes himself so much about the wine, holds himself quite free and easy in regard to all these things; and yet they belong as much to the *This do*, as the wine which is to be employed on the occasion.

Of one thing we are certain. Neither Jesus nor his apostles have once made mention of οἶνος, *wine*, still less of any particular οἶνος, in any prescriptions concerning this ordinance. It is the *fruit of the vine* and the *cup*, of which they have spoken. They have therefore left the churches at liberty to choose the 'fruit of the vine' in what way they judge best. There is only this implication throughout, viz. that the *significancy* of the symbol should not be sacrificed nor obscured, and that all should be done decently and in order. More than this cannot be shown. It is out of question about establishing any certainty, that Jesus and his disciples made use of wine that had been fermented. The probability, at least, is strongly against this. And on the other hand, it is equally out of question about enforcing a strict and literal use of *new* wine on this occasion; because the use of it, if it was employed at the first institution of the Lord's Supper, was evidently the mere result of their present circumstances, and not of any choice on the ground that one particular species of wine was deemed specially important.

One other question, moreover, intimately connected with this subject, here presents itself. In case the Saviour and his disciples did employ the common fermented wine of Palestine, *did they drink it pure, or diluted with water?*

As to any decision of this from the New Testament, by any express prescription, or any certain implication, from what is said, it is in vain to look for it. Nothing is said respecting it. Inference from circumstances is all which is left us as a ground of argument. What then is the probability, as gathered in this way?

It will be conceded by all reasonable interpreters, that it is probable the *usual* method of drinking wine among the Jews was practised. And what was this? Among sober men in Roman and

Grecian countries, we know from abundant testimony, as Athenæus has shown us in his Deipnosophist, that wine was always drunk by mingling it with water. Among the Hebrews we cannot well suppose less of prudent caution to exist; certainly not among men of piety and virtue. Accordingly, when eternal Wisdom prepares her feast, "she *mingles* her wine" (Prov. 9, 2), that is, she dilutes it with water, that it may be fitted to drink. "Wine and milk," the thirsty are invited to come and take, Is. 55, 1. There is a mingling of wine with intoxicating drugs, sometimes spoken of in Scripture, which is the opposite of this; and such a mingling is designed to make it stronger. But there is no room to suppose any thing of this nature here. The customs of the day make it nearly certain, that if wine was drunk at the passover, which was fermented and therefore intoxicating, it must have been drunk with water. We cannot indeed absolutely prove that this was done, when the Supper was instituted; but the facts stated above render it altogether probable.

There is another way, however, in which light may be cast on this part of our subject. This is by reference to the usages of the early churches, during the first four or five centuries of the Christian era. What then were these usages? How did those churches suppose the ordinance was to be celebrated, so far as it concerns the state in which the wine was to be received?

Happily our answer to this question is plain and certain. So far back as the time of Justin Martyr (fl. A. D. 140), the testimony begins respecting this subject, and there is a continued series of it which puts the matter past all reasonable doubt.

It would seem that the ancient church thought little or nothing of the question, as to what particular sort of wine was drunk at the original institution of the Lord's Supper. It was the current and general belief, that *red* wine, such as Palestine more usually affords, was exhibited; but the colour was generally regarded as a thing of little or no consequence, and therefore placed among the *ἀδιάφορα*.[1] Not so, however, in regard to the *mingling* of the wine with water. The fact that this custom was universal, shows, it must be conceded, that the churches in general regarded it as probable, that the

[1] See Augusti, Denkwürd. VIII. p. 290 sq.

Saviour had employed fermented wine. But however this may be, the object of mingling wine with water was twofold: first, and more specially, to avoid all approach to intoxication; secondly, to render it as a table-drink more palatable to the taste, and more adapted to quench thirst. In general the Gentile churches cannot be supposed to have known the peculiar scruples of the Jews about the wine at their passover, much less the grounds of them. The custom of drinking common wine at the sacramental ordinance, (which was certainly a very early one, for it must have been practised by the church at Corinth, as appears from the passage of Scripture under examination,) was adopted independently of Jewish scruples. There was no particular reason why churches should shun the use of חֹמֶץ, certainly no such reason as influenced a Jew. Whatever then was the wine drunk by Christ and his disciples, it would not, since no precept is given in respect to the *kind*, be regarded as a model which must be obligatory. It was not so. The fact that the early churches made use of common wine stands unquestioned and unquestionable. Thence the custom that we now inquire after, viz. that of mingling their wine with water at the sacramental table.

The Greek and Latin Fathers are full of references to this usage. The Greeks had two names for the wine when duly prepared for the Lord's Supper: viz. *κρᾶμα*, *mixture*, (from the verb *κεράννυμι*,) and *κράσις*, which properly signifies *the act of mingling*, but was also employed in a passive sense for *mixture*. In exact correspondence with this, the Latin fathers use *mixtum* and *temperatum*, i. e. mixed, tempered. Wherever we find these appropriate names, in reference to the liquid element at the table of the Lord, there we find the idea definitely conveyed, that the wine had been mingled with water.

Let us begin our testimony with Justin Martyr, who speaks of the Lord's Supper, and in designating the elements of it, he says: "*τοῦ εὐχαρισθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος*, i. e. the bread blessed, and wine and water."[1] Irenæus speaks of the *temperamentum calicis*, employed in the eucharist;[2] and again he says: "Quando *mistus calix* et fractus panis, percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi,"[3] that is, "when the *mingled cup* and

[1] In Apolog. II. [2] Hær. IV. 57. [3] Ibid. V. 11.

the broken bread perceives the word of God, it becomes the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ." Cyprian of Carthage, in the beginning of the third century, has a passage too long to transcribe, but which I must translate:[1] "You know we are admonished, that the tradition of the Lord should be regarded in offering the cup; nor should any thing be done by us different from that which the Lord formerly did for us; so that the cup, which is offered in commemoration, should be offered mingled with wine. For when Christ says, *I am the true vine*, the blood of Christ is not water but wine." With this view he goes on to refute some who employed only water in the cup. In the sequel he comes to show, that water symbolizes the baptism of Christ, and wine his blood. Both therefore, as he avers, must be united. This he confirms in the following manner: "If wine only is offered, the blood of Christ begins to be without us. If water only is offered, the people begin to be without Christ. But when both are mingled and joined together in one entire amalgamation, then is completed the spiritual and heavenly sacrament. *Thus the cup of the Lord is not water alone, nor wine alone, but both commingled.*" He then goes on to show, that in like manner water is mingled with the other element, viz. the bread. In the sequel, he speaks of neglecting this custom, and says that the neglect may be venial, where it proceeds from ignorance, and then adds: "But for us, who are admonished and instructed of the Lord, that we should offer the cup mixed with wine, in accordance with what Christ did, we cannot be pardoned," in case we neglect to do this.

The third Council of Carthage (A. D. 253) declare themselves in the same way: "In the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, nothing should be offered more than what the Lord himself has taught us, namely, *panis et vinum aquæ mixtum*, i. e. bread and wine mingled with water."[2]

In the same way speak Basil, in his Liturgy; Gregory of Nyssa, Orat. Catechet. cap. 37; Ambrose, Lib. V. c. 1, De Sacramentis; Chrysostom, in Liturgia; Augustine, De Doct. Christ. IV. c. 21; Proclus, de Tradit. Liturg.; Theodoret, Dial. I. So also Beda, Damascenus, Rabanus Maurus, Paschasius, Nicephorus

[1] Opp. p. 191 sq. [2] Can. 24.

Callistus, Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas, and innumerable others. Finally, the Council of Trent have fixed on using the κρᾶμα or *mixtum*, as the universal rule for celebrating the Lord's Supper.

That at some periods there were those who called in question this usage, or at least regarded it as a matter of indifference, is clear from what the Council of Trulla (A. D. 692) deemed it necessary to decide, when they denounce *Encratiles*, viz. those who use nothing but water, and also the Armenians who used pure wine. Theophylact, Nicephorus, and many others, have spoken in the same way.

But although now and then a solitary voice was raised in favour of wine only, or water only, yet the opinion that the mixture of both was the proper element, seems to have been held with more general and longer continued unanimity, than almost any other matter of antiquity which pertained to rites or forms. One might almost literally say of it: QUOD UNUM, QUOD SEMPER, QUOD UBIQUE.

The facts of later usage, then, are clear; I mean, simply, later than the apostolic age; for our testimony reaches to the very confines of this. What remains, then, to be said or thought, in relation to this part of our subject?

One thing, at least, is very obvious; and this is, that those persons whom we often find manifesting great zeal about the use of pure wine, at the sacrament, and expressing what they deem to be a holy horror and indignation at the thought of *tempering* the wine, can have informed themselves but very little about the usages of the churches in primitive days. Indeed this matter is so very plain, that one is astonished to see persons, of a grave cast and sedate character, willing to expose themselves to the charge of ignorance so profound as their zeal implies, in a matter that lies so upon the very surface of ancient ecclesiastical history. Their motives I do not attempt to impeach. But their zeal might surely be directed in a more intelligent and enlightened way.

On the other hand, all attempts to enforce the renewal of the practice in question, by urging *obligation*, seem to be equally unfounded. Even the Council of Trent dared not to vouch for it, that the Scriptures have *enjoined* any such thing. They merely place it on this ground: 'The *tradition* of the churches demands it.' As to the fact of tradition, they are unquestionably in the right; but

as to the obligation, Protestant churches believe, or ought to believe, that the Scriptures are the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice.

Enough of this topic. What is not matter of command in the Bible, certainly of express advice, is matter of discretion with the church. She is free to do as circumstances may demand.

It is to be hoped that such matters as these may soon cease to agitate our churches. There is, or ought to be, too much light abroad among us to render it tolerable, that churches and ministers of the Gospel should be disputing about matters such as these. When men shall have done with making commands by their own authority for the churches, these disputes will of course be terminated. And why should not every church be left to follow its own judgment as to expediency in such things? If the significancy of the symbol is preserved, then the ordinance is safe and sound. The ancient fathers said, that because blood and water issued from the wounded side of Christ, therefore wine (the representative of blood) and water ought to be used at the sacramental table. We may pay reverence to the feeling which prompted this sentiment; but we are not bound to assent to its logic. Above all, we are not bound to cleave to *brandied* wines, and these undiluted, as the only fit representative or symbol of a Saviour's dying blood. Yet so little is needed even of these, for the due celebration of the sacrament, that it would seem to be little less than a kind of superstition to declaim vehemently against them. If particular communicants are injured by them, or old and sinful appetites are revived in strength by the mere taste of them, then, in the name of all that is edifying, and charitable, and generous, let persons who suffer in this way have the ancient *mixed cup*—mixed to such a degree as shall guard against the danger! It must be something worse than even superstition, which would seriously object to this.

The substance of the ordinance, as to its externals, is significant symbolization of the broken body and blood that was shed of Christ. Let it be remembered, then, that the action of *breaking* the bread is one of the significancies; and this will exclude *wafers*, already made to hand. The *pouring out* is a part of the symbolic significancy of the blood poured out; and so the fruit of the vine must be in the liquid shape, in order that it may be poured out. I

do not say that either of these is so necessary as to render null the ordinance, when it is neglected. I only say, that the appropriate significancy of the ordinance cannot be fully attained without these circumstances. I would not insist on any one kind of bread; nor on any one kind of wine; and where neither could be attained, I would not hesitate to use any other similar elements which go to support animal life and health. But when the elements are attainable, that compare well with those originally employed, I would always prefer them.

It is time to pass on to the consideration of some other parts of the passage of Scripture before us.

This is my body which is broken for you . . . This cup is the New Testament in my blood.

With the interminable controversies about the meaning of these words, and the like ones in the Gospels, every reader is somewhat acquainted. The history of them is no part of my present object. The simple and necessary meaning of the words, as decided by the laws of exegesis, is what I aim at.

My first remark is, that of no two substances, or real concrete existences, differing of course in their attributes and accidents from each other, can it possibly be said with truth, that *the one is the other*. When I say, *God is a rock*, I cannot say he is one in a literal sense, unless indeed I am a stupid heathen and believe a rock in verity to be essentially divine. Of course, in the latter case, I do not believe that God is a *Spirit*. But so long as I do believe that he is a Spirit, it is impossible for me, as a rational man, to say that God is a rock, and mean any thing more than that he is one in a figurative sense, that is, that he is an immovable and safe bulwark and defence, or rather an adequate protector and defender. I may well and truly say, 'John is king, is a nobleman, is a husbandman, is a mechanic, is a lawyer, a physician, a pastor,' and the like; because all these are mere *offices* which he holds, or *qualifications* which he possesses. But I cannot say that John is *James*, unless indeed I mean that he has merely two names instead of one. And so in every possible case. One substance or person cannot be another substance or person, for the plain and simple reason, that *two* substances or persons are not *one* person or substance. In all this I assume merely that it is impossible for a thing to be and not

to be, at one and the same time. This is so self-evident, that it is even incapable of any demonstration. It needs but to be stated, in order to be recognised and believed in the fullest possible manner, even without the consent of the will, if such a case were possible.

But if the sacramental bread is the actual body of Christ, then is it two different substances at one and the same time—a thing absolutely impossible. Even the Romanists see and endeavour to avoid the absurdity of this; for they aver, that after the consecration *it changes its nature*, and becomes what it was not before, namely, the body of Christ. But what is the evidence of this? All our senses decide against it, and how can they deceive us in such a matter? They may deceive us in some things, for a little while, and repeated trial may be necessary for full confirmation. But here the conclusion remains the same, after trials repeated ever so often. We cannot force any of our senses to recognise flesh and blood in the bread and wine of the sacrament; and how can we bring ourselves, then, to discredit what they do testify?

The Lutheran idea of *con*-substantiation, that is, that the body and blood of Christ are *on, in, and under* the bread and wine, does not much help the matter. Do our senses recognise the presence of body and blood? They do not. What is the evidence, then, that such is the fact? It is, say its advocates, the assurance of Christ, that his body and blood are on, in, and under the bread and wine. But where has Christ so said? I can find no passage like this in all the Scriptures. The Romanists are, in fact, nearer to his *words* here than the strenuous Lutherans. *This is my body; this is my blood;* such, it must be confessed, are the words of Christ in the Gospels. If a literal interpretation now must be given, the Romanists come the nearest to it. But how can they make this out? If the elements be veritably a human body and human blood, the breaking with the hands and the pouring out from the cup are neither of them possibilities. For a body to be *broken* and blood to be *poured out*, in such a case, it would be necessary that instruments of violence and of death should be employed. The fact of the breaking and the pouring out shows of itself, that the elements are in reality bread and wine still, even after the consecration. And to show that Christ's body and blood are *on, in, and under* the elements, one must give a sense to the words which is

neither literal nor figurative. But what meaning is that which belongs to neither of these classes?

This, however, is not all. When Christ and his apostles first celebrated the ordinance, he was not yet crucified. His body therefore was not yet broken, nor his blood poured out. But it is the *broken* body of Christ, and his blood *poured out*, which the bread and wine are said to be. If then we construe this *literally*, we make out a direct contradiction to facts. We make a thing to be and not to be, at the same time; we make out a broken body before it was broken, and blood poured out before it was poured out. All this, now, is plainly and absolutely impossible. We are forced, then, to consider the bread and wine as *symbols* merely, or else to give up the fundamental principles of human reason.

Nor is even this all. We may well ask, and we are bound to ask, What is the moral use or fitness of a literal eating of human flesh and blood? The Jewish legislator had the greatest horror of human sacrifices. The Bible everywhere exhibits a horror of it. And is the most sacred and sanctifying of all rites, then, to consist, under the mild and godlike dispensation of the gospel, of eating real human flesh and drinking human blood? Is this act of cannibalism, (forgive me, for what else can I name it?) then, the way of nearest approach to an all-perfect and glorious Redeemer? The literal act of eating human flesh and drinking human blood—is this to be our highest and noblest act of acceptable devotion, and to sanctify our souls? It is inconceivable; it is incredible; it is quite impossible, unless the very nature of God and man and all religion be changed.

Once more; when the sacrament is celebrated in all parts of the earth at one and the same time, (as it may be,) or in Europe and Asia, how is Christ's human body and blood to be present, and to be literally eaten and drunk at the same time? What kind of dimensions must this body have? And how can a human body be ubiquitous? Or, if the glorified body of the Saviour be meant, why should this be resembled to some Typhœus of old in fable and song? I speak, however, only of his *human* body and blood; for these are the very things which are asserted to be eaten and drunk, but which, however, cannot be eaten and drunk unless they actually exist.

This leads us to another consideration; which is, that the body and blood of Christ, as merely *human*, as proper flesh and blood, no longer exist anywhere. The apostle has told us in so many perfectly plain words, that "*flesh and blood* cannot inherit the kingdom of God;" and we know from the same authority, that the saints' bodies, after their resurrection, are to be "made *like* to Christ's glorious body." Now if flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, then Christ is no longer flesh and blood. How then can we eat and drink that which does not exist anywhere? It is not what Christ once *was*, that we are to partake of, according to the views in question, but what he now *is*. It is the now *living* bread, not that which lived eighteen hundred years ago. But this living and proper flesh and blood is not—is nowhere to be found. In heaven it cannot be, if Paul is in the right; on earth it has not been for these eighteen centuries. How then are we to *feed* on what does not exist anywhere, neither in heaven nor on earth?

I may be told, however, that 'it is Christ's *glorified* body which we are to feed upon.' But what does this mean? A glorified body, which the apostle says, in 1 Cor. c. 15, is a *spiritual body*—how is this to be *eaten* and *drunk* in a literal sense? What possible meaning or reason is there in such a suggestion? A *spiritual* substance literally eaten and drunk! The only thing to be said, is the same thing which a more reasonable enthusiast than the Romanists said long ago, in reference to another matter: *Credo, quia impossibile est.* Even this, however, will not save the case. It is really neither more nor less than a downright absurdity.

Besides all that has been suggested, I may add, that the form of the text lying at present before us, offers an inexplicable difficulty to the advocates of transubstantiation or of consubstantiation. What says it? *This cup is the New Testament in my blood.* We are told that faith believes, and must believe, the exact words of Scriptrue just as they present themselves to us respecting the sacrament of the Supper; the exact words, that is, taken in their *literal* sense. Let us put to the test this principle so often and so highly lauded by some. How stands the present matter? This *cup*—not the wine, but the *cup*—is what? Is the *New Testament in my blood.* A cup, then, is a *New Testament;* yea, a New Testament in the

blood of Christ! And what meaning, pray, has this declaration, when literally taken? No possible meaning, the Romanists themselves and all the mystics being judges. But is not Paul's authority as good as that of either of the Evangelists? Are his words less sacred, less intangible, than theirs? If not, why then must Paul's words be *tropically* or *figuratively* interpreted, and those of the Evangelists literally construed? The downright and inexpressible absurdity of Paul's words, if we literally interpret them, deter all men even from the attempt to do so. But in the case of *This is my body and this is my blood*, there is a little more room for mysticism to exert itself, and a little less of glaring and revolting absurdity. Yet, when searched to the bottom, the literal exposition of these words is not a whit less absurd than the like exposition would be of Paul's words.

I must appeal to what has already been said above, for illustrating and confirming this; and go on to make a few more suggestions in relation to the proper exegesis that ought to be given to the passage under consideration.

It is an idiom which pervades the Old and New Testament Scriptures, that when one thing is compared to another, or one thing symbolizes or represents another, by far the more usual method of expressing this, is to say that *one thing is another*. Now and then we have the assertion in plain words, that one thing is *like* another; but the declaration that it *symbolizes* or *represents* another, it would be difficult to find. Here the universal idiom is: One thing *is* another!

It would be easy to exhibit proofs that this statement is correct, beginning with the book of Genesis and ending with the Apocalypse. I must content myself with a moderate number of examples. When Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream, he says, "The seven kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years—and the seven thin and ill-favoured kine are seven years, and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine." So Isaiah, in his parable respecting the vineyard: "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant." So with Daniel: "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom—and the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise," 7, 23. 24. Again:

" The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia; the rough goat is the king of Grecia; the great horn between his eyes is the first king," 8, 20. 21. So in Zechariah; this prophet sees seven lamps, and two olive-trees supplying them with oil; and he inquires of the angel, what these are; the angel's answer is: " This is the word of the Lord to Zerubbabel, and the two olive-trees are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth," Zech. c. 4. So in the discourses of our Saviour: ' The seed sown by the way-side, is he that heareth the word and speedily hath it taken from him by the wicked one; the seed sown in stony places is he that heareth the word, and speedily loseth it by reason of offence; the seed among thorns, is he that heareth the word, and in whom it is speedily choked by riches; good seed in good ground, is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it, and bringeth forth much fruit.' So in the parable of the tares: ' The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels;' Matt. 12, 13. So in the Apocalypse: " The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches;" 1, 20. We find the like, moreover, in a multitude of other cases.

Nor is such language at all confined to prophecy and parable. To bring the matter as near home as possible, let us see what is said of Christ himself. ' He is the true light; he is the true vine; he is the way; he is the truth; he is the life; he is the resurrection; he is the good shepherd; he is the door;' and so of a multitude of other declarations of a similar tenor, in respect to all or any of which one might act the *mystic*, with as much consistency as the literal expounders of the sacramental words are wont to do. Food never can be wanting to gratify such an appetite. Every page of the Bible will supply it, if it may be treated in this manner.

But here I shall be met with loud remonstrances from the literal interpreters, and asked with an aspect full of rebuke, ' What! Are we then to set aside the Saviour's own words—*This is my body—this is my blood?* Is he not to be believed, on his own express declaration? Dare you do away the force of his words, and mar

all their excellence and beauty, by putting your own *figurative* interpretation upon them? What is this but to sacrifice the very life of Scripture to the vain reasonings of a skeptical mind?'

It requires no great force of intellect, is my answer, to utter such rebuke, or invent such an apology as this. It is merely marching upon an old and hackneyed road, travelled, time out of mind, by all mystics and literal interpreters. Whenever such a man is resolved to carry through his own peculiar scheme of religion, so often as he cannot meet the objections which are brought against its extravagance and incongruity, he finds an easier way than appeal to argument and reason. He insists vehemently upon the simple declaration of the Scripture *literally* taken; and if any one will not receive it in that very shape, he stands convicted in his view of skepticism and opposition to the word of God.

I have, however, in despite of all this, been uniformly in the habit of supposing, that it is an established and immutable law of interpretation, that wherever we meet with a text of Scripture which, if literally construed, would make an absurd, an impossible, an inept, or a frigid sense, we are not only authorized but required to interpret it as having a *tropical* meaning. On any other ground, the Bible would most palpably be a book fraught with absurdities; and so would any other book.

But let us put to the test the mystic's principle, in a plain and easy way. *God is a rock; God is our sun; God is our shield.* Here then for the moment, I must, in order fully to illustrate what I mean to say, insist on a *literal* sense. But the mystic starts up with horror and indignation, and asks me, with a frowning and contemptuous aspect, whether I will presume to degrade the Almighty by asserting that he is literally a rock, or the sun, or a shield. Very well; and what is my reply? Merely what his own was, a moment since. 'How dare you now dispute the express declarations of the Bible? How dare you, by your glosses made out from your own scheme of theology, put an interpretation on the sacred and immutable words of the Holy Ghost—an interpretation, too, which does away all the force of the Scriptural declarations, and removes all the mystery which necessarily belongs to them?'

What has he now to answer? He will tell me, that my inter-

pretation is *unreasonable ;* that it represents God as being something contrary to what he is represented elsewhere in the Bible ; that it makes him material, finite, mutable, and the like. But how easily can I reply, (if his former ground is well chosen,) and say, 'It is only your vain and carnal reasoning which so concludes. All this is only appealing to *reason*—to your *own* reason—as a standard, and then judging the whole matter by that. Reason has surely nothing to do with such a matter ; faith—faith is the all in all. Your reason, forsooth, finds inconsistencies ; your reason concludes that such an interpretation would be degrading to God ; your reason undertakes, therefore, to mould the words of Scripture and give them a new shape. Presumptuous and daring man ! How can you set up your darkened and erring and carnal reason against the plain and express declarations of eternal truth ? Your business is to *believe*, and not to reason. You ought to fall down and adore what you cannot comprehend. Why should you presumptuously undertake to examine and to scan it ?'

What now has this mystic to say for himself ? He may say, perhaps, that the two cases are not alike ; but this will not avail him. It is in his system, and for his purposes only, that they are not alike. Nothing can be plainer, than that it is in every way quite as consonant with the first principles of our rational nature, to say that God is a rock, is the sun, is a shield, as to say, that Christ, living now in heaven, is still flesh and blood, is eaten and drunk in a literal sense, and that he remains the same complete identical person, undivided and unmangled, while his flesh is in every part of the earth divided and masticated, and his blood distributed and swallowed down into the stomachs of countless human beings. I appeal to all that is sober reason on earth, whether the latter is not even a more revolting absurdity than the former.

One word on this so much lauded, and so often undefined, *faith.* What is true faith ? It is believing what God has revealed. It does not consist in believing what he has not revealed. The belief of science, moreover, is not faith, and the belief of superstition is not faith. Faith is believing in things unseen, on the credit of revelation, or of God's word. This is plain. But what next ? The next is, that we must first know what his word

says, or means, in order to believe with a true faith. It is the real *meaning* of Scripture which we are to believe. And how is this to be attained? I know of only two ways; the one by the laws of interpretation; the other by a new revelation. Those who make claim to the latter, are bound to establish their claim by working miracles; and when they do, we will begin to examine their claims *de novo*. Those who admit only the former method of finding the meaning of Scripture, are bound to abide by the laws of interpretation. We have no other standard of appeal.

These laws now decide, that an impossible, an absurd, a frigid, an inept meaning, can be no true meaning. A different supposition would virtually deny the common sense and intelligence of the sacred writers.

What is it then which determines and settles the laws of interpretation? If it be not *reason*, what is it? Are the laws of interpretation which are made without reason, laws to be followed and obeyed? If not, then reason has something to do in preparing for the work of faith. It has to settle, by some proper laws of interpretation, what is to be believed. Faith then performs her office, and believes.

Of what use, then, to insist on renouncing reason, in matters of religion? Why do you believe there is a God? Not because the Scriptures prove it; for they do not. You believe it, then, because reason proves it. But if the Scriptures did prove it, by what faculty would you judge of the weight of the argument presented? By this same slandered reason. What is it that judges of the sufficiency of evidence, that the Bible is the word of God? Is it not reason? Or is this matter to be settled and acquiesced in without reason?

I might go further still. We will even suppose that the church is to decide for all Christians, what they are to believe. How then is the church herself to make the decisions? With reason, or without it? If without it, whence her authority to bind us? Even if the Pope is the sovereign arbiter of faith, how is he to make his decisions as to the meaning of Scripture? With reason, or without it? And when Christians are called on to put implicit faith in their spiritual guides as interpreters of the Scriptures for

them ; are they to be persuaded to do this by good sound reason, or without it ?

Who does not see, now, that it is the very essence of absurdity, to pretend to decry and thrust out reason in matters of religion ? It is all a farce. What mystics mean, then, is neither more nor less, than that their word is reason, their decisions law, their interpretations orthodoxy, and that all church power is therefore to be intrusted to their hands, and the faith of the world to be moulded by their views of reason. This is the simple state and ultimatum of the matter, when it is examined to the bottom.

But what binds all Christians to such a submission ? What binds me to follow an interpretation of the Bible which I see to be absurd ? I am bound to interpret the Bible for myself, so far as I can ; and so is every other Christian, as well as I. Who has been made an authoritative interpreter, by Christ, or by his apostles ? Where is he designated ?

A man must show me, then, some good reason for believing that I eat and drink the body and blood of Christ in the literal sense, before I can possibly believe that such is the meaning of the sacramental language of Scripture. My faith is in the true *meaning* of the Bible ; not in the mere form of its words. No meaning that is absurd, contradictory, degrading, inept, frigid, can be true. And all these in combination, belong to the interpretation of the mystics put upon the Saviour's words at the first institution of the sacrament.

And why such demands upon us, in this matter of eating and drinking Christ's body and blood ? In what way can it ever be shown, or rendered at all probable, that such *material* participation of him is either essential to our salvation or advances our sanctification ? " The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Verily it is the Spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that the Saviour speaks, " they are spirit, and they are life," John 6, 63. In other phraseology : It is divine truth which quickens, which converts, which sanctifies the soul ; not indeed without the influence of the Spirit of God, but it is the chosen instrument by which that Spirit operates. " The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation." " It is the truth whereby Christ makes his followers free."

"It is of God's own will, that he begets or regenerates us by the word of his truth." "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimonies of the Lord are sure, making wise the simple." Moral change is brought about only by means of moral truth. It is not rites and forms which can possibly change the soul or sanctify it; it is only the instruction that they are adapted to convey, which performs this work.

What other advantage, then, can we expect to reap from sacramental ordinances, than that which results from the truths which they teach? These ordinances, properly administered, convey in a most lively manner an impression of the love, the sufferings, and the death of Christ;—great truths, which must be salutary in their influence, unless the good that they may do is hindered by a perverse state of mind. Symbol is a lively and interesting mode of instruction. It has always been resorted to; and it ever may be, with great advantage, when properly managed. And it is in this way, that good may be reasonably expected from the symbols of Christ's broken body, and of his blood that was shed.

On the other hand, to expect holiness from the simple act of eating and drinking—of eating human flesh and drinking human blood—what is this but an airy, mystical, superstitious expectation? The mere *agere actum* of a matter, sanctifying of itself the soul by a mysterious and inexplicable operation! I appeal to the moral nature of man, and to all that is known of the means of grace, whether such a position is not altogether irrational and visionary.

'But you do away all the *mystery* of the Gospel, by such positions.' Not at all. "God manifest in the flesh" is still the same mystery. A thousand things in the work of redemption are still mysteries. But let us not make puerilities into mysteries. Gospel-mysteries are not improbabilities, incongruities, impossibilities; they are something to excite our wonder, and to command our veneration, but not to offend the first principles of our reason, and to annihilate the evidence of our senses. Every true mystery must, I readily concede, have something about it which is incapable of explanation; but every thing inexplicable because it is absurd and contradictory is not a mystery; above all, it is not one of the gospel-mysteries.

From the words before us, then, in 1 Cor. 11, 24, we may gather that the bread and the cup are *symbols*, bringing to mind the death of Christ, and setting it forth in a lively and impressive manner. In a word, they are *memorials of his dying love.*

So says the apostle himself. "This is my body, broken for you. This do"—for what purpose? to what end? "This do *in remembrance of me.*" So with the cup. "This do in remembrance of me." The original Greek is more plain and certain than our English mode of expression. "This do εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, for the sake of, for the purpose of calling me to mind." This shows the object or end in view, by sacramental eating and drinking. The apostle claims no mystical design in this case; no inexplicable operations or end of the rite. It is simple, intelligible, altogether obvious to every reflecting mind.

If we are asked, now, whether the sacrament is not a *sanctifying* ordinance, our answer would be, that so far as it brings truth to mind and impresses it upon us, it is so. It has a common influence with other ministrations of the truth. Its peculiar solemnity entitles it to a high place among the means of impressing divine truth upon us—that truth which is of high and holy import.

One other circumstance should be noted here. The apostle has told us what is achieved by the sacramental rite; and of course he has told us what its leading object is. Let us hear him: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." He does not say, that so often as this is done, all are made actual partakers of the flesh and blood of Christ; but that his death is showed forth, declared, symbolized, by the due performance of this rite. Plainly this would be accomplished; and it is equally plain, that this must be the direct object in view when the rite is performed.

The Romanists, who deny the cup to the laity, will find it difficult to dispose, in a satisfactory way, of the text just cited. The eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup are joined together by the apostle, and made severally and jointly necessary to showing forth the Lord's death. On what authority, then, can one of these be omitted? Or how do they show forth the Lord's

death in a becoming manner, who reject the symbol of his blood that was shed?

I have only a few remarks to make on the close of the passage which I have undertaken to examine. What is the eating and drinking unworthily? And what is eating and drinking κρίμα, *condemnation*, to one's self?

In the passage before us, the ἀναξίως, *unworthily*, beyond all doubt, refers to the party spirit and the pampered state in which the Corinthians approached the table of the Lord. Μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου, says Paul, that is, not being able to distinguish the proper showing forth of the Lord's death, by the elements of the Supper. They were in any state rather than in a devout and humble one, when they came to the table in such circumstances. Hence the duty was not performed in an appropriate manner. And hence the κρίμα, *condemnation*, of their demeanour. Hence some of them had been chastised by infirmities and sickness; yea, some had even been chastised unto death; καὶ κοιμῶνται ἱκανοί. If they would avoid these consequences, Paul admonishes them that they must avoid the sins which occasioned them. He tells them to come to the Lord's Supper with self-examination, with becoming trial of their state. They should pass judgment on themselves, and then it would be unnecessary that they should be brought under condemnation by the divine tribunal.

That it was a sin to approach the Lord's table in such a state of mind as the Corinthians indulged, is quite clear. That it was an *unpardonable* sin, can be made out on no proper ground. The fact that some were chastened even unto natural death, does not prove that their sin might not be forgiven, nor that they were absolutely impenitent to the last. It might be a very proper arrangement by a wise and holy Providence, that gross offenders should meet with condign chastisement, in order to deter others from the commission of the like sin. Still, pardon might be extended to all true believers, notwithstanding their error. Doubtless he who loved his own, loved them to the end; although it might at the same time be true, that he rebuked and chastened them.

All light or irreverent behaviour, then, or any state of mind which gives rise to it, at the Lord's table, is a sin, and exposes us to the divine displeasure and to God's righteous rebuke. Nothing

can ever be drawn from the passage before us, to show that a light and ordinary state of mind at the Lord's Supper does not deserve, and may not be followed by, severe chastisement from the great Head of the Church. I doubt not, that in the primitive age of Christianity there were some special developments of this nature, and for important purposes; but the same God and Saviour still reigns, and he does not love holiness, nor hate sin, less now than he did then. A profanation of the sacramental ordinance, in any respect whatever, now and evermore, must be peculiarly offensive in his sight.

V.

THE COMING OF CHRIST:

AS ANNOUNCED IN MATT. XXIV. 29–31.

By the Editor.

Our Lord had taken his final leave of the temple and its courts; and in departing had uttered over it the dread prediction, soon to be so fearfully accomplished: "Verily, I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down."[1] Retiring with his disciples to the Mount of Olives, he seated himself upon the heights over against the temple, where its courts and edifices, as well as the whole city, were spread out as on a map before him. Here, four of the disciples, Peter and James, and John and Andrew,[2] propose to him privately the following inquiry:

[1] Matt. 24, 2. Mark 13, 2. Luke 21, 6. [2] Mark 13, 3.

Matt. xxiv. 3.	Mark xiii. 4.	Luke xxi. 7.
Εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, πότε ταῦτα ἔσται; καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας καὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος;	*Εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, πότε ταῦτα ἔσται; καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ πάντα ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι;*	*Διδάσκαλε, πότε οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται; καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι;*
Tell us, when shall these things be? and what the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?	Tell us, when shall these things be? and what the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?	Master, but when shall these things be? and what the sign when these things shall come to pass?

As the manner in which this inquiry is to be understood, has some bearing upon the main question before us, a few words may here be necessary, in order to set the matter in a proper light. The point to be considered is: To what events was the inquiry of the disciples directed?

Had we only the accounts of Mark and Luke, no difficulty whatever could here arise. They both refer simply and solely to *these things;* that is, the things just spoken by our Lord in respect to the temple—his prophetic annunciation of its total destruction. They ask: "When shall *these things* be? and what the sign when all *these things* shall be fulfilled, or come to pass?" This inquiry then, taken by itself, cannot possibly be referred to any thing but the destruction of the temple; an idea which would naturally connect itself in the minds of the disciples, as it was afterwards connected in fact, with the siege and overthrow of the Holy City.

But Matthew relates the question in a different form: "When shall these things be? and what the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" Here *these things* in the first clause are necessarily the same things as before in Mark and Luke, and can refer only to the destruction of the temple and city. But the "coming" of our Lord and "the end of the world" in the last clause,—do these have respect to the same events? or are they to be regarded as an additional inquiry, referring to that awful day, when the Lord will come to final judgment, and "the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up?"[1] In other words, did the "coming" of our Lord here have respect, in the minds of the in-

[1] 2 Peter 3, 10.

quiring disciples, to the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem, or to the judgment of the last great day ?

Perhaps a correct answer to this question would be, that the disciples in their own minds referred distinctly to neither of these events. They obviously had not, at the time, any definite and distinct notions of that terrible overthrow and subversion of the Jewish people, which was so soon to take place. They were also equally ignorant in respect to the awful events which are to be the accompaniments of the day of judgment and the end of the world. We cannot suppose nor admit, that the inquiry, as Matthew puts it, suggested to their minds the same ideas, nor events of the same character, as the same language, taken by itself, would now suggest to us under the full light of a completed revelation. The Holy Spirit had not yet been given, and even our Lord's most favoured disciples still groped in comparative darkness. A glance at their training and peculiar expectations, may perhaps enable us to perceive, with some degree of distinctness, what they did intend to express by the terms of their inquiry.

The expectation of a Messiah to come, which had long been cherished by the Jewish people, had its foundation in the prophecies of the Old Testament; where the coming of the Messiah, his triumph and his reign, are foretold in the language of poetic fervour and sublimity; especially in the writings of Isaiah and Daniel.[1] His reign is there figuratively described as a golden age, when the true religion, and with it the Jewish throne and theocracy, should be re-established in more than their pristine splendour and purity, and universal peace and happiness should consequently prevail. All this was doubtless to be understood in a spiritual sense. It was the Redeemer's spiritual kingdom that was thus foreshadowed, that "mystery" of God which had been kept "hid from ages," but was now to be revealed to the saints.[2] And so indeed the devout Jews of our Saviour's time, such as Zacharias, Simeon, Anna, Joseph, appear to have received it.[3] But the Jewish people at large gave to these prophecies a temporal meaning. They expected a Messiah

[1] Dan. 2, 44. 7, 14. 27. 9, 25 sq. Is. 2, 1-4 (comp. Mic. 4, 1-4). 11, 1 sq. Jer. 23, 5 sq. 32, 37 sq. 33, 14 sq. Ez. 34, 23 sq. 37, 24 sq. Ps. 2 and 110, etc. etc.

[2] Col. 1, 26.

[3] Luke 1, 67 sq. 2, 25 sq. 36 sq. 23, 50. 51.

who should come in the clouds of heaven; and, as king of the Jewish nation, should restore the ancient religion and worship, reform the corrupt morals of the people, make expiation for their sins, deliver them from the yoke of foreign dominion, exalt them to a pre-eminence over all other nations, and at length reign over the whole earth in peace and glory.[1] A main idea in this mode of representation, was the 'restitution' of all things to the Hebrew nation, and their exaltation to privileges and a rank above the nations of the earth. Their then present condition of humiliation and sorrow was to cease, and be succeeded by a state of power and glory which should never end. The world (so to speak) was to be turned upside down; principalities and thrones were to be cast to the ground, and those who dwelt on dunghills were to be exalted. The coming of the expected Messiah in solemn pomp and glory was to be the signal for these revolutions,—the downfall of the present order of things, and the introduction of the new. The world, as it then was, and now is, was to come to an end; and then all things would become new.

That even our Lord's twelve apostles were deeply imbued with these views and expectations of a temporal prince and Saviour, so long as Jesus lived, and for a time even after his resurrection,—until, indeed, the giving of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost,—is apparent from every part of the sacred narrative. They were still groping in ignorance and darkness; they received Jesus with sincere faith as the promised Messiah; but as to the true character of himself and of his kingdom they had but imperfect conceptions. Their Master often had occasion to rebuke them for their "little faith;" he unfolded to them only gradually the deeper mysteries pertaining to his Gospel; and it was only on the very last evening of his intercourse with them, and after the institution of the Holy Supper, that he spoke openly to them of his departure.[2] Even then they were dull of apprehension; so that our Lord declares them still incapable of receiving the instruction which he would gladly communicate: "I have yet many things to say unto

[1] See Schöttgen Diss. de regno cœlor. in Hor. Heb. I. p. 1147. Wetstein N. T. I. p. 256. Keil Hist. dogm. de regno Mess. in Opuscc. Acad. p. 22. Bertholdt Christol. Judæor. p. 187 sq.

[2] John c. 14. 16.

you, but ye cannot bear them now."[1] No wonder, then, that they looked upon him as one who was about to become a glorious Prince, and reign over the whole earth. In the spirit of this temporal and national expectation, the two disciples, on their way to Emmaus, declared: "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel;" and in the same spirit, after his resurrection, the disciples, when they had come together, "asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"[2]

Such then being the state of knowledge and of expectation in the minds of the disciples at the time of our Lord's passion, it is easy to see, that the above inquiry made by them only a few days earlier, must be judged of and interpreted in accordance with this state of mind and feeling. They awaited a temporal exaltation of their Lord and Master, and a restitution of pre-eminency and glory to the Jewish people; the introduction of this new state would be his "coming," and with this they now connected the overthrow of the temple and city which he had just predicted. His "coming" and the "end of the world" were therefore in their minds to be coeval and identical with the "end" of the then present state of humiliation and depression, and with the commencement of the new and glorious era of the Messiah's temporal reign.

The question, therefore, as reported by Matthew, although it affords us a deeper insight into the views and feelings of the disciples, than as given by Mark and Luke, yet does not differ in its general import from the specifications of the two latter Evangelists.

Does our Lord answer the inquiry of his disciples? Not directly. He first warns them of many deceivers who shall arise. He speaks of famine, pestilence, and earthquakes, as about to occur; which seem here as elsewhere to be emblems of great civil and social commotions. He warns his followers, that they will be exposed to dangers and persecutions on every side; from which, if they endure them with the patience of faith and hope, they shall be delivered.[3] The particular time when these dangers shall break forth upon them, will be when they "shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place."[4]

[1] John 16, 12. [2] Luke 24, 21. Acts 1, 6.
[3] Matt. 24, 4–14. Mark 13, 5–13. Luke 21, 8–19.
[4] Matt. 24, 15. Mark 13, 14.

Instead of this expression, and explanatory of it, Luke points to the time when they "shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies."[1] Then they may know, "that the desolation thereof is nigh." Then will be the time for every one to save himself by flight. Then will the eagles be gathered together over the carcass; "and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."[2]

In close and direct connexion with this representation, follows in Matthew the passage now more immediately to be considered. I subjoin it here in full; and also the parallel verses of Mark and Luke, in which the connexion is equally close and direct, and which have an important bearing upon the right interpretation of the language of Matthew.

Matt. xxiv. 29–31.	Mark xiii. 24–27.	Luke xxi. 24–28.
		24. *Καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρι πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.* 25. *Καὶ ἔσται σημεῖα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ, ἠχούσης θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου,* 26. *ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου καὶ προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ· αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται.*
29. *Εὐθέως δὲ μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων, ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται.* 30. *Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.*	24. *Ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην, ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς,* 25. *καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσονται ἐκπίπτοντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται.* 26. *Καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης.*	27. *Καὶ τότε ὄψονται τῶν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.*
31. *Καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης· καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσι τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν.*	27. *Καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.*	28. *Ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι, ἀνακύψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν· διότι ἐγγίζει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν.*

[1] Luke 21, 20. [2] Matt. 24, 28. Luke 21, 24.

Matt.	Mark.	Luke.
		24. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. (25) And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; (26) men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken. (27) And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. (28) And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.
29. Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. (30) And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn; and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. (31) And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.	24. But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, (25) and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken. 26. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds with great power and glory. (27) And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.	

After these passages our Lord goes on, as reported by all three of the Evangelists, to introduce the similitude of the fig-tree putting forth its buds and leaves as the harbinger of summer. In like manner the disciples, when they shall see all these things taking place, may "know that it (the coming?) is near, even at the door;" or, as Luke more definitely expresses it, they may "know that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand." Then follows immediately a most important designation of time, in which the three Evangelists accord verbatim in the original: "VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, THIS GENERATION SHALL NOT PASS AWAY, TILL ALL THESE THINGS BE FULFILLED."[1]

[1] Matt. 24, 32–34. Mark 13, 28–30. Luke 21, 29–32.

The subject is now before the reader; and the question to be considered is: Whether the language of Matthew in the passage above quoted, is to be referred to the judgment of the last great day; or, rather to the then impending destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation? It is a question on which good men have ever differed; and on which, perhaps, entire unity of opinion is not to be expected, until the night of darkness and ignorance in which we are here enveloped, shall be chased away by the morn of pure light and perfect knowledge.

It is conceded by all, I believe, that the representation as far as to the end of the 28th verse of Matthew, and in the parallel verses of the other Evangelists, applies solely to the overthrow of Jerusalem. Or, if there be still those who would refer any portion of these preceding verses to the judgment-day, it seems to me that they must first show, that the "abomination of desolation" spoken of by Matthew and Luke has nothing to do with the "compassing of Jerusalem with armies," mentioned in the same connexion by Luke; and then, further, that all these things could have no connexion with the "treading down" of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, which Luke goes on to speak of as the result of all these antecedent circumstances. This, however, cannot well be shown, without disregarding every rule of interpretation, and without violating the very first principles of language.

But with the 29th verse a new specification of time is introduced: "*Immediately after* the affliction of those days" shall appear the harbingers of our Lord's coming; and these are depicted in language which elsewhere, it is said, is employed only to describe his coming to the final judgment.[1] The "coming" here meant, is then to be *subsequent* to the downfall of Jerusalem; and can therefore only mean the coming of the Messiah in his kingdom at the judgment day. This opinion is perhaps, at the present time, the most prevalent one among commentators, and even with those whose views in other respects have little in common; as in the case of Olshausen and De Wette.

But on the other hand, it is replied, that the phrase "*immediately after*" indicates a very close connexion of this "coming" of

[1] See Matt. 25, 31 sq. Also the explanation of the parable of the wheat and the tares, Matt. 13, 40. 41.

our Lord with the preceding events; and the Saviour himself goes on to declare, that "this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled." We must then assume, it is said, that the prediction had its fulfilment within a period not long subsequent to our Lord's ministry; or, if it is to be referred to the day of judgment, then we must admit that our Lord was in error, inasmuch as he here foretold that it would take place immediately after the downfall of Jerusalem. For these reasons many commentators have understood the language as applicable only to the destruction of the Holy City; forgetting, apparently, that the very expression which they urge against a remote future application, is equally stringent against an exclusive reference to the latter catastrophe.

It is very obvious that both of these different opinions cannot be true; while it is also very possible, that both of them may be more or less wrong. Before proceeding to develope the manner in which the subject has presented itself to my own mind, it will be necessary to examine the language of the prediction and the attendant circumstances, and to bring into view some other preliminary considerations. All this may be best done under a number of heads, as follows:

I. The destruction of Jerusalem was the topic of our Lord's discourse with his disciples, and the subject of his predictions at the temple and on the mount of Olives, as related by Matthew in c. 24, 1–28 inclusive; and also by Mark and Luke in the parallel verses. This point has been already sufficiently considered; and requires here no further elucidation.

II. The "coming" foretold in v. 29–31 of Matthew, was to be subsequent to the time of the "abomination of desolation," and the compassing of Jerusalem by armies, and also to the "treading down" of the city by the Gentiles. By this latter phrase is usually and rightly understood the capture and destruction of the city by Titus, as related by Josephus. This same event is doubtless shadowed forth in the language of Matthew: "For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together;" not indeed through any verbal allusion to the Roman eagles, as some assume; but in the general application of a proverbial expression, viz. that where the guilty are, there punishment shall find them; or, in other words, the guilty are sure to be overtaken by the divine

punishment.[1] When this catastrophe shall have taken place, then, *immediately after* (εὐθέως μετά) this affliction, there shall be distress and anxiety, and the shaking of the powers of heaven, all which are to accompany and introduce our Lord's coming. The word εὐθέως means literally *straightway*, and implies a succession more or less direct and immediate; so that there can be no doubt, as De Wette justly remarks, that the coming of the Messiah, as here described by Matthew, was *straightway* to follow the destruction of Jerusalem. Indeed no meaning can possibly be assigned to εὐθέως, which will admit of any great delay; much less of an interval so enormous as that between the destruction of the Holy City and the end of the world, as understood by us. From this it is manifest, that "the coming" of Christ here spoken of, as occurring *after* the downfall of Jerusalem, could not be meant to refer solely to that event.

III. Our Lord himself limits the interval within which Jerusalem shall be destroyed and his "coming" take place, to that same generation: *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.* The language is here plain, definite, and express; it cannot be misunderstood, nor perverted. It follows, in all the Evangelists, the annunciation of our Lord's "coming," and applies to it in them all, just as much as it applies to the antecedent declarations respecting Jerusalem; and more directly, indeed, inasmuch as it stands here in a closer connexion.

But what is the meaning of the phrase "this generation"? and what the interval of time thus designated? The specification is, and must be, at any rate, indefinite; for the tide of human life flows on in an unbroken stream, and no man can mark or tell the point where one generation ends and another begins. Yet modern chronology, with some degree of definiteness, reckons three generations in a century; and thus allows to each an interval of thirty-three and a third years, or, more loosely, from thirty to forty years. The ancient Hebrews, on the other hand, appear to have counted a hundred years to each generation. God said to Abraham, that his seed should be afflicted in Egypt four hundred years; but that in the *fourth generation* they should return to the Promised Land.[2]

[1] Comp. Luke 17, 37. Neander Leben Jesu p. 559. 3d edit.

[2] Gen. 15, 13. 15; comp. Ex. 12, 40.

In which of these senses is the above expression of our Lord to be understood? If in the former, then certainly the destruction of Jerusalem, which is usually held to have occurred in A. D. 70, took place within the time thus generally specified; that is, within an interval of less than forty years after our Lord's passion. But of the events which were to follow that catastrophe, we know of none that can be referred to the same interval. The destruction of the city itself occurred at the very latest point of time that can be reckoned to that generation thus understood; and no events of importance in Jewish history took place for quite a number of years afterwards.

But our Lord was speaking in a popular manner, and would naturally employ expressions in their most popular sense. He did not mean to point out definitely the exact time when this or that event was to take place. He says himself, immediately afterwards: "Of that day and hour knoweth no one, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only."[1] It seems necessary, therefore, to understand the word "generation," as thus used by our Lord, in its largest sense, and in accordance with popular Hebrew usage, as implying a hundred years. But this again must not be construed too definitely. It is rather a general expression, designating time by a reference to the duration of human life; and is apparently neither more nor less than equivalent to our mode of expression, when we say: 'There are those now born, who will live to see all these things fulfilled.' Our Lord himself, in another passage, relating to the same subject, presents the same idea in this very form: "Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom."[2]

IV. The question now arises, Whether, under these limitations of time, a reference of our Lord's language to the day of judgment and the end of the world, in our sense of these terms, is possible? Those who maintain this view attempt to dispose of the difficulties arising from these limitations in different ways. Some assign to εὐθέως the meaning *suddenly*, as it is employed by the Seventy in Job 5, 3, for the Heb. פִּתְאֹם[3] But even in this passage, the pur-

[1] Matt. 24, 36. Mark 13, 32.
[2] Matt. 16, 28; comp. Mark 9, 1. Luke 9, 27.
[3] See Wolfe Curæ in loc. Schott Comment. in Chr. Sermones qui de ejus reditu agunt, Jena 1820. p.

pose of the writer is simply to mark an immediate sequence — to intimate that another and consequent event happened forthwith. Nor would any thing be gained, even could the word εὐθέως be thus disposed of, so long as the subsequent limitation to "this generation" remained. And in this, again, others have tried to refer γενεά to the *race of the Jews* or to *the disciples of Christ;* not only without the slightest ground, but contrary to all usage and all analogy.[1] All these attempts to apply force to the meaning of the language, are in vain; and are now abandoned by most commentators of note. Two or three general views, however, are current on the subject, which demand some further remark.

One is that of De Wette and others, who do not hesitate to regard our Lord as here announcing, that the coming of the Messiah to the judgment of the last day would take place immediately after the fall of Jerusalem. This idea, according to De Wette, is clearly expressed by our Lord, both here and elsewhere; and was likewise held by Paul.[2] But as the day of judgment has not yet come, it follows, either that our Lord, if correctly reported, was himself mistaken, and spoke here of things which he knew not; or else, that the sacred writers have not truly related his discourse. The latter horn of this dilemma is preferred by De Wette. According to him the disciples entertained the idea of their Lord's return with such vividness of faith and hope, that they overlooked the relations of time, which Jesus himself had left indefinite; and they thus connected his final coming immediately with his coming to destroy Jerusalem. They give here, therefore, their own conception of our Lord's language, rather than the language itself as it fell from his lips. They mistook his meaning; they acted upon this mistake in their own belief and preaching; and in their writings have perpetuated it to the world throughout all time.

This view is, of course, incompatible with any and every idea of inspiration on the part of the sacred writers; the very essence of which is, that they were commissioned and aided by the Spirit to impart truth to the world, and not error. To a believer in this fun-

89. Comp. De Wette Exeget. Handb. in loc.

[1] Wolf Curæ in loc. Paulus Comment. in loc.

[2] See Matt. 16, 28; also 1 Cor. 15, 51 sq. 1 Thess. 4, 15 sq. De Wette Exeg. Handb. in Matt. Comp. Olshausen's Comm. I. p. 861, 862.

damental doctrine, no argument can here be necessary, nor in place, to counteract the view above presented. To state it in its naked contrast with the divine authority of God's word, is enough.

But there may well be a further inquiry here raised, viz. Whether there was in fact, in the minds of Paul and other apostles and early Christians, so strong an expectation of the speedy coming of Christ to judgment, as is thus assumed? The main passage on which this assumption is made to rest, is the very one now under consideration; which in this way is first employed to demonstrate the existence of such an expectation; and then that expectation is assumed to sustain this interpretation of the passage. In respect to Paul, reference is made to his language in 1 Cor. 15, 51 sq. and 1 Thess. 4, 15; where, in speaking of our Lord's final coming, he uses the first person of the plural: "*we* shall not all sleep;" "*we* which are alive," etc. The inference drawn by some is, that Paul expected the coming of the judgment-day in his own life-time, so that he himself would be one of those who would then be alive and would be changed without seeing death. But nothing is more evident, than that the language of Paul here, as often elsewhere, may be understood merely as including himself and those to whom he was writing, as a portion of the great body of Christians of the church universal in all ages, the dead as well as those living at our Lord's coming. So Chrysostom and others; and even De Wette regards it as certain, that the phrase "we shall all be changed" refers both to the dead and the living.[1] And further, it would seem that Paul's language addressed to the Thessalonians, had in fact been so understood by some, as to imply the near approach of the judgment-day; and therefore the apostle, in his second Epistle, takes occasion expressly to warn them against any such misapprehension of his words: "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together with him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand."[2] The very application of his language now (as then) made, the apostle here protests against. In the face of this protest, I do not see how we can well affirm, that Paul regarded

[1] Exeget. Handb. in 1 Cor. 15, 51. [2] 2 Thess. 2, 1. 2.

the final coming of our Lord as an event which was speedily to take place. That it was already so regarded by some, is evident from the apostle's teaching to the contrary; and that the idea continued in the church, and was occasionally current in the early centuries, is matter of history. Yet for this, not the teachings of our Lord and his apostles, but the suggestions of human fancy, are responsible.

Another form of the same general view is that presented by Olshausen.[2] He too refers the verses of Matthew under consideration directly to the final coming of Christ; but seeks to avoid the difficulty above stated, by an explanation derived from the alleged nature of prophecy. He adopts the theory broached by Hengstenberg, that inasmuch as the vision of future things was presented solely to the mental or spiritual eye of the prophet, he thus saw them all at one glance as present realities, with equal vividness and without any distinction of order or time,—like the figures of a great painting without perspective or other marks of distance or relative position. "The facts and realities are distinctly perceived; but not their distance from the period, nor the intervals by which they are separated from each other." Hence our Lord, in submitting himself to the laws of prophetic vision, was led to speak of his last coming in immediate connexion with his coming for the destruction of Jerusalem; because in vision the two were presented together to his spiritual eye, without note of any interval of time.—Not to dwell here upon the fact, that this whole theory of prophecy is fanciful hypothesis, and appears to have been since abandoned by its author;[3] it is enough to remark, that this explanation admits, after all, the same fundamental error, viz. that our Lord did mistakenly announce his final coming as immediately to follow the overthrow of the Holy City. Indeed, the difficulty is even greater here, if possible, than before; because, according to the former view, the error may be charged upon the report of the Evangelists, while here it can only be referred to our Lord himself.

It may, indeed, be further asked, whether the limitation to "this generation," in v. 34, may not be referred solely to the prediction

[1] Gieseler's Kirchengesch. I. p. 363. n.

[2] Commentar. I. p. 863–867.

[3] Hengstenberg's Christol. Vol. III. Pref. et passim.

of the destruction of Jerusalem ending with v. 28; and then vv. 29–31 be understood of the general judgment without being affected by this limitation? The reply to this question has already been given under our third head above.[1] The limitation has a clear and distinct reference to *all* the events foretold in the previous discourse; and therefore, as Lightfoot says, "it is hence evident enough, that the preceding verses are not to be understood of the last judgment, but of the destruction of Jerusalem."[2]

V. We come now to our last preliminary inquiry, viz. Whether the language of Matthew in vv. 29–31 is in fact applicable to merely civil and political commotions and revolutions? and whether the solemnity and strength of the language, and the grandeur and pomp of the mode of representation, do not necessarily imply a catastrophe more general and more awful, than the fall of a single city or the subversion of a feeble people? Can it be, then, that the language of these verses should refer merely to the destruction of Jerusalem or of the Jewish nation?

Not to dwell here upon the well known facts, that the language of the Orient, and especially that of the Hebrew prophets, is full of the boldest metaphors and the sublimest imagery, applied to events and things which the manner of the Occident would describe without figure and in far simpler terms; it will be sufficient to show, that similar language is employed both in the Old and New Testaments on various occasions arising out of changes and revolutions in the course of human events; and especially in respect to the judgments of God upon nations. We will take the verses in their order.

Verse 29. Here it is said, that *after* the preceding tribulation, the darkness of the sun and moon, the falling of the stars, and the shaking of the powers of heaven, are to be the harbingers of the Lord's coming. The "powers (*δυνάμεις*) of heaven" are the sun, moon, and stars, the צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם *host of heaven* of the Old Testament.[3] Now that the very same language and the same natural phenomena are employed in other places to mark events in human affairs and to announce God's judgments, is apparent from the following passages:

[1] Page 540 above.

[2] Hor. Hebr. in Matt. 24, 34.

[3] Is. 34, 4, where Sept. *δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

In Is. c. 13, woes and judgments are denounced against Babylon. In v. 9 it is said, "the day of the Lord cometh . . . to lay the land desolate;" and in v. 10 the following signs and accompaniments are pointed out: "For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine."

In Is. c. 34 similar woes and judgments are proclaimed against Idumea; see vv. 5. 6. The prophet in v. 2 describes "the indignation of the Lord upon all nations, . . . he hath utterly destroyed them;" and in v. 4 he continues: "And all the host of heaven (Sept. *δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν*) shall be dissolved; and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as the withered leaf from the fig-tree."

In Ez. c. 32 the prophet takes up a lamentation for Pharaoh, v. 2; in the succeeding verses his destruction is foretold; and then the prophet proceeds in v. 7, as follows: "And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God."

In Joel 2, 30. 31 [3, 3. 4, Heb.] the very same phenomena are described as appearing "before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come." In Acts 2, 19. 20, this passage is quoted by the Apostle Peter, and applied directly to the great events which were to accompany the introduction of the new dispensation,—including obviously the signs and wonders attendant upon the death and resurrection of our Lord; the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost and upon the churches afterwards; the spread and establishment of Christianity; and the final termination of the Mosaic dispensation in the subversion of the temple-worship and the irretrievable ruin of the Jewish nation.

These examples are enough to show, that the language of the verse under consideration may well be in like manner understood as symbolic of the commotions and revolutions of states and kingdoms. In respect to the other two Evangelists, the words of Mark are entirely parallel to those of Matthew; while Luke interweaves

a further allusion to terrestrial phenomena, and to the distress and faintness of heart among men "for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."

Verse 30. After the phenomena described in the preceding verse, is to appear "the sign of the Son of man in heaven." This of course is not the Messiah himself, as some assume; but it would seem to be something immediately connected with his personal appearance, perhaps the dark clouds and tempest, the thunders and lightnings, which are ascribed as the usual accompaniment of a Theophania, and in which the Redeemer is at first shrouded.[1] Then the Son of man himself is seen "coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." Can this magnificent and awful representation have reference merely to events in the world's past history?

Let this question also be answered by an appeal to the Old Testament. There Jehovah is represented as appearing in a similar manner, both for the judgment of the wicked and the protection of the righteous.

Thus in Ps. 97, 2 sq. "Clouds and darkness are round about him,—a fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round about," etc.

Ps. 50, 3 sq. "Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people."

So too in respect to particular nations. In Is. 19, 1, it is said: "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence," etc.

In like manner, Ps. 68 is the description of a continued Theophania, in behalf of the people of Israel; see vv. 1. 2; 7. 8; 17. 18; 33. 35.

The same sublime imagery is likewise employed in Ps. 18,[2] in describing God's appearance for the deliverance of an individual—his chosen servant David. A passage more full of poetic sublimity and overpowering grandeur can hardly be found in the sacred writings,

[1] See Ps. 18, 11–14. [2] See also 2 Sam. c. 22.

than is contained in vv. 7–15 of that Psalm. The application of it to David follows immediately in v. 16: "He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many waters," etc. The whole passage is too long to be inserted here; but the reader will not fail to turn to it and peruse it.

If then language of this kind relating to Jehovah is employed in the Old Testament, with reference both to nations and to individuals, we surely are authorized to apply the like representations of the New Testament to an event so important in the Divine economy as the overthrow of God's own peculiar people, and the chosen seat of their national worship.

The source of the particular form of representation in v. 30, is doubtless the seventh chapter of Daniel. There in vv. 13. 14, the prophet says: "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away; and his kingdom, that which shall not be destroyed." Here then is the Messiah, coming not for the day of judgment, but to introduce his spiritual kingdom upon earth. Analogically, therefore, the like language of our Lord in the verse before us, must be understood in the same way, and not made to refer to the day of judgment.

Verse 31. Hosts of angels and the sound of the trumpet belong to the Christophania here and elsewhere, as also to the Theophania.[1] Here too it is said: "He shall send his angels . . . and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds;" and the same is said in the corresponding verse of Mark. This "gathering," it has been thought, can refer only to the assembling of all nations for the final judgment, as more fully depicted in Matt. 25, 31 sq. and also as implied in the explanation of the parable of the tares in Matt. 13, 40 sq. But on comparing the modes of expression in the two cases, they do not appear to be parallel. Here the angels simply "gather together the *elect*;" there (in 25, 32) *all nations* are gathered before him, and the wicked are then separated from the righteous. The representation is the same in Matt. 13, 41. 43.

[1] Ex. 19, 16. 19. 1 Cor. 15, 52. 1 Thess. 4, 16; comp. Rev. 8, 2. etc.

The idea of such a separation before the judgment-seat, is indeed essentially connected with every representation of the day of judgment; and indeed cannot be separated from it. Why then are only the elect here said (in v. 31) to be gathered together? For judgment? Nothing of the kind is expressed or implied in the passage itself; nor is it elsewhere ever said of the elect, that they alone will be "gathered together" to the judgment of the great day.

But the idea of "gathering together" those widely dispersed, sometimes includes also the accessory notion of *deliverance and protection*, as the end and purpose of the act. Thus it is said of Jehovah, that "he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel;"[1] he will gather them out of all lands whither they are scattered, will deliver them from all dangers, and secure to them his protection. So too our Lord, in his touching lament over Jerusalem, exclaims: "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" Here the idea of deliverance and protection is strongly prominent. Now this idea we may apply in the verse under consideration. In the commotions and distress antecedent to our Lord's coming for the destruction of the Jewish state, he will send his angels "to gather together his elect," so that they may be delivered and protected from the dangers which threaten them. Indeed, precisely this idea is strongly expressed by Luke in the parallel verse: "And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; FOR YOUR REDEMPTION DRAWETH NIGH!"

We come then to the general result, that the language of the three verses under consideration does not necessarily in itself apply to the general judgment; while the nature of the context shows that such an application is inadmissible. On the other hand, there is nothing in the language itself to hinder our referring it to the downfall of Judaism and the Jewish people; but rather both the context and the attendant circumstances require it be understood of these events.

In further illustrating the language of our Lord as thus applied, I would remark, that "his coming," as here foretold, includes as its object not only the overthrow of the Jewish nation, but also the

[1] Ps. 147, 2. Deut. 30, 3.

establishment and spread of his own spiritual kingdom upon earth. This is clearly indicated in the words of Daniel, as above cited; and also in those of Joel, as cited and applied by the apostle Peter.[1] The latter prophecy began to have its fulfilment in the signs and wonders attendant upon our Lord's death and resurrection, and in the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost; but it was fully accomplished only in the later catastrophe of Jerusalem and Judaism. The tenacity with which that people clave to the outward rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic dispensation, to the worship of the temple, and to their hopes of restoration and exaltation under a temporal Messiah; as also their fierce and unrelenting opposition to the claims of the lowly Jesus;—all this was the first great and prominent obstacle to the introduction and prevalence of his spiritual reign. This was at that moment the great enemy to be vanquished; and the downfall of this opposing power was to be the triumph and the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. Both these great results, therefore, were to be accomplished by this his coming.[2]

The destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, although standing out as a prominent catastrophe in this great series of events, was yet not the only one, and perhaps not the most important. Through the minute and vivid description of Josephus, who was himself an actor and eye-witness in all those scenes of blood and desolation, the fall of the Holy City has been brought out before the world for all time with a distinctness and prominency, greater, perhaps, than any other like event of ancient history. Hence it has become the great central point in the later history of the Jews; and thus has overshadowed and shut out from view the slighter notices of other events, in themselves perhaps not of less moment, but which have not been recorded by the graphic pen of a native historian. In this way the overthrow of the Jewish capital and temple has come to be regarded as the final catastrophe of the nation; after which their existence and name, as a nation, were utterly blotted out. Hence the frequent application of our Lord's prediction to this event alone.

But such was not, in fact, the case. The destruction of Jerusa-

[1] Dan. 7, 13. 14. Acts 2, 16 sq. [2] See also Matt. 16, 27.

lem by Titus, although terrible, was nevertheless not total. The city slowly revived. The Jews in Palestine, though reduced completely to the condition of a Roman province, were not driven out from their own land. The chief men, indeed, were allured to Rome, or found employment elsewhere; but the merchant in his shop, and the husbandman at his plough, were not interrupted in their labours. Yet we cannot suppose that the national hatred towards the Roman yoke was laid aside. Under the reign of Trajan insurrections broke out among the Jews of Cyrenaica and Egypt, which soon were quelled. Fifty years after the ruin of Jerusalem, Adrian began to rebuild the city, in order to convert it into a heathen capital, and probably also with a view to render it a stronghold for keeping in check the national spirit of the Jewish people. This new attempt served as a spark to kindle the long smothered embers of hatred and discontent; and caused them to burst forth into a flame, which overran and consumed both the land and the people with terrible desolation. The leader was the celebrated Barcochba, "Son of a Star." His success at first was great; he soon obtained possession of Jerusalem, and of no less than fifty fortified places and one hundred and eighty-five important villages. Adrian at length awoke from his lethargy, and troops poured in upon Judea from the remotest quarters of the empire. The Jews were harassed and worn out by degrees; and the bloody tragedy was at length brought to a close at the unknown city of Bether, in the eighteenth year of Adrian, A. D. 135. Thousands and thousands of the captives were sold as slaves at the Terebinth near Hebron, at Gaza, and in Egypt. By a decree of Adrian the Jews were forbidden thenceforth even to approach the Holy City; and guards were stationed to prevent them from making the attempt. This severe decree probably included, or at least effected, the removal of the Jewish inhabitants from Judea. Two centuries later, we find Tertullian speaking of them as still deprived even of a stranger's right to set foot upon their paternal soil.[1] It was not until the days of Constantine, in the fourth century, that they were first allowed again to approach the Holy City; and at length, to enter

[1] Tertull. c. Judæos, c. 15. Apol. c. 21, "quibus [Judæis] nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur."

it once a year, and buy the privilege of wailing over the ruins of their former sanctuary.[1]

Such is an outline of the great *final* catastrophe of the Jewish people, as it can be collected from the few scattered notices found in ancient foreign writers. These few fragments have been collected and arranged by Münter, in a treatise translated and published in the present volume. To this the reader is referred.[2] Had there been a Josephus to give us a history of this war with equal completeness and graphic power,—who can say that the catastrophe, in its magnitude and its horrors, would seem to us in any degree to come short of that of Jerusalem?

After these illustrations I may sum up here in a few words the views suggested to my own mind in respect to the discourse of our Lord under consideration. In reply to the question of the four disciples: "When shall these things be?" Jesus first points out what was to happen after his departure,—the trials and dangers to which his followers would be exposed. Then comes the "abomination of desolation;" Jerusalem is "compassed by armies," and is "trodden down by the Gentiles;"—all this referring to its desolation by Titus in A. D. 70. Immediately afterwards the Lord would come and establish more fully his spiritual kingdom, by crushing in terrible destruction the last remnants of the power and name of Judaism; and this within the general limit of a generation of a hundred years from the time when he was speaking. There might, therefore, literally have been some then "standing there, who did not taste of death till they saw the Son of man [thus] coming in his kingdom." Then it was, when this first great foe of the Gospel dispensation should have been thus trampled down, that Christians were to look up. "Then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh!" The chains of religious despotism and the terrors of Jewish persecution would then be at an end forever; and the disciples of Christ, thus far disenthralled and triumphant, might rejoice in the prevalence of the Gospel of peace and love,—the coming of Christ's spiritual kingdom upon earth!

[1] See Bibl. Researches in Palest. II. p. 11.

[2] See above, p. 493 sq. Also Bibl. Res. in Palest. II. p. 1–11.

I add here a few remarks upon the remaining part of our Lord's discourse in the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew. It is well known that commentators differ in respect to what portions of this discourse are to be referred to the destruction of Jerusalem, and what to the judgment-day; and also as to where the one topic ends and the other begins. Thus Doddridge finds the transition from the former to the latter event in Matt. 24, 36;[1] Flatt and Kuinoel place it at v. 43;[2] Eichhorn, in c. 25, 14; and others, as Wetstein, not until c. 25, 31.

All interpreters, of any name, I believe, are agreed that the vivid representation in Matt. 25, 31–46, has reference only to the day of final judgment. Perhaps an exception may be found among some in this country, who deny the doctrine of future punishment. But it cannot well be otherwise than evident to every candid mind, that if the doctrine of a future judgment-day be found at all in the New Testament, it is prominently and expressly asserted in this passage,—a day when all flesh shall rise from the dead and be gathered before the omniscient Judge; when the righteous shall be separated from the wicked; and every one be rewarded or punished, according as his works shall be. The same general view is taught also by our Lord in his exposition of the parable of the tares, and in his teaching as recorded by John.[3] It is found also in Daniel,[4] and is more fully developed in the writings of Paul and in the Apocalypse. Paul often dwells upon the mighty theme: "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."[5] In the sublime visions of the Apocalypse, the writer "saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; . . . and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in those books, according to their works."[6]

With all these representations the language before us in c. 25, 31–46 is perfectly accordant; nor is there any thing either in the cir-

[1] Family Expos. in loc.
[2] Flatt de βασιλεία τῶν οὐρ. in Velthusen Comm. II. p. 471. Kuinoel Comm. in loc.
[3] Matt. 13, 40–43. John 5, 28. 29.
[4] Dan. 12, 2.
[5] 2 Cor. 5, 10. See also Rom. 2, 5–8. 14, 10. 1 Cor. 15, 51 sq. 1 Thess. 4, 13 sq. etc.
[6] Rev. 20, 12 sq. Comp. 22, 12. etc

cumstances or in the context, to lead us on any philological or historical grounds to a different interpretation of the passage. The 46th verse of itself decides this point: "And these [the wicked] shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal."[1] There is no possible way of evading the force of this antithetic declaration, which on the face of it relates to the eternal destiny of mortals as fixed by the judgment-day, except by denying the idea of endless duration ascribed to the word *αἰώνιος*, in respect both to future punishment and to future life. This is said to be done by some, who, denying the doctrine of a state of retribution in another world, refer this whole passage to the destruction of Jerusalem; and are thus ready to barter away the hope of a future life of glory, in order to get rid of the terrors of a future state of punishment. According to them, in this verse, both the condemnation and the promise have respect only to this life; and then it follows, *that the life of man, or threescore years and ten, is* LIFE ETERNAL! I am unable to see why this is not, in the strictest sense of the term, both philologically and theologically, a *reductio ad absurdum*.

This whole passage, then, I hold without doubt to refer to the general judgment.

Let us now go back to the preceding parable, that of the talents, in Matt. 25, 14–30. Here the awful scenes of the dread tribunal are not indeed depicted; yet the subject is the same as before, the great doctrine of final retribution. Here it is the Master who returns after a long absence; calls his servants to an account; invites those whom he finds worthy to the splendid banquet of rejoicing prepared to celebrate his return; while he casts out the unfaithful servant into outer darkness and woe. The whole description is entirely consonant to that of the judgment day which follows; and is not analogous to any representation of the New Testament having reference merely to matters of this life.

If we go back now still further to the parable of the ten virgins, Matt. 25, 1–13, we shall find, I think, that it is the great object of the parable to inculcate the same important truth, the acceptance or non-acceptance of those professing to be the followers of Christ,

[1] *Καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

according to their several characters and deserts,—their admission or non-admission to the state of future bliss in the kingdom of God, here depicted under the imagery of a marriage-festival. The same idea of future bliss to the righteous, is expressed by the same imagery in the Apocalypse: "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb."[1] Along with this great idea, there is also strongly inculcated in this parable the necessity of a state of constant preparation, with reference to the future judgment and its dread account; since no man knoweth when the Lord will call him to enter upon this state of retribution.

Thus far, then, there seems to be no reason why the three different representations contained in c. 25 should be separated, or not all referred alike to the transactions of the last great day.

If now we look at the latter portion of the preceding chapter, c. 24, 43–51, we find it intimately connected with the parable of the ten virgins; so closely, indeed, that the idea of separating the two has apparently never occurred to any interpreter. We have here the same great lesson inculcated,—the necessity of continual watchfulness in the performance of duty, under the imagery of servants waiting for their master's return; who then will reward the faithful, and punish the slothful and wicked. The punishment, it may here be noted, is expressed in terms similar to those employed in respect to him who hid his lord's talent, in c. 25, 30. All this seems to furnish a sufficient ground, why we should regard this passage also as having been spoken with reference to the future judgment.

There now remains to be considered only the passage in Matt. 24, 36–42. Our Lord, after declaring that his coming to destroy the Jewish nation would take place before that generation should pass away, goes on here to say, that "of that day and hour knoweth no one, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." This he illustrates by the example of the deluge; which, although long predicted by Noah, yet came suddenly and unexpectedly upon the men of that generation. Hence he urges upon his disciples the necessity of constant watchfulness, in order that, as Luke expresses it, "ye may be accounted worthy to escape all those

[1] Rev. 19, 7–9.

things that shall come to pass, and to stand (i. e. be approved, not destroyed) before the Son of man."[1]

On this passage two remarks present themselves, which go to show that it is to be connected with what precedes, rather than with what follows; and is therefore to be taken as referring to the overthrow of Jerusalem and the Jews.

First, both the grammatical and logical connexion of the language itself require it to be so referred. The very expression, "*that* (ἐκείνη) day and hour," can mean nothing but the day and hour of which our Lord had been speaking, viz. that 'coming' of his which should take place before that generation should pass away. It is that coming which would be so sudden; for as yet he had here described no other, and therefore his words could apply to no other.

Secondly, it is somewhat remarkable, that throughout this whole discourse of our Lord thus far (to v. 42), from his departure out of the temple and through his whole prediction relative to his then immediate coming, the Evangelists Mark and Luke both give parallel reports, serving alike to confirm and to illustrate the language of Matthew; while at this very point (v. 42) their reports cease. All that follows in this and the next chapter is here given by Matthew alone. Mark nowhere has any thing corresponding. Luke indeed gives the subsequent charge to watch (vv. 43–51) in a different place and connexion; and also elsewhere the parable of the talents.[2] But the parable of the ten virgins and the description of the last day, are found only in Matthew. All this goes to show, that Mark and Luke intended to report the language now under consideration as connected with what precedes; inasmuch as they give nothing further. It goes also to show, that they regarded the discourse of our Lord, up to this point, as a whole, having reference to his coming for the overthrow of Judaism; and also that the subject, which thus far was one, was here completed.

It follows, then, that our Lord, as further reported by Matthew, here takes up (with v. 43) a new topic; which thus apparently begins, as it evidently ends, with the enforcement of the duty

[1] Luke 21, 36. Parallel with Matt. 24, 36–42, are Mark 13, 32–37, and Luke 21, 34–36.

[2] Luke 12, 39 sq. The parable of the talents is found in Luke 19, 12 sq.

of watchfulness upon all, in reference to the terms of their acceptance with God, and of their admission to the Messiah's kingdom, when he shall come to judge the world and reign in bliss and glory.

If these pages shall serve to afford light to any mind upon this difficult portion of the sacred volume, and thus aid in the exhibition and enforcement of divine truth, the aim and prayer of the writer will have been answered.

VI.

ANCIENT TEMPLE ON MOUNT LEBANON.

Described by the Rev. Eli Smith.

[The following communication was sent by the Rev. Mr. Smith, under date of Dec. 6th, 1842. In his accompanying letter he writes thus: "I have taken a little pains this summer to renew my acquaintance with the ruins of the ancient temple of Deir el-Kŭl'ah, mentioned in the Biblical Researches, Vol. III. p. 441. The result of my investigations I have embodied in a paper, of which I enclose you a copy. The conjecture there hazarded has interested me a good deal; and were I sure that any form from the root رقص is to be found in any existing relics of the Phenician language, I should feel much confidence in the theory. Unfortunately, I have not access to the work of Gesenius; and cannot examine this point." —On examination, it appears that no such form is extant in connexion with the Phenician or Hebrew language.

About the same time, a description of the same ruins and a copy of the inscriptions were forwarded to Berlin by Mr. Wildenbruch, Prussian Consul General in Beirût, who made this and several other excursions in company with Mr. Smith. His description was communicated to the Geographical Society of Berlin; and afterwards printed in their Monthly Report for Jan. 1843, p. 144 sq. Slight variations are perceived in the inscriptions as there given; arising apparently from a want of distinctness in the manuscript. It is understood that they will be inserted and explained in one of the next numbers of Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum*. —Ed.]

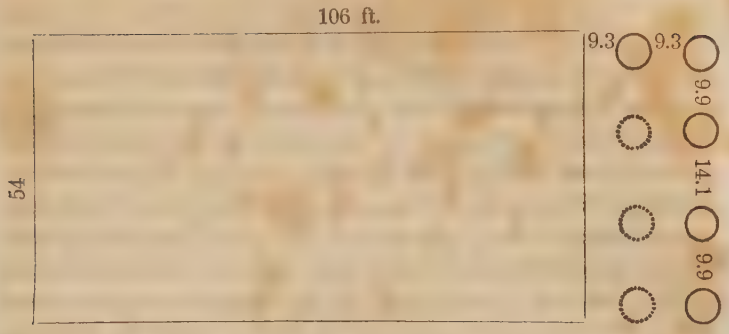
Ancient Temple, etc.

Deir el-Kul'ah, or Convent of the Fortress, is so named from its being built upon ancient ruins, which are supposed by the natives to be foundations of a fortress. If we may believe Hananîya, the historian of Lebanon, it was once the citadel of Beirût, which was formerly a city so large as to extend that distance! A single glance, however, is sufficient to convince an intelligent observer, that the ruins found there are the foundations of a temple.

The situation is inviting in the extreme, standing on the southern extremity of a short mountain ridge, which shuts in the Metn from the coast; it looks down upon the whole plain of Beirût on the west, and commands a view of the Mediterranean for nearly half of the horizon. On the south it overlooks the whole of the Upper and Lower Ghŭrb. On the east, across a ravine, in which the two branches of the river of Beirût unite in a chasm so wild that leopards haunt it to the present day, lies the woody basin of the Metn, with the noble summits Sŭnnîn and Kuneiseh beyond it, whose sides for several months in the year are whitened with the snows of winter.

The temple which occupied this charming spot, was of the most solid structure. Only its foundations now remain. But these are undisturbed in their original position, and completely exposed, except the part upon which the church of the convent now stands. Its length was 106 feet, and its breadth 54 feet. The stones now in place, are of rose-coloured limestone, quarried from the spot, and of a size that reminds one of the ruins of Ba'albek. Two of the largest are 12 f. 2 in. and 13 f. 8 in. in length, by 5 f. 5 in. in height and 4 feet in breadth. Its length extends from southeast to northwest; and at the northwest end are the ruins of a portico, 29 feet in depth, which consisted of two rows of columns. The lowest stones of four of them are standing, and the pedestal of a fifth is in place. They measure at the bottom 17 f. 1 in. in circumference, and are of different heights. One, not the highest, is 18 f. 3 in. in length. No capitals corresponding to them anywhere appear.

PLAN OF THE TEMPLE.



Many smaller columns, and some Ionic capitals, are scattered about; and heaps of hewn stones, with here and there foundations undisturbed, mark the site of an ancient village. The ruins of an aqueduct also appear on the ridge between Beit Miry and Brŭmmâna, which the natives say may be traced to the celebrated fountain of 'Ar'âr, near Mâr Mûsa, distant some five or six miles. The water was conveyed in perforated cylindrical stones, fitted into each other. Some of these stones, it is said, are found on the hill of Deir el-Kŭl'ah, showing it to have been the object of the aqueduct to conduct water to that spot, which now is supplied only with rain-water. On the western side of the hill, at some distance below the convent, are also several large sarcophagi, furnishing additional evidence of the ancient celebrity of the place.

What, now, was the origin and history of these ruins, once of so much importance? Our only clew to the answer of this question, is found in a few inscriptions, scattered about the premises of the convent. Those which I have seen are four, three in Latin, and one in Greek. The stones on which three are inscribed are square, and that of the other cylindrical, and all are of different sizes. They evidently record the dedication of votive offerings. The first is as follows:

P-POSTVMIVS
P-L-AVCTVS
IOVI-BALMARCODI
V—L—M—S

The meaning of the initials in the second line is to me doubtful

those in the fourth may be filled out thus: *Votum libens merito solvit.* The third line shows the god of the place to have been Jupiter. But the title here given him is not, so far as I am informed, found anywhere else. In it the interest of the inscription consists; and I am not aware that it has ever been explained. Upon examination, I cannot but regard the first syllable BAL as corresponding to the Baal of Scripture, who was the Phenician Jupiter, and was worshipped also by the Carthagenians and Chaldeans. In Carthagenian names, it often appears with the same Latin orthography as here, as in Hanni*bal*, Asdru*bal*, etc. The remainder of the word, MARCODI, may be conjectured to be of Semitic origin, derived from a triliteral root, by prefixing a *Mem*, a mode of derivation exceedingly common. But what the root is, remains uncertain, because the oblique Latin case, in which the word here stands, has obscured the last radical. If this conjecture be correct, the whole word would be analogous to the Baal-berith and Baal-zebub of the Scriptures.

The second inscription reads thus:

MVMMEIVSINCENVOSPRO
SALVTESVAETFRATRVM
ETFILIORVM
V-L-A-S

The initials in the fourth line may be read: *Votum libens animo solvit;* and the meaning of the inscription is plain. It throws no light, however, upon the word in question.

The third reads thus:

ENIVMCOL
NTISTIAVICTO
INAFABARIA
PROSALVTESVA
C - - - ANTISTILIA
NVICTORINIETSA
T-HOTARIONISHCA

This inscription is very obscure, partly, it may be, because the beginning is buried in the ground, and was not copied. It is also

not so legible as the others. I can make out to my satisfaction only a very few words.

The fourth is also imperfect at the bottom, and somewhat so on the sides; and in the latter part is obscure. Yet it throws much light upon the word we are examining. It is as follows:

M-OKTAOYIOC-IAAPO
EYΞAMENOC ANEΘHKA
YΠEPCΩTHPIAC KΩMON
EYTYXOYCKAITEKNΩN
ELAAΘIMOI
BAAMARKΩC
KOIPANE
KΩMΩNKAIKAY
ΘCOTAECΠOT
NYNIAAPOYCOI

The meaning is plain to the last of the eighth line, and may be translated thus: "I, M. Octavius, joyous and praying have dedicated; for safety, a fortunate festival, and children. Be propitious to me, O Balmarkos, Lord of sports" * * * Here, in the Greek vocative, *Balmarkos*, appears the lost radical of the Semitic word in question, which was uncertain in the Latin dative, *Balmarcodi;* while what follows gives us its meaning. For the next two words may well be a translation of Balmarkos. *Baal* we know means lord, the same as *κοίρανος*; and *markos* corresponds to the Arabic مرقص, "a place or time of dancing," and in Phenician, a language as nearly related as the Hebrew, it may have had the same meaning. It would then be parallel to the Greek word *κῶμος*, which means a festival accompanied with music and dancing.

As the Shechemites, therefore, after the death of Gideon, worshipped Baal under the title of Baal-berith, "lord of the covenant," and the people of Ekron under the title of Baal-zebub, "lord of flies," so if these conjectures are correct, he was worshipped at Deir el-Kŭl'ah as *Baal-mŭrkŭs*, "the lord of dancing." To him was dedicated the noble temple now in ruins there; and in that spot, as seen from Beirût, we have daily before our eyes one of those "high places" of Phenician idol-worship, which were so often imitated by the people of God, when they fell away to idolatry.

[On a subsequent visit to the same ruins, Mr. Smith copied another Greek inscription, as follows:

ϱΩΝΑΝΕΟΗκΑΙ
ΛΟΘΕΝΕΚΝΗCΟΙΟ
ϱΟΛΟΥΤΕΧΝΑCηΑ
ΠΟΘΙΝΟΝΑΛΛΑΙ ci co
ε ΝΟΕΚcΡΑΟΥΧΑΛΚΕ
ΟΝΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ
ε ΠΡΟΧcΟΝΤΑΒΡΟ
ΤΟΙCΙΕΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΝ
ΤΑΩΡ

The small letters are those marked doubtful in the manuscript.

In his visit to Jerusalem in April, 1843, Mr. Smith found and copied the following inscription of the Roman age of the Holy City. It is upon an inverted stone in the outside southern wall of the Haram, just by the east end of the lintel of the ancient subterranean gateway under the mosk el-Aksa.

TITO AII HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG PIO
P P PONTIF AVGVR
D D P P

Note by the Editor.

In regard to the solution of the name *BAAMAPKΩΣ*, above proposed by Mr. Smith, it has already been remarked in the preliminary note, that no root, nor any derived form, corresponding to the Arabic root رقص is now found either in the remains of the Phenician, nor in the Hebrew. It may be remarked, further, that according to the principles which regulate the flexion of Greek nouns, the final letter of the root is to be sought, not in the nominative or vocative *BAAMAPKΩΣ*, but in the dative *BALMARCODI;* since in the former case the root is commonly changed, and in the latter not;

see Buttmann's Gr. Grammar § 39 sq. Thus far, then, the etymology suggested by Mr. Smith must perhaps be regarded as doubtful.—On the other hand, if we follow out this latter suggestion in respect to the root ending in *d*, we find indeed nothing in the few remains of the Phenician, that can give us any light. But on turning to the kindred and contemporary Hebrew, we have at once the root רָקַד *to leap, to skip, to dance;* from which a regular form would be מַרְקֹד (Marcod) "place or time of dancing;" though this form does not occur in the Hebrew Bible. The same root is found in Chaldee and Syriac; and in the former we have the participle Pael מְרַקֵּד *a dancer*. In this way, then, we arrive at a like meaning of the name *BAAMAPKΩΣ*, viz. *Baal of dancing*. Thus the general result of Mr. Smith here receives a new support, in a way less open, perhaps, to exception than the one adopted by him.

VII.

NOTES ON BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

By the Editor.

In a preceding note (p. 497), some extracts have been given, showing the new interest awakened among European scholars on the subject of Sacred Geography, since the publication of the Biblical Researches in Palestine. That note was hardly sent to press, when the fourth number of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for the present year arrived, containing an extended article upon the same work by Gross, a scholar of Würtemburg. This periodical, under the care of Ullmann and Umbreit, is well known as the leading theological journal of Germany; and the view it takes of the work in question is even more favourable than any former notice, excepting perhaps the article by Olshausen of Kiel, in the second number of the *Wiener Jahrbücher* for 1842.

A pamphlet has also recently been published by Prof. K. von Raumer of Erlangen, entitled *Beyträge zur biblischen Geographie*, intended as a supplement to the second edition of his *Palästina*. In it he goes over much of the ground covered by the Biblical Researches; and in an alpha-

betical list of eighty-seven places under which additions or corrections are made, the new matter is derived, in not less than *eighty* of the cases, either wholly or in part from that work, which is everywhere cited. Yet with all this frequent citation, the writer of the pamphlet omits no occasion of exception or polemic remark; while, on the contrary, there is nowhere the slightest word of acknowledgment in behalf of the Researches or its authors, except a single phrase in connexion with Eleutheropolis. This in itself is a matter of no conceivable importance; but it serves to show the spirit in which the pamphlet is written.

I take this opportunity to subjoin a few notes on some points, which are now susceptible of further illustration.

Exodus of the Israelites.

The Israelites broke up from Rameses, Ex. 12, 37. The view given in the Biblical Researches was, that Rameses was situated in the land of Goshen, on the valley through which passed the ancient canal between the Nile and Red Sea, near the middle part; and on the map it is marked at the spot called Abu Keisheid, where are ruins. Thence the Israelites were supposed to have marched directly to the Red Sea near Suez, a distance of some thirty or thirty-five miles, by a level and open route; which they could easily accomplish in three days, the time specified in Scripture, allowing from twelve to fifteen miles as a day's journey, as is done in the case of a well appointed army.[1]—The same view was taken by Hengstenberg in his little work on Egypt published in 1841;[2] in which he also goes far to remove all doubt as to the identity of Rameses with the ancient Heroöpolis.

Raumer, in a former work,[3] following the Jesuit Sicard, had adopted the theory, that the Israelites passed from the neighbourhood of Cairo down the Besâtîn route to the Red Sea, through the valley now called et-Tîh. In his present pamphlet he admits the location of Rameses as above assumed; and makes it the head-quarters, at least, from which Moses and Aaron, and the people immediately with them, broke up. But he still insists, that they proceeded first to the region of Cairo and then down the Besâtîn road, as before.

Now a glance at the map shows, that the distance from Rameses to Besâtîn is greater than from Rameses to Suez. From Besâtîn or from Cairo to the Red Sea by the shortest route is not less than seventy miles, or five days' journey for the Israelites. It follows then, from the position of Raumer, that Israel fleeing in haste, pressed by fear of the Egyptians, and wishing to reach the Red Sea in the least possible time, avoided the direct route of three days, which accords with Scripture, and chose to

1 Bibl. Res. I. p. 79 sq. Robbins, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, Andover, 1843, p. 50 sq.

2 *Die Bücher Mosis und Ægypten*, Berl. 1841, p. 48 sq. Translated by R. D. C.

3 *Zug der Israeliten*, Leipz. 1837.

march first three days in a contrary direction, and then five days more to reach the sea,—in all eight days, instead of three! The mere statement demonstrates the absurdity of such an hypothesis.

Further, the Israelites at the end of the second day came to Etham "in the edge of the desert," before they came to the Red Sea. If then they went by the Besâtîn route, Etham must have lain in the valley at some distance west of the sea; and so Raumer, following Sicard, assumes it at eight leagues from the shore.[1] But the Israelites, *after* passing through the sea, go three days' journey into the desert of Etham. The desert of Etham, then, was on the eastern side of the sea, which is here fifteen English miles broad; while Etham itself was on the western side, at a distance from the coast, and not in sight of it. Yet it lay "in the edge of the desert," and gave its name to the desert. Here is a difficulty which the advocates of this theory seem to have overlooked.—According to the view of Hengstenberg and the Researches, Etham lay not far from the north end of the sea, and might therefore well give its name to the adjacent desert stretching along the eastern shore.

With this idea of an approach to the sea by the Besâtîn route, there likewise falls away of itself the notion of the passage through the sea at that point; to say nothing of the insurmountable difficulties of various other kinds connected with this hypothesis.

Arimathea or Ramah.

Monastic tradition has connected this place with Ramleh, from a fancied identity of the names, and because there is ancient mention of a Ramah or Ramathem somewhere in the vicinity of Lydda. On the other hand, it was shown in the Biblical Researches, that the two names have nothing in common; that according to Arabian writers and the historians of the crusades, Ramleh is a modern place, the origin of which is known; and further, that the Ramah anciently mentioned was in the *Tamnitic* region, and therefore must have lain eastward of Lydda.

Raumer in his *Palästina* took up the former opinion, and this he now still endeavours to sustain; striving to make me say that Ramleh lies upon a *hill*, instead of a low sandy swell, one of the slightest undulations of an immense plain; and affirming, that as we do not know the bounds of the Tamnitic region, so we do not know but that it might have included Ramleh.

But, thanks to Mr. Smith, we now know more about Thamna;[2] and can therefore form a better conjecture as to the general limits of its toparchy. Josephus mentions in the north of Judea four toparchies, viz. Acrabatene, Gophna, Thamna, and Lydda; which, as the nature of the country shows, probably formed long parallelograms, lying parallel to each other, ex-

1 Zug der Israeliten, p. 12

2 See p. 484, above.

tending in length from north to south. The first occupied the eastern side of the water-shed upon the mountains; the second, the western side of the same, still upon the mountains; the third, Thamna, lay upon the western slope of the mountains, including the lower region of hills; while the last, Lydda, occupied most of the plain. South of the Thamnitic toparchy was that of Emmaus; while Joppa and Jamnia had jurisdiction over the towns adjacent to them.[1] As Lydda was the head of its own toparchy in the plain, and Thamna with its region lay among the hills and on the slope of the mountains, there is certainly every probability, that the latter toparchy lay wholly eastward of the former; at least there is a moral demonstration to every unbiassed mind, that it could not well have extended round upon the southwest of Lydda, so as to have included the site of Ramleh.

With this view all the other notices of Eusebius and Jerome are easily reconcilable. When Jerome says that Arimathea was *not far* from Lydda (haud procul ab ea), we must remember that a higher authority says of Lydda itself, that it was *near to Joppa*, although the two places are in fact three hours distant from each other.[2] These fathers, we know, were often very indefinite in their specifications. Thus they say of *Thamna:* "Ostenditur hodieque prægrandis vicus *in finibus Diospoleos* euntibus Æliam." Here they cannot mean "*in* the borders of Diospolis or Lydda," for Thamna had its own toparchy; and we must therefore understand "*on* the borders," etc. Thamna also was certainly not on the direct way to Jerusalem from Lyd a; yet men were probably accustomed to take it on their way to the Holy City, in order to avail themselves of the great Roman road at Thamna; just as, at the present day, the great route of travel between Gaza and Jerusalem, is by way of Ramleh.

Depression of the Dead Sea, etc.

On p. 17 of this volume, the results of Lieut. Symonds' trigonometrical survey are given, as furnished by himself to the Rev. E. Smith, before leaving Syria. The depression of the Dead Sea is there stated at 1337 feet, and that of the Lake of Tiberias at 84 feet, below the level of the Mediterranean.—In the annual address of the President of the Royal Geographical Society of London, in May last, the measurements are given as follows: Depression of the Dead Sea, 1312.2 feet; and that of the Lake of Tiberias, 328.1 feet. This of course is the official statement; but I am not able to account for the discrepancy, especially for that in respect to the Lake of Tiberias.

Some further remarks, in confirmation of the identity of Eleutheropolis and Betogabra, and on Megiddo, must be deferred till another opportunity.

1 Joseph. Ant. XIV. 11. 2. B. J. III. 3 5. 2 Acts 9 38.

INDEX.

A.

Abu Nâsir's daughter in Nazareth, 79.
Additions, see *Corrections*.
Adrian, see *Hadrian*.
Ælia, see *Jerusalem*.
'Ain Jidy, 67.
'Ain Yebrûd, 71.
Akiba, Rabbi, his history, 423; declares Bar-cochba the king Messiah, 424; causes the celebration of the passover to be transferred, 426; his death, 441.
Akra in Jerusalem, its extent, 188 sq. According to Josephus it was distinct and separated from Zion or the upper city, 191.
'Amwâs, see *Emmaus*.
Angelology, sketches of, 88 sq. Reality of Angelic Beings, 88 sq. Scriptural modes of describing invisible objects, 93 sq. Names and Nature of Angels, 98 sq. Qualities and Actions of Good Angels, 101. Evil Angels, their qualities and actions, 117; their names, 118 sq.; their ranks and orders, 123 sq.; their number, 124 sq.; their abode, 135 sq.—General remarks, 145 sq. System of Zoroaster, 148 sq.
Angels, good and evil, see *Angelology*.
Anti-Lebanon, see *Lebanon*.
Antipatris, visit to, 478 sq. Encounter with a shepherd, 479; arrival in Jufna, 479; Bir Zeit, 480; ancient Roman road, 480, 481; descent of the mountain, 481 sq. Ruins of Tibneh, 484 sq. Wady Belât, 487; village of Mejdel Yâba, 487, 488; castle recently destroyed, 488, 489; Arab love-story, 489, 490; Râs el-'Ain, 490, 491; immense fountains, 491; plain of Sharon, 491; Jiljûlieh, 492; Kefr Sâba described, 493; Is it Antipatris? 493 sq. 497.
Antonia, fortress, 29.
Antonius, Julianus, his History, 399.
Apocalypse, the Beast indicated by the no. 666, p. 332; see *Beast*. Why John wrote enigmatically, 353 sq. Principles of right interpretation, 358 sq.—The *White Stone*, 461 sq. Grammatical structure of the passage, 461 sq. Remarks on the idiom, 462 sq. The hidden manna, 467 sq. Usages of the Greeks, 470 sq. Character of the White Stone, 471 sq. The new name, 475 sq. Result, 477.
Aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, 31; on Mount Lebanon, 559.
Arimathea, not Ramleh, 565.
Assassins, see *Isma'îliyeh*.
el-'Asy, the ancient Orontes, its sources, 207.
'Aujeh, river, its source and size, 491; bridge, 495.

B.

Ba'albek, visit to, 84; its Antiquities, 86. Position, 207.
Balmarcos, a Phenician Baal, 561, 562.
Biblical Researches, testimonies to, p. iv. p. 66, 88, 497 sq. 523.
Bar-cochba, 420; his origin unknown, 421; mysteriousness of his whole person, 422; declared king Messiah by Akiba, 424; attempts to gain the Christians, 425; proofs that he was in possession of Jerusalem, 426 sq. Coins, 427 sq. Time of Barcochba's reign, 436; is succeed-

ed by his son, 437; his dynasty, 437.
Bathsheba, Pool of, not ancient, 33.
Beast in the Apocalypse answering to the number 666, p. 332 sq. Two beasts described, 332. Power of the second, 334 sq. Mark or symbol, 335. Character of the mark, 336. Character of the number, 339. Testimony of Irenæus, 339. Other explanations, 340 sq. Signification in letters, 343 sq. To what it refers, 346 sq. Result, 348. Reasons why John wrote enigmatically, 349 sq. Cabbalism, 351. Sybilline Oracles, 353 sq. Principles of Interpretation, 358 sq.
Beit 'Ainûn, ancient *Beth-anoth*? 57 sq.
Beit Sûr, ancient *Beth-zur*, 56.
Bengel, his edition of the New Testament, 269.
Benjamin of Tudela, his testimony as to the Druzes, 223.
Berachah, see *Bereikût*.
Bereikût, its probable identity with the *Valley of Berachah*, 43.
Beth-anoth, 58.
Bether, 422; its capture, 439. Note upon its topography, 456. Perh. i. q. Bethel, 458.
Bethesda, Pool of, so called; length of the vaults, 33.
Bethhoron, not *Bether*, 456.
Beth-Tar, see *Bether*.
Beza, his edition of the New Testament, 266.
Bîr Ijda, a remarkable well near Hebron, 55, 56.
Bîr esh-Shûrky, east of Carmel, 61.
Blood-revenge, customary among the Druzes, 237.
Burj el 'Askar, 57.
Burj 'Azzil, 72.
el-Bû'kâ'a, valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, 205, 207.
Burckhardt, his visit to the Emîr Beshîr, 234. His opinion of the Druzes, 236.

C.

Cabbala, 351.
Carmel, excursion to, 41. Observations on the place, 60, 61.
Catullus, his slaughter of the Jews in Egypt, 399.
Cedars of Lebanon, visit to, 86.
Cherubim, what? 115.
Christ's coming, see *Coming*.
City of David, meaning of the expression, 197 sq.
Coins struck by Bar-cochba, 427 sq. Those of Hadrian, 443. Of Ælia Capitolina especially, 449.
Coming of Christ in Matt. 24, 29-31, p. 531 sq. Inquiry of the disciples, 532. Purport of it, 532, 533. Their expectations as to the Messiah, 533 sq. Our Lord's answer, 535 sq. Passage fully cited, 536. Does it refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, or to the day of judgment? 538. Different opinions, 538, 539. Preliminary considerations, 539. Time limited to this generation, 540. Length of a generation, 541. Can the passage refer to the day of judgment? 541. First view implies error in our Lord, 542 sq. Was there an expectation of the day of judgment as near at hand? 543. Olshausen's view, 544. Can the language be referred to the downfall of the Jews? 545 sq. Verse 29th, 545. Verse 30th, 547. Verse 31st, 548. The destruction of Jerusalem not the final catastrophe of the Jewish nation, 550. War and subversion of the nation under Adrian, 551 sq. General result and interpretation, 558.—Remarks on the following verses and Matt. c. 25, p. 559. Transition to the last judgment at c. 24, 43, p. 556. Proofs, 556.
Consubstantiation, not tenable, 519 sq. See *Lord's Supper*.
Coreæ, see *Kûriyût*.
Corrections and *Additions*, 103, 104.
Cross, the Holy, see *Holy Cross*.
Cyprus, revolt of the Jews in, 406 sq.
Cyril, his testimony in respect to the Holy Cross, 160.
Cyrenaica, revolt of the Jews in this province, 399 sq.

D.

Daî, in the Druze religion, 221, 227.
David Ganz, Rabbi, his statements as to the Jewish war under Hadrian, 401, 403; as to the death of Akiba, 441.
Demons, 119, 120.
Dead Sea, its depression only recently suspected, 15. Different results of measurements, 16. Depression ascertained by Lieut. Symonds, 16, 17, 566. Excursion to it, 38. View at Sebbeh, 66. Map of it accurate, 66. Position, 205.
Deir el-Kŭl'ah, an ancient temple, see *Temple*.
ed-Derazy, founder of the religion of the Druzes, 219 sq. His death, 221. Arabic name of the Druzes from him, 221.
Dion Cassius, his account of the Jewish war, 394. Describes the barbarities of the Jews, 401. Account of the Temple of Jupiter at Jerusalem, 446.
Druzes of Mount Lebanon, 205 sq. Topography of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, 205. Population, 209. Government, 210. History of the Maronites, 211 sq. See *Maronites*. Origin of the Druzes, 214. Early Muhammedan sects, 216 sq. The Khalîf Hâkim, 218. Adventures of ed-Derazy, 219 sq. Derivation of the name of *Druze*, 221. Hamza the prophet of the Druzes, 221 sq. Death of Hâkim, 223. First notices of the Druzes in Lebanon, 223. Their sacred books, 225. Their earliest religious creed, 225. Brief outline of some portions of this latter: God as manifested in Hâkim, 225. Ministers, 227. Transmigration of souls, 228. Resurrection and Judgment, 228. Ethics, 228. Few traces of their early history, 229 sq. Fakhr ed-Dîn, 230 sq. His successors, 232. Emîrs from the House of Shehab, 233. Emîr Beshîr, 233, 234. Contests of the parties Keis and Yemen, 233. Influence of the adjacent Pashas on the government of the Druzes, 235. Burckhardt's visit in 1812, p. 234. Sheikh Beshîr, 234, 235. The Druzes of the mountains superior to the people of the plains, 235. Their general characteristics, 236. Feeling of honour, courage, 236. Blood-revenge, hospitality, 237. Polygamy allowed, 238. No music heard among them, 238. Secrecy of their religious tenets, 238. Division into the 'Akâl and the Jâhel, 239. Alleged idolatry, 239, 240. Arrival of American missionaries, 241. Egyptian conquest; disarming of the mountaineers, 242. War with the Druzes of Haurân, 243. Desire for instruction and protection, 244. Invasion by the allied powers, 245. Access opened to the Druzes, 246. Their war with the Maronites, 247. Submission of the Druzes to the Turks, 249. Their separation from the Maronites, 250. Their Sheikhs in prison, 83, 249 sq. Present state and moral prospects, 250, 251. —Historical authorities, 252.

E.

Edwards, President, notice of his works, 391.
Egypt, revolt of the Jews in, 403 sq. Tranquillity restored, 406.
Eleutheropolis, historical evidence of its identity with *Betogabra* or *Beit Jibrîn*, 204.
Elmacin, his report of the Druzes, 229.
Elzevirs, their edition of the New Testament, 267.
Emîr Beshîr, 234 sq.
Emmaus, now *'Amwâs*, its position, 38.
English Engineers, survey Palestine 10 sq. 16. Routes, 11. Maps, 10, 12, 13.
Erasmus, his edition of the New Testament, 265.
Etham, 565.
Eusebius, his statement as to the site of Ramah, 175; of Acelda-

ma, 176; as to the place of the Ascension, 177; as to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, 181 sq. His silence as to the Holy Cross, 158, 161. His testimony as to the vengeance of Bar-cochba, 225; as to the position of Bether, 439, 457 sq. His account of the Jewish war, 394; of Hadrian's subjugation of the Jews, 410; of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, 216, 217.

Excursions to Mâr Sâba and Jericho, 38 sq. To Hebron, Carmel, and Sebbeh, 41 sq. From Jerusalem to Beirût, 70 sq. To the Cedars and Ba'albek, 84. To Antipatris, 478 sq.

Exodus of the Israelites, by what route, 564.

Expediency, Doctrine of, 301 sq. Power and character of public opinion, 301 sq. Abuse of it by public agitators, 304 sq. Duties and temptations of Christians in respect to expediency, 305 sq. Paul's teaching and example, 311 sq. Scriptural principles on the subject, 320 sq. Application to various classes, 223 sq.

F.

Faith defined, 525.

Fakhr ed-Din, chief of the Druzes, his character and fortunes, 230 sq.

Fountain near the Grand Mosk in Jerusalem, explored by Mr. Wolcott, 24 sq.

Frank Mountain, 69.

G.

Gate of Damascus, ancient towers near it, 189 sq. Of Ephraim, 191 sq.

Gateway, ancient, under the mosk el-Aksa, 17 sq.

Gerizim, Mount, 73.

Gesenius, biographical notices of, 361 sq. His youth, 361 sq. His earlier works, 363 sq. Improvement and progress, 366 sq. Later works, 369 sq.—Gesenius as a lecturer, 371. As a man, 372 sq. Religious views, 374. His habits, 375. His death, 376. Influence of his writings, 377. New edition of the translation of his Lexicon in press, 378.

Griesbach, his editions of the New Testament, 270. Recension-system, 270 sq. Results of his editions given by Hahn, 275.

Gophna revisited, present state, 479.

H.

Hadrian, Jewish war in his reign, 393 sq. His treatment of the Jews, 412 sq. His conversation with R. Joshua, 412. Project for restoring Jerusalem, 415, sq. Outbreak of the insurrection, 432 sq. Celebration of his Vicennalia, 445. See *Jewish War*.

Hahn, his edition of the New Testament, 254, 274. Character of this work, 274, 275. Peculiar merits, 276, 277. American reprint, 278. Accuracy and cheapness of this edition, 279.

Hâkim, the third of the Fatimite Khalifs in Egypt; his fanaticism and ferocity, 218, 219. Persecutes the Christians, 219. Is proclaimed as god by Derazy and Hamza, 219. Assassinated, 223.

Hamza, Prophet of the Druzes, 221 sq. Author of their sacred books, 225.

Haurân, a seat of the Druzes, 221; its population under the government of the Pasha of Damascus, 235; war against the Druzes of Haurân, 243.

Hebron, Excursion to, 41. Ramble in the N. E. 55. Remarkable well, 55, 56. Tell on the N. has no ruins, 59 sq. Jewish inhabitants, 60.

Helena, her reputed discovery of the Holy Cross, 156 sq.

Hermon, see *Jebel esh-Sheikh*.

Hezekiah, Pool of, see *Pool*.

Hodge, Dr. his argument in reference to the marriage of a wife's sister, 284, 285.

Holy Cross, its reputed discovery by Helena, 157 sq. No certain allusion to it until the time of Cyril, 160. First hints of its connexion with the discovery of the Holy

Sepulchre, 161. On the alleged evidence for its being the true cross, 163 sq. Amount of the historical testimony, 169.

Holy Sepulchre, its reputed site, 154 sq. Remarks of Mr. N. in support of it, 171. Early doubts about this subject, 173. Examination of the historical arguments in favour of the alleged site, 174 sq. Point of inquiry to be investigated in this case, 181. Topographical argument, 186 sq. Testimony of Josephus, 187. Ancient towers and gate of second wall, 189 sq. Distinctness of the physical features of the Holy City, 190. Pool of Hezekiah, 194 sq. Amount of Mr. N.'s topographical argument, 201.

el-Hûleh, form of the lake, 12; comp. 205.

I.

Idiom, see *Apocalypse*.

Ignatius of Antioch, his martyrdom, 409.

Inscriptions, relative to the Jewish war, 443. On an ancient temple in Lebanon, 560 sq.

Interpretations, e. g. by Prof. Stuart: 1 Cor. 11, 17–34, p. 499 sq. Rev. 2, 17, p. 499 sq. Rev. 13, 18, p. 332 sq.—By Pres. Wayland: Rom. c. 14, p. 311 sq. 1 Cor. c. 8. 9. 10, p. 313 sq.—By the Editor: Lev. 18, 6 sq. p. 287 sq. Verse 18th, p. 293 sq. Matt. 24, 29-31, p. 531. Verse 34, p. 540. Verses 36–42, p. 555. Verses 43–51, p. 555. Matt. 25, 1–13, p. 554. Verses 14–30, p. 554. Verses 31–46, p. 553.

Irenæus, his testimony as to the Number of the Beast, 389.

Isma'îlîyeh, a sect of the Shîites, 215; descendants of the Assassins, 217; known to the Crusaders, 223.

J.

Jebel en-Nŭsairîyeh, 205.

Jebel esh-Sheikh, 13. General character, 206, 207.

Jebel Sŭnnîn, one of the two loftiest summits of Lebanon, 208, 558.

Jericho, excursion thither, 38. Destroyed by Ibrahim Pasha, 40.

Jerome, 174. His description of the site of Ramah, 175. His statement in respect to the sale of slaves, 443, 444. Mentions the statues of Jupiter, 446; and Venus, 447. Speaks of a Jewish war, 454.

Jerusalem and its environs, 17 sq. Ancient subterranean gateway, 17 sq. South wall of the Haram, 23. Fountain near the Grand Mosk explored, 24 sq. Ancient second wall, 29. Former tower in N. W. corner of the city, 30. Ruins of an ancient Khân, 30. Aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, its termination, 31. Vaults in Bethesda, so called, 33. Pool of Bathsheba not ancient, 33. Excavations on Zion, 33 sq. 203. Tomb of Absalom, 34; of Helena, 35, 36; of the Judges, 35; of the prophets described, 36. Ruins on the ridge E. of Scopus, 37.—Hadrian's project to restore the city, 415. Effect on the Jews, 418. Was in Bar-cochba's hands, 426 sq. Capture by the Romans, 434 sq. Called *Ælia Capitolina*, 445. Meaning of the sculptured swine, 446. Pagan temples erected, 446, 447. Christians re-established in the Holy City, 448. Coins, 449. Name of Jerusalem forgotten, 449. Called Ælia long afterwards, 449. Jews partially excluded until the time of the Saracens, 449 sq.

Jewish War under Hadrian, history of, 393 sq. Object of the writer, 394. Condition of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, 395. Their hope of a Messiah, 397. Jews in Egypt and Cyrene, 398. First rising under Trajan, 400 sq. Lucuas or Andreas greeted as king of Israel, 402. Success in the beginning, 403. Tranquillity restored in Egypt, 404. Insurrection in Cyprus and Mesopotamia, 406 sq.

First years of Hadrian, 411 sq. Renewal of the revolt, 419 sq. Bar-cochba, 420 sq. Rabbi Akiba, 423 sq. Bar-cochba's attempt to gain the Christians, 425. Desolation of Palestine, 426 sq. Proofs that the Jews were in possession of Jerusalem, 426 sq. Difficulties of the war, 432 sq. Uncertainty of the final fate of Bar-cochba, 435. Capture of Bether, 439, 440.—Bearing of this war upon the interpretation of Matt. 24, 29–31, p. 551 sq.

Jews, see *Jewish War*.

Jezzâr Pasha, 233; his power among the Druzes, 234.

Jiljûlieh, 492.

Jordan, country around its sources, 11. Sources, 12. Its valley, 205, 206. Remotest source, 207.

Josephus, his description of the second wall, 186 sq. Importance of his testimony in respect to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, 187; misrepresentation of it by Mr. N. 188. Acra distinct from Zion, according to Josephus, 191.

Jotapata, sought for in vain, 79.

Judgment-day, taught in Matt. 25, 31 sq. p. 553 sq.

Jufna, see *Gophna*.

K.

Karmathians, see *Nŭsairîyeh*.

Kefr Sâba, see *Antipatris*.

Keisîyeh in Lebanon, 233.

Khân Emîr Hassan, in Jerusalem, 30, 31.

el-Khatîb of the Ta'âmireh, 42 sq. His name in the book, 42.

Knapp, his edition of the New Testament, 272.

Kûfin, its identity with Abu Fîd, 44.

Kŭriyût, anc. *Coreæ*? 73.

Kurmul, see *Carmel*.

L.

Lachmann, his editions of the New Testament, 273.

Lebanon, Mount, antiquities, 86. Cedars, 86. Druzes of Mount Lebanon, 205. Description of the ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, 205, 206. Signification of the name, 208. Character of the western declivity, 208, 558. Description of the eastern side and western side of Anti-Lebanon, 208. Eastern declivity of Anti-Lebanon, 208. Associations of Lebanon when mentioned in the Scriptures, 208, 209. Population of the mountain, 209, 210. Government, 210. See *Maronites* and *Druzes*.

Lejjûn, anc. *Legio*, its remains, 77, 78.

el-Lîtâny, its course, 14. Bridges over it, 82. The ancient Leontes, 207.

Lord's Supper, at Corinth, 499 sq. Irregularities, 501. Fore-meal or Agapæ, 501 sq. Was there intoxication? 503 sq. Agapæ abandoned, 505. Kind of wine used at Corinth, 506. Kind of wine used by our Lord at the institution, 507 sq. See *Wine*. Significancy of the emblems, 517. Language of the institution: 'This is my body,' etc. its meaning, 518 sq. Difficulties and absurdities, 520 sq. Nature of symbolic language, 522. Literal sense not possible, 523 sq. Faith defined, 525. Reason, use of in matters of faith, 526 sq. Object of the sacrament, 527 sq. Eating and drinking unworthily, what? 530.

Lucuas, see *Bar-cochba*.

M.

Manna, the hidden, see *Apocalypse*.

Map of the Dead Sea in Bibl. Researches, its correctness, 66.

Mâr Sâba, Convent of, 38 sq.

Marcus Aurelius favourably disposed to the Jews, 452. Probable cause of his later displeasure, 453.

Marriage of a wife's sister, 283 sq. Occasion of the discussion, 283. Preliminary questions, 284. Position of the Hebrew wife, 285 Tenure of Hebrew marriage, 286

General prohibition, in Lev. 18, 6; its meaning, 287 sq. Other prohibitions, 289 sq. Result, 291 sq. Meaning of the prohibition in the 18th verse, 293. Historical view, 293 sq. Philological view, 295 sq. General result, 298, 299.

Maronites, on Mount Lebanon, 209. Emîr Beshîr, 210. Origin of the name of Maronites, 211, 212. In connexion with the church of Rome, 212. Are not mentioned from the time of the Crusades until the sixteenth century, 212. They harass the Turkish government, and are conquered by the latter, 212, 213. Dogmas of Rome affirmed, 213. Secret adoption of the Maronite faith by Emîr Beshîr, 240. Many of the mountain nobility Maronites, 241. Authority of the patriarch, 241. Egyptian conquest, 241. Disarming of the mountaineers, 242. The Christians again receive arms from the government and are sent against the Druzes of Haurân, 243. England excites them to revolt, 245. Hostility of the Maronites against the Missionaries, 246 sq. Annihilation of the power of the Patriarch, 249. Separation of the Druzes and the Maronites under different heads, 250. The latter willing to receive instruction, 250, 251.

Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, 254 sq. See *Testament*.

Masada, see *Sebbeh*.

Mejdel Yâba, 487, 488. Was it Antipatris? 493.

Mesopotamia, revolt of the Jews in, 407 sq.

Metn, district of, on Lebanon, its position, 558.

Mill, his edition of the New Testament, 269.

Ministers of Religion among the Druzes, their ranks and departments, 227.

Miracles, ecclesiastical, their credibility defended by Mr. Newman, 155.

Missionaries, American, their arrival at Beirût, 241. Their efforts in behalf of the Druzes, 242. Desire of the latter to get instruction, 244. A school opened among them, 246. The Maronite Patriarch operates against the Missionaries, 246, 247. Influence of the Turkish Authorities, 249. The Maronites beginning to apply for instruction to the Missionaries, 250, 251.

Monothelites, 211.

Moses of Chorene's account of the Jewish war, 455.

Muhammed 'Aly as ruler of Syria, 242. Withdraws his armies from the country, 245.

N.

Nâbulus, 73. Three fountains, by which it is supplied with water, 74.

New Name, see *Apocalypse*.

New Testament, see *Testament*.

Newman, Rev. J. H. Author of an Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles, 154, 155.

Nicopolis, see *Emmaus*.

Nordheimer, Dr. Isaac, biographical notices of, 379. His early education, 380 sq. Discipline of Rabbinic schools, 382 sq. Later studies, 384 sq. Removal to New York, 386. His occupation there, 386 sq. His Hebrew Grammar, 387. Other writings, 388. His death, 389.

en-Nusairiyeh, a sect of Muhammedans, 217.

P.

Palestine, Researches in, 9 sq.

Parable of the Talents, 554; of the ten Virgins, 554 sq.

Pescennius Niger, 453.

Phiala, Lake, described, 13.

Polygamy allowed to the Druzes, 237. Not expressly forbidden by the Mosaic Law, 293 sq.

Pool of Hezekiah, its position, 194. Misrepresentation of the remarks upon it in the Biblical Researches, 195 sq. Of Bathsheba, 33.

R.

Rabbinic schools, modern, their discipline, etc. 382 sq.
Rafédhis, adherents of 'Aly, 215.
Ramah, see *Arimathea* and *er-Râmeh*.
er-Râmeh near Hebron, extensive remains, 44. Architecture, 46. Suggestion of Mr. Wolcott, that it may have been the Ramah of Samuel, 48 sq. Objections, 49 sq. Probably the place known as Abraham's Tent, 52.
Rameses, where situated, 564.
Râmet el-'Amleh, 56.
Râmet el-Khŭlil, 44; see *er-Râmeh*.
Râs el-'Ain, its form and character, 490, 491.
Raumer, K. von, 563.
Reason, use of in matters of religion, 526 sq.
Resurrection and *Judgment* in the Creed of the Druzes, 228.
Rinck, a critical edition of the New Testament proposed, 280.
Romulus, grandson of Bar-cochba, successor of Rufus, 437. Rareness of the name among the Romans, 438. His death, 441.
Ritter, Prof. his testimony, 497 sq.
Roediger, Prof. finds historical evidence for the identity of Eleutheropolis and Betogabra, 204. His testimony to the Bibl. Researches, 498.
Roman Road, ancient, from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, 480, 481, 496.
er-Rŭbŭdiyeh, 80.
Rufus, 432, 435. Son and successor of Bar-cochba, 437. His death, 441.

S.

Sandys, his report of Fakhr ed-Dîn, 231.
Sacy, Baron de, his work on the origin and religion of the Druzes, 214.
Satan, signification of this name, 118, 119.
Scholz, his edition of the New Testament, 272.
Schott, his edition of the New Testament, 273.
Sebbeh, excursion to, 41. Description of the place, 62 sq. Identity with *Masada*, 63. Accuracy of the account of Josephus, 64.
Seraphim, 115.
Severus; the Jews not mentioned in the early part of his reign, 453. Persecutes at first Jews and Christians, 454. Becomes more favourably disposed to the Jews, 454. Gratitude of the latter, 454.
Sharon, plain of, its fertility, 491, 493.
Shîites, a Muhammedan sect, adherents of 'Aly, 215 sq. They allegorize the Koran, 226.
esh-Shŭkif, corrected position of the Castle, 14.
Sidon, Druze Sheikhs as prisoners, 83.
Smith, Rev. Eli, his farther investigations, 9, 19. Remarks on the state of Palestine, 11. Visit to Antipatris, 478 sq. Description of an ancient temple on Lebanon, 557 sq.
Solomon, Pools of, 42. Aqueduct from them to Jerusalem, 31.
Stephens, R. his edition of the New Testament, 266.
Sunnites, the orthodox Muhammedans, 215, 226.
Supper, see *Lord's Supper*.
Sybilline Oracles, 353 sq.

T.

Tarphon, Rabbi, 424.
Temple, ancient, on mount Lebanon, 557 sq. Inscriptions, 559 sq. Dedicated to a Baal, 561.
Testament, New, first complete edition in Greek printed, 255. What manuscripts were employed, 256. Materials on which they were written, 256, 257. Form of the Codices, 257; writing materials, 258; letters and modes of writing, 258 sq. Editions of Erasmus, 265; of R. Stephens, 266; of Beza, 266; of the Elzevirs, 267, 268. Value of critical readings, 268. Later editors, 270 sq. Hahn,

characteristics of his edition, 274 sq. Reprinted in New York, 278 sq. Recent labours of Tischendorf, 280 sq.
Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, 112, 397.
Thamna, see *Tibneh*.
Tiberias, Lake of, its depression, 16, 17, 566.
Tibneh, anc. *Timnath* or *Thamna*, 484 sq. 496 sq. 565.
Timnath, see *Tibneh*.
Tischendorf, his manual edition of the New Testament, 280. His more recent labours, 281.
Tittmann, his edition of the New Testament, 273.
Tomb of Absalom, 34; of Helena, 35.
Tombs of the Judges described, 35; of the Prophets described, 36.
Trajan, Jewish insurrection under his reign, 400 sq. Condemns Ignatius to death, 409. His own death, 410.
Transmigration of Souls among the Druzes, 228.
Transubstantiation, not tenable, 518 sq. See *Lord's Supper*.
Tryphon, Rabbi, 435, 436.

V.

Vater, his edition of the New Testament, 273.
Verus, favourably disposed to the Jews, 452.

W.

Wall of Jerusalem; ancient second wall, traces of it, 29 sq. Its course, according to Josephus, 186 sq. Misrepresentation of Josephus's testimony, 188 sq.—South Wall of the Haram, 23 sq.
Walton, his edition of the New Testament, 269.
Wady Khŭbarah, 68.
—— *Seyâl*, 62.
—— *et-Teim*, connected with the history of the Druzes, 207.
—— *Ukhbîyeh*, south of Sidon, 83.
Well, ancient, in Jerusalem, 24; near Hebron, 55, 56.
Wetstein, his edition of the New Testament, 270.
White Stone, see *Apocalypse*.
Wife's Sister, see *Marriage*.
Wine, as used in the Lord's Supper at Corinth, 506. Kind used by our Lord at the institution, 507 sq. Not fermented, 508. Jewish custom, 508. Meaning of *new* wine, 509 sq. Is it still obligatory on Christians to use unfermented wine? 511 sq. Diluted wine anciently used by the churches, 512 sq. Authorities, 514 sq.
Wolcott, Rev. S. communications on Palestine, 10 sq. Jerusalem, 17 sq. Excursion to Mâr Sâba and Jericho, 38. To Hebron, Carmel, and Sebbeh, 41 sq. Journey to Beirût, 70 sq. Search for Jotapata, 78. Visit to the Cedars and Ba'albek, 84. Additions and corrections from his pen, 203. Testimony to the Bibl. Researches, iv.

X.

Ximenes, Cardinal, the first who caused the Greek New Testament to be printed, 256.
Xiphilin, epitomist of Dion Cassius, 394, 401.

Y.

Yâfa, near Nazareth, 78, 79.
Yemenîyeh, in Mount Lebanon, 231, 233.

Z.

Zemach David, Jewish book of history, 401, 420, 437, 440.
Zion, excavations and ancient channels, 33, 34, 203.
Zoroaster, system of, 148 sq. Points of discrepancy and resemblance between this system and the Scriptures, 150 sq.

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